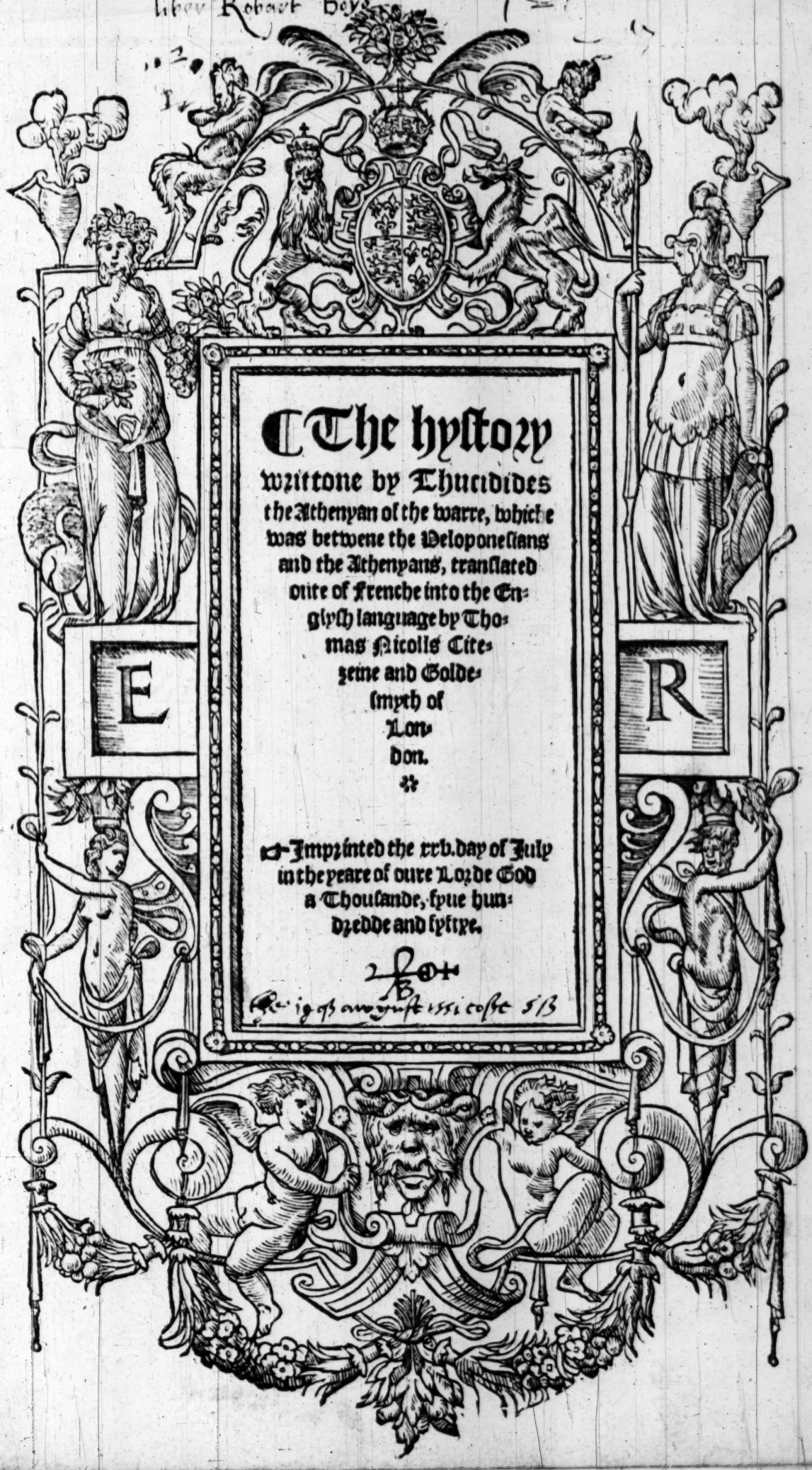
Liber Robert Heys



The hystory

writtone by Thucidides the Athenyan of the warre, whiche was betwene the Peloponesians and the Athenyans, translated oute of frenche into the Englyth language by Thomas Nicolls Citezeine and Goldesmyth of London.

Imprinted the xvb. day of July in the yeare of oure Lorde God a Thoulande, fyue hundredde and fyftye.

Reg. ij qs augustissi coste s/3

Accepte thys Hiſtorie, ſo greatly magnified
Whyche aboue other is named to precelle:
The fruite wyth the flower herein is compriſed
Wyth eloquence, creatinge of warre right cruell
And of antiquitie, is renommed ſo welle
That nothynge lemeth to be more lamented
Than knowlayge hereof to haue bene ablented

So longe from youe of thys famouſe Region.
Whyche nowe our Kynge, of hys haboundant grace,
Wyth hys highe Counſailles delyberation,
Frankely hath graunted to be in euery place
Good ſtudie to preferre, all ſlouthe to deface,
That the goodnes therein beinge vertuouſly bred:
The contraries alſo may prudently be exchued.

Happy, happy be we, to whome God ſendithe
A Kynge ſo vertuous, benigne and prudente
That vyces abhorringe, good exercyſe extendeth
Communycatinge thys, ſo precious a talente,
To all hys ſubiectes, beinge of good intente,
Praye we therefore to God wyth herte and mynde ſtrte
For the longe wealthy raigne of kinge Edwarde the Sixte.

The tenoure of the Kynges Maiesties most gracyous Priuelege for Seuen yeares.

EDVVARDE THE SIXT BY THE Grace of God, King of Ingland, France and Irelande, Defendour of the fayth and of the church of Englād and Irelande in earth Supreme hedde. To all Justices, Maiours, Shirues, Bailliues, Constables, Custumers, Cōptrollers, Sercheours, Kepars of our poores, Crekes & passages, & to all other our Officers, Ministres, & Subiectes, these our Letters hearyng or seynge, & to euery of them, Gretinge. VVE late youe wytte, that Judgyng it to be mete & ryghtuous, that oure Royall Maiestie, (wherin through the prouydēce, ordenaunce, and grace of the almighty & euer lyuing God, we presently do Reigne) not onely shuld ayde those, that for publique & cōmon vtilite do laboure, specially in learnynge, but also graciously takyng them into our protectyon, shulde not ceasse to any mate thē in suche theire labours to be contynued & augmented. Being credibly informed that our faythfull & welbeloued subiect Thomas Nicolls, Cytezene & Goldesmith of our Cytie of London, hath not onely translated the hystorye, wrytton by Thucidides the Athenyan of the warres that were amonge the Grekes, chiefly betwene the Peloponesians & the Athenyans out of Frenche into Inglish, but also intendeth contynuing in that his vertuous exercyse, therby to reduce & bring other profytable hystories out of Frenche & latēne into our sayd maternall language, to the generall benefyt, comodytie & profyt of all our louing Subiectes, that well shall digeste the same: We, who frō oure tender yougth, haue loued & embraced Godly & vertuous learnyng, & the fauourers therof, Myndyng to relieue & helpe our sayd subiecte in hys labours & study, & beyng enclyned to his reasonable & humble petycions & requestes vnto vs in thys behalfe made: Of our especyal grace, & by the aduyse and consente of our ryght dere, ryght trusty & right welbeloued Pryuey Counsaille, woll & straytely commaunde all and singuler Stacyoners, Prynters, bookesellers, & marchauntes, whereseoeuer, & of whatsoeuer estate, degree, or condition he or they be, and al other inhabiting, reseant, or hauyng accesse in or to any our Royaulmes, territoryes, or dompnions aswell in these parties, as beyonde the sea, that they nor any of them duryng the space of Seuen yeares next to come to be accompted frō the fyrst settyng forth of the sayd hystorye, shall not without expresse lycence obteygned of the sayd Thomas Nicolls, imprelle or imprynt, nor cause to be imprelled or imprynted in any caracter of letter, nor selle, geue, alyen, nor distribute to any parsone or parsons, the said hystorye of Thucidides, nor any part therof, imprynted or to be imprynted in English by any other parsone or parsones, thā by our said subiecte or his assigneis by him thereunto admitted, vpon payne of confiscatyng & forfayture not onely of all such bokes, as against the true tenour & purporte herof shalbe by any meane imprelled, imprynted, solde, put to sale, alyenated, geuē or dystributed: but also vpō penaltie of Twenty poūdes of Currante monney of this our Royalme of England, so often to be payd by the trāsgressours, as any of them shalbe founde & approued to do the contrary. The one halfe of the sayd forfayture & penaltye to be to our vse & bihoulf, and the other halfe to the presenter approuynge the same. Any act, statute, graunte, lycence, or other prouilyon herertofore had & made, or hereafter to be had & made to the cōtrary herof, in any wyse not withstandynge. Wherfore VVE woll & cōmaunde youe

and euery of youe not onelye to permyt and suffre oure sayde welbeloued subiecte, peaceablye to exercyse, perceyue, and enioye the full benefyte & effecte of thys oure lycence and graunte, but also at all tymes durynge the same Seuen yeares, whan and as often as ye or any of youe shal, by hym or his assygneis, be therunto requyred, to be vnto the same oure Subiect fauourynge, helpynge, aydynge, furtherynge and supportynge in and aboutes execucion of the premysses. So as no defaulte shalbe founde to be in youe nor any of youe. As for doinge the contrary, ye and euery of you woll aunswere vnto vs at youre extreme perylles, For such is our pleasure, YOVON vnder our Signet at our Palays of Westminster the xxiiii. of Februarye, The fourth yeare of our Reygne.

God saue the Kinge and hys Maiesties most honorable Counsaille.

To the right worshypfull

Mayster John Theke one of the Gentlemen of the kynges Maiesties most honnourable prynce Chamber and Skoole-mayster vnto the same moste Excellent Maiestye, Thomas Nicolls Cytezen and Goldesmyth of London, wysheth parfayct helth wyth prosperous increase in worshyppe.

CONSIDERYNG, right worshypfull Syr, that dyuers of those, whiche heretofore to theyr posteritie leste olde matters, and studied by wryting, to renewe the ancyent memory of hystories: haue bene by sundry learned parsonages noted and tared for this: that whyleste they desyred and coueyted fame of learning, and wente aboute to plante and establish theyr name to be continued from the iniurye of forgettynge: they bestowed theyr labour, more in adournynge, garnyshinge and fylyng of theyr woordes, then in settynge and declaryng of the trouth, thinking that, yf any thynge of vntrouthe were by them setfourthe in causes, that were of longe antiquitye before theyr tyme, it coulde not be corrected, and yet neuertheleste, that they shulde perceyue exceadynge fruict and benefyte through that the delycatenes of theyr vayne narratyons, labours and wyttes: knowynge some other also to haue bene reprehended for thys: that beyng moued and caryed eyther by pryuate ennemyties and hatred of rulers, orells beynge to much geuen to the praysynge of Princes. Cyties, and of pryuate parsons, haue by theyr colourable wrytynge and with immoderate flattery extolled hystoryes very base & skender of them selfe, farre aboue the layth and effecte of the trouth of theym, And chiefly, beyng hereunto animated by the prayseworthy zeale, & godly wyll, which youe beare both to the encrease in vertue, and also to the communicatyng of honest labour and exercyse vnto the benefyt of the studentes and fauorers thereof: I haue trauayled for to translate playnelye & truly owte of the Frenche into the Inglyshe tonge, thys hystorye, wrytton by Thucydides the Athenyan of the greate warres that contynued amongest the Grekes, chiefly betwene the Peloponesians and the Athenyans, durynge the space of twenty and seuen yeares. Requyryng you of youre accustomed benignyte, not onelye with fauoure to accepte this the furste my fruict in translatyon, but also conferringe it with the Greke, so to amende and correct it, in those places and sentences, whiche youre exacte lernynge and knolaige shall Judge mete to be altered and reformed, that thereby thys sayd translation may triumphantly resist and wythstande the malycyous and deadly stynge of the generall and most ennemyes of all good exercyse. I meane curyous, fantasticall varlons, pryuey dyffamours of dylygent and vertuous labour. who, though they them selfe to theyr reproche do ydely or with silence passe theyr tyme, be yet greuously pynched wyth enuye that other shulde trauayle to vtter theyr talente to the commodytie of many, therby to profet. For thys hystorye is not onely among the grekes and latenistes, as ye wel knowe reputed to be muche worthy of commendation: but also the Lorde Claudius of Seyssel, some tyme Byshop of Marseille and afterwardes Archebyshop of Turyn, who translated the same oute of the Lattenne into the Frenche tonge, Judgyng that allother hystoryes, whiche he had or shulde translate into the same hys maternalle language shulde appere but grosse in regarde of thys: dyd dedycate it vnto the Frenche

A Prologe.

King Loyes, of that name the twelfte, for the chief and beſt of all workes by him tranſlated. The prayſe wherof, I ouerpaſſe and omitte to reherſe for that, that aſwell the ſayde Archebyſhop and one Mayſter James Colyn, ſometyme ordenarye Secretarye to the late frenche kynge, Frauncys, of that name the furſte, as alſo the ryghte famous and well learned Clarke, Laurence Valle, tranſlator of this ſame hyſtory out of Greeke into Latine haue by theyr ſundry Prologues hereafter folowynge, ryght amply and notably treated of the worthynes therof, and therin haue alſo declared ſuch leſſons and documentes, as vndoubtedly may brynge excellent knoweledge and greate commodities to the readers, digeſtynge the ſame, wherfore for to eſchue prolixite and ſuperfluous wordes, I ceaſe further to enlarge. Moſte inſtantly prayinge almyghty God ſo to aſſiſte, defende & ſuppoꝛte all your Godly aſſayꝛes and Studies, that the ſame maye take foꝛtunate and happy ſucceſſe and effect.

Your Mayſterſhyps well wyller
Thomas Nycolls.

Hereafter followe the before mencyoned Prologues.

To the right Illustryous

and ryght hygh excellency of Princes, and to the ryght noble magnificence of Lordes and nobilitie of Fraunce, James Colyn vnworthy ordenary Secretary to the kynge oure Soueraigne Lorde, and of hys chamber, Sendeth ryght humble gretynge wyth encrease in honnour in perpetuall felycyte.

HERODOTVS the father of hystoryans wytnesseth, that there is a regyon, adioynynge to the Thraces, inhabyted by certayne people named Trauses: whiche in tymes past were accustomed, that whan a chylde was borne amongest them, incontinently, as it was oute of the mothers wombe, the parentes and neyghbours dyd assemble together, and there receyued hys fourthe comming with cryes, wepynges, and lamentacions, remembrynge howe manye mysereyes and calamytes he shulde of necessyte suffre in thys worlde. And to the contrary, when anye of them departed from thys lyfe vnto death: they accompanyed hym to hys graue, in greate festynge and reioysynge: in synging and ioyfully rehersynge the multytude of enyls and tourmentes, frō which he was exempted by death. whiche thynge puttynge in consideration, the Ancyent Grekes blurped in suche sorte, that Anionus the Poete made or deuysed a prouerbe, whiche sayd, that it were right good for a man not to be borne, or yf he were borne, to dye ymmedyatly: so narowely loked they vnto the incommodities of mans life. And to saye the trouthe, yf that we would dylygently regarde it, we shulde fynde wyth Plyny: that nature hath dearely and at to hygh a pryce, solde vnto vs, the habundaunce of thynges, which she bryngeth fourth to oure vse, and that we haue no ioye nor swetenes, that maye not be, sadnes and bytternes, which is indyuidently ioyned vnto them. For besyde the incomparable dangier, that we must passe for to come into thys lyghte, albeit that we be borne to haue lordeshyp and commaundement ouer the other beastes, yet none of them commeth vnto the worlde so vnprouided & yll appoynted, as we do, nor so frayle, weake and passyble as we be. And as the same Authour Plyny in the Prologue of the seuenth boke of hys naturall hystorye more largely and subtelly recyteth, Nature hath geuen to all beastes euen from theyr byrthe, lybertye, vesture, habytacyon and grateful nourriture. But mā alone is he, that allone as he is borne, falleth bare to the grounde, begynneth hys lyfe by beyng bounden or swadled, is constrayned to borowe hys garment of an other, to trauayle hys membres and hys spyryt to buylde hys lodgynge, to get hys foode by sweate of hys bodye and contynuall laboure of hys handes: after the difficultes of hys rysynge vp, and the length of tyme, that he must haue to learne to go and to speake. But yet thys is worse, that where all other beastes, do geue themself by natural instinctyon, to that, which properly appertayneth to thoffyce of theyr nature, thone to flye, thother to swymme: It is man alonly that knoweth nothing without teachynge, neyther to go, nor speake, neyther to eate, nor fynally to do any thynge, that is in the worlde, without teachyng, excepte it be to wepe. So that thys pytyfull ignorawnce hath geuen place and auctoryte vnto the Prouerbe Italian, whiche sayeth, that a man muste be borne wyse, or els to be borne two tymes. For yf he be borne wyse, he maye escape infynyte inconuenyences, where as

thrꝛough faulte of experyence, he tombleth dayly duryng the cours of this shoꝛt lyfe, into greate prejudice of hys wytt. Yf he be borne two tymes, in the seconde lyfe, he maye ayde hym selfe with that, that he shal haue learned in the fyrst and shall not wander in the darknes of errour, as he is constrayned to do commynge into thys worlde without guyde oꝛ lyght of knowledge. Then as it is moꝛe necessarye foꝛ man to learne, then foꝛ any other beastes: and that the conceyuynge of knoweledge, consysteth in the spyrytt: It semeth very strange to thinke from whence it maye proceede, that (seynge that Nature hath fourmed vs of membres and spyrytt, and that the membres mortall and weake, make vs lyke vnto beastes, so much in this moꝛe auauntaged than we, that the moꝛe parte of them be moꝛe stronge and myghty, & lesse subiected to dyseases: and ꝙ the spyrytt durable and euerlastyng, by the whiche we are partakers wyth Angels maketh vs excellēt & worthy aboue al other creatures) yet alwayes we seke and take payne to please the body by all meanes possyble (euery man generally towarde hym selfe) and that there be not many that passe vpon the spirit, oꝛ better to say: there be fewe found ꝙ ones woll regarde it. There is no man of so lowe estate, that he careth not to couerre hys parsone wyth some sorte of clothynge. And the nomber of them is infynyte, that foꝛ to geue it moꝛe grace & deckynge, be not contented oꝛ take it to be sufficyent to bewrappe it in golde, pourple & delicate silkes, except they trauayle straunge countres of the worlde, foꝛ to get stoanes, most rare and precyous, and employ them to the curiosite of theyꝛ nyce trymmynge, where maye not a man see that the moꝛe parte of men lyuinge, not onely haue not theyꝛ thought vpō true vertue and dutie double rewarded, but also that they kepe it not ones vnder shadowe oꝛ couerynge of the lyne oꝛ small threde of good conditions. Nowe what shall we saye, that foꝛ to sarisfy oure corpoꝛall actes, of the earthe, which within fewe yeares must retourne into duste (to the sustenance whereof the thynges present, and that nature doth office vs in euerye place, myght suffyce) There are no feldes, no seas, noꝛ foꝛestes, which be not by vs with greate diligence trauersed and serched to thentent, that we maye haue delicious meates and please our sensuall appetytes. That whiche moꝛe is, albeit, that foꝛ hys commoditie and ease, to defende the sonne, snowe, rayne and iniury of the ayer, one lodgynge oꝛ Cabayne well closed myght be ynough, yet we loue better to cause straunge marbles to be brought from the furthest regyons of the earthe habytable, foꝛ to make, buylde & edifye large and greate pallaces. Where as foꝛ the most part, we regarde not wherwith the heauenly part, which is in vs, is repasted and fedde, noꝛ yf his lodgynge be conuenyently prepared: and sonner we set afoꝛe it the leues of vyce, thā the moste sauoury and swete fruictes of vertue, holding it moꝛe comonly secluded and locked in the obscure and base vlage of sensualytie, then in preferrynge it, to haunt the clere and hygh operacions of honnestie. Furthermoꝛe yf at any tyme we fele any parte of oure body dysoꝛdered by sycknes, we seke by all meanes & wayes possyble, foꝛ to recouer the health decayed: but we are litle carefull to prouyde recouerey, oꝛ to mynystre mete medecyns to oure mynde, beynge euil at ease. Should this come paraduenture foꝛ this cause: that foꝛ so much as the body is sene moꝛe then the spyrytt, we thynke therfoꝛe that it hath moꝛe nede of suche prouisyons: this argument is not suffycyent, foꝛ not onely the bodye hath not moꝛe apparance, than the spyrytt, but also ꝙ body is by hī greatly exalted in it, and that it be a true spyrytt, it hath as many faces, as it sheweth operacyons: and the body neuer sheweth hym selfe, but one fourme, in the which in many yeares he is scarsely seene of many men, where the operatiōs of the

spyrytt,

spryt, may be in shorte tyme knowen throughe all the worlde. And this self body continueth but very fewe dayes, where the spryt, whiche is everlastynge, abydeth everlastingely, and may reteigne by him self throughe many worldes, that, wherin we accustome ourself, durynge the tyme, that he is with the body. To the which thynges and other infynitt, whiche may be alleaged for this purpose, yf men wolde haue suche consideration, as they ought to haue, it woulde cause better lyfe and more increase at this tyme than it dothe, and we hauyng care suffycient for our body (but more garnysshing our thoughtes and myndes, and fedding them better, and geuing them more honorable habitation) shulde be more worthy to haue them, than we be, and shulde take more greate care to conserue them in helthe. And yf peraduenture they chaunced at any tyme to be diseased: we shulde enforce our selfes with moste diligence, to remedy theyr diseases, more then we do. Which be: Arrogance, superfluite, ambition, Couetice, immesurable desyre of lyuinge, and that whiche maketh vs lyke vnto beastes, IGNORANCE, so contagyous, and pestylent in the mynde of man, that it semeth, that all other spyrytuall infyrmytes, whiche trouble him, do all procede from thys alone, for where she is, God is not duely honnored, byce ys not exclued, nor any publique nor priuate action or office, is rightfully & in order administred. So that the sentence vsurped by ancyent men, saying: that euery ignorant personne is cupl, hath bene of good right receyued. And to this appertayneth that, which Terence had no doubte to cause to be spoken by an olde man of experience, that the earthe beareth nothynge worse, than a ignorant man. For as he is in all thynges rude and vntaught, so in this, he is intollerable: that he thinketh nothing well done, but that, whiche he doth hym self. And truly ignorance is muche vnmete and vnsyttynge in al parsones. but in them of nobilitie muche more reprouueable and parnycyous. Who lyke as they surmounte the other in dignite of blonde, Riches, apparayll and auctoryte, so this is theyr greate reproche, yf they do not passe other in excellēcye of knowlaige, that appertaygneth to theyr vocation, extendynge more to the charges and publique administrations, than to a heape of vnprofytable pastymes and exercyses of recreation, wherin they lose a greate parte of theyr tyme, whiche might muche better be employed to learne the rolle of the parsonage, whiche shulde become them to playe in the courte of the common weithe when theyr tourne or course shulde come. The coste shalbe to deere, yf they be forced to become wyse by theyr expences, as to learne in makynge warre. For warre is a thyng to be vtterly exclued, and wysdome is right miserable, that is gotten by vse onely. And it is certaine, that they, whiche lacke prudence and knowlaige, can do no noble actes in tyme of warre nor of peace. Which regarded by Salomon kyng of Jewry, after that he, which can geue all thynges: had geuen hym chose to demaūde what he would: he required nothynge, but wysedome. which chaunceth aither by a souueraine priuelege of nature, or elis is obteygned by a great knowlaige of learnyng, ioyned with a naturall wytt, whiche is the rudder of the shyppe. And of such vertue and efficacyte, that by meanes of it, as sayth Cicero, there be founde many great and vertuous personages wythoute learnyng. And the natural man without learning ys more hable to receyue prayse worthynes and vertue, then the learned wythout naturel wytt. And at all tymes, for the good that maye be, to trust in it, and to employe it, without experyence, to take part vpon the multitude of dyuers chaūces, which happenne hourely in thys worlde, is as perilleux, as to sayle a voyage without any calampyte. For although the shyppe be good and strong, and well garnished and tacled with sayle and ballast, yet he, which is wythin,

knoweth

knoweth not at a chaunce what wynde bloweth, nor the Reace, that he ought to kepe, without the compas, by meanes whereof it hath alwayes be sayde, that experyence is maystres of thynges, teachyng vs to rule and gouerne, in thinges present and to comme, by Judgement and remembrance of thinges passed. But whan they, that vnderstande matters, speake of Experience, they arrest not themselues vpon that naturall wyt onely. Wherupon is comme the Prouerbe, which sayeth: In wasting one learneth. Nother is it in ỹ experiẽce, which is gotten in the onely lyfe of one man. For that is to short, frayle & foden, for to make dewe prouysyon for all the proufes, that we haue to do with, in this worldly pilgremage. And without learnyng it is lesse sufficyent for to geue vs good and clere knowlaige of antiquite. The ignorannce wherof, as wryteth Paulus Emilleus, constrayneth the self same men, which arne becomme aged in studye of other artes liberall, alwayes to resemble chyldren, ignorant of parseuerance and commone lyfe, to lyue as straungers in theyr natyue countreye, and lytle worthy to be called to the gouernaunce of the common wealthe, and to the company of Counsayls. But rather they woll sygnyfye the prays, which in the Frenche tongue is geuẽ to an excellent man, saying: He knoweth muche, and hath sene much, thus speakynge of that same experyence, which is ioynned vỽ learnynge. For as Mayster Philip de commines sayth wysely in hys hystory, men do see more in one only boke within thre monethes, than twenty men, lyuinge in course one after another, can see wyth the eye. Wyth thys, the Ciuile and warly learnynge, the constitucions of lawes and Royalmes, the facyons, whereby they are acquired and maygteyned, the meanes whereby they fall into decaye, and agayne whereby they arne reestablysshed and restored: all these thynges be onely conteygned in the descryption of good hystoryes and none where els. The contempte wherof, togethers with lacke of knoweledge of them, hath bene very often cause, of right greate Ruynes and totall destruccyons of many estates, and yet shalbe so longe, as audacite wyth the contempte of good learnynge, shall haue more libertie, then the contemplacyon of Antiquite, the very mrẽtres of good thynges. Wherof, the right vertuouse, ryght myghtye and ryght Christian, Frances the furst of that name, by the grace of God the Frenche kynge, my souerayn Lord and maistre, hauynge clere vnderstandynge, and knowynge the profitt, that the knowlaige of hystoryes hath brought hym, both in warres, & also in counsayle, for to gouerne and conduete hym in the dyuersytes of hys fortunes: hath wylled not onely to wytnes, but also to put in wrytynge, and to communicate by acte (formally cõtrary to an other act of Alexãder the great) the frute & delectacion, that men ought to marke & percepue therby. But after ỹ we shal haue recyted them both, you shall iudge which of thẽ is more worthy of prayse. Alexander then beyng passed into Asia, had newes, how Aristotell hys mayster had publysshed and made commõ the bokes of speculatiue sciences, for ỹ which cause he wrote vnto hym letters of thys tenure. It is not well done of the, to publysshe the bokes of ỹ science speculatyue: for in what thyng, shall we frõ hencefourth be more excellẽt then other, yf the doctryne which we haue learned, begynne to be cõmon to euerye man. As for my self, I loue better to be excellent in science, than in puissance & strengthe, farewell. The sciences, ỹ he calleth speculatiue, be the metaphisicals, which, as Plutarche wytnesseth, arne of no vtilitie, neyther to be learned, nor to be taught, & yet Alexander was angry, that they were made commõ. But kyng Fraunces hauyng in hys library, Thucydides the Athenian, translated into our lãguage by so noble a parsonage, as was the Lord Claudius of Seissel (who solẽpnised it for his chief worke) for that, ỹ the sayd boke was not elleswhere to be found, of his proper motion is cõtent to cõmunicate it to prynces, lordes & gentle

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men of hys Royaulme, though that he were an hystoriographier, so highly esteamed amonge hys countrey men, that they causedde an ymage to be made lyke hym, hauing a tonge of golde, for the elegancye and truthe, whiche he vsed in hys hystorye, and that Demosthenes Prynce of all oratours, that euer were, toke such delyte therin, that he wrott yt eyght tymes w hys owne hande. And for trouth none of them that euer meddled therwith, drew euer nere vnto him, to descrue the deliberacions, counsells and explotes, keppnge that, which belongeth to persones, places and tymes. In suche sorte, that for to be compryled & contaygned the examples of all mens offyces and dutyes, aswell in thys boke, as in thole of Diodorus the Sicilian, of the Capitaynes and successours of Alexander, and of Appian of Alexandria, of warres, ciuile and forayne, all thre of one selfe translation, all thre repolyng in the knigly librairy, all thre, not elleswhere to be solid amonge the vulgare people, the kynge perceyuing, that the science of straunge tongues was not yet spred abroade, generally amonge the noblenes of his Roiaulme, hath wylled thys company to be set as vpon a pyllerre, frō whence they maye be sene of all partes, to thintent, that of that, whiche shalbe founden to be therein Imitable and good to followe, A man maye take and vse the teachinges to the profyt of the common welthe and edification of him selfe. And that & lame, wherof men may perceyue the ende and begynnynge to be contrary vnto honestye, maye be prudently considered, for to saue hym selfe from fallynge into the lyke. From hence is it (my ryght redoubted and ryght honorable Lordes) y in steede of Tristrams, Girons and Lancelotes and other, which do fylle bookes woyth dreames, and wherin many haue euyl bestowed theyr good houres, ye haue, by the benefyt of the kynge, no lesse frutefull than, pleasante passetyme, for to knowe what people were Pericles, Nycias, Antigonus, Lysimachus, Eumenes, Hanibal, Scipion, and many other sage and valyant Capitaynes. Whole notable actes be descryued in the volumes aboue reherled, geuynge youre occasyon, to allay by your power to transforme youre selfe into & vertues, that youe shall perceyue to reluce and shyne in suche excellent parsones. And to make your profyt, by the fautes, whiche youe shal perceyue to be therein noted, In takyng fynally for youre defence and guyde thys doctryne, hystoriall, whiche is (as Cicero truly sayth) the wytnes of tyme, the lyght of trouth, the lyfe of memory, the Maistres of the lyfe, and the messangier of Antiquite in all & euery the passages of the one and of thother fortune. Which shall geue youe the clere lyght of true experyence, for to conducte you vertuously in prosperitie, & honorably, to passe aduersite to the right great comforte & quyetnes of your spyryt. But now it is time that we harken, what the translator shall saye, and that makynge an ende of oure Prologue, we begynne to rede hys, and afterwardes, manfully to pursue and followe the principalle worke, in assurance to fynde there, Recompence of our payne.

Here foloweth the Prologue

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ALthough that all mens actes (ryght Christen and right victorioufe kynge) ought to referre them felf vnto the author of Nature, who is the laft ende, to the which, we ought to labour to come by the right way of vertues, & of true good workes, in hope of the lyfe, & felicitie euerlaftynge: & to exchue the path, digreffing frō the fame, and leading to ỹ left hande, to wit of vices and of fynnes, which fhulde bryng vs to perpetuall dāpnation: yet neuertheles our humayne workes maye haue particular endes, not fwarving from the laft and principal. As in thynges worldly, he that maketh warre, although he pretendeth by hys furfte intente, to reuenge the contumely done vnto him, or to defende hys owne, or well to recouer it, yet alwayes the fynall intent (as concernyng worldly thynges) is for to haue afterwardes peace and reft. or for to obteygne glory and renomme. But he, that thinketh on the frayltye of terreftriall or earthly thynges, and of the immortalite of the foule: & that with a true fayth and godly purpofes, he maketh warre: to thintent to defende and kepe the order of charite, and for by this meane to meryte euerlafting reft, and glory immortall. And albeit, that it were more merytorious and conuenyent for our helthe, not to haue in all operatyons, but one onely ende, whiche is the laft and principall: yet for fo muche as that is very harde, & rather a thing Angelicall, than humayne, for to wythdrawe all oure fenfes of the foule, Joyned wyth them of the body (whiche be carnall) and to apply them to the fame, which be feparated from the body, and from earthly thynges, to wyt, to the contemplatyon of thynges fpyrytuall: It behoueth vs neuertheles to dyfpofe and determyne by all meanes to paffe quickely by thefe furfte and meane endes, which be worldely, in fuch forte, that men forget not the fame, which ought to be the laft & principall. As the good pylgrymme, though that he fojourneth in hys voiage for hys neceffite, or for hys commodite, to the ende to be more ftrong and more freffhe to journeye, yet he holdeth in his intente, the fyrft conceyuing of hys wyll, to wytt to parfourme hys voyage. For yf he vtterly left or forgot it, he fhulde neuer come to thende of it. And though that fome tyme he loseth hys waye, or that he falleth into a ftudy in the waye, ayther by curiofite or by other occafion impertinent, yf that he afterwardes come agayne to hys furft purpofe, he fhall neuertheles come to thende of hys pylgrymage, though that it be not fo fone, nor fo eafy. Alfo fuche let may during this, happē or come vpō him, that he fhall abyde in his iourney. Likewife is it, of our worldly lyfe, the which is nothyng but a pilgrymage in this worlde. For yf we do fo abufe our felues in worldly thynges ỹ we put & fully fet our felicite in thē: we forget the ende of the lyfe eternal, & the felicite of Paradis. But yf ỹ we do not perfeuer therin, but as in paffyng: & fo farre as neceffite cōftraineth therin, or wel vfe the thinges terreftrial, principally for to atteygne ỹ thynges celeftiall, ỹ doth not let vs to obteygne ỹ ende of our pylgrimage, but doth affift vs therunto. Thefe endes thā fet in due courfe, & ordeyned to the laft & prynceppall, be & ought to be dyuers in mens operations according to ỹ conditions of the perfonages, & the charge that they haue. For the princes

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and

and temporall Lordes ought to do theyr indeuour and vttermost to conserue and kepe their subiectes by good iustice and policye, in quyetnes & peace, and also by force, yf any woulde do them wronge or els dymynyshe theyr Lordeshyp or landes, through ambition or couetousnes. And likewyse the greate Prelates & other inferyours, ought to prouide for the helth of soules, which be committed vnto thē, through good examples & teachynges, and successiuely, they ỳ haue charge of other, be they tēporall or spyrituall publique or domestical, small or great ought to haue thys same regarde, euery one accordyng to his said charge, And neuertheles in other thinges, not concernyng theyr charges, to procede in their particuler workes by the self way, to thintent ỳ in instructynge other, they lose not them selues, as sayne Paul saith, for in so muche as no mā liuing is excused for charge ỳ he hath, but after the order of charyte, he is bounde furst and principally, to haue regarde to his particular helthe, rather then vnto others. I reherse all these thynges (right soueraīn Lorde) for so much as hauing of a long tyme knowen in you an ardent desyre to vnderstande & knowe all maner of hystoryes, and chiefly treatynge of the life of great Princes passed, & also of cōmone & politique gouernementes of great cities & commō weales, which haue had domination & empire, as of Grekes and of Romaynes: I persuaded my self, that chiefly & immediatly you do it, to thintent to vnderstande the better, howe that you shall behaue your selfe, in rulyng & gouernaunce of your Realme, & of other prouynces, countreys, landes, & lordeshyppes, that God hath committed vnto your charge and gouernaunce, aswell in tyme of peace, as in tyme of warre, and trustyng for your ende principall, in this doing accordynge to your capacite and weakenes (the helpe and grace of God assistyng you) to merite the glory & felicite euerlastynge. For thoughe that sometyme I haue perceyued in youe some prycque of mans glory, specyally in your victoryes and prosperites (which haue bene suche and so greate, that skarcely it were possyble for a humayne creature, howe iuste and holy that he were, not to haue at the furst mouyng, some sparke of vayne glorye and delectacyon) yet alwayes I haue afterwardes seene manye actes and operations in you, which gaue to vnderstand, & haue made me to beleue, that commynge agayne to the secrete of your conscience, & bringyng agayne thenaturall appetite to raysonne, you confessed al to come of God, and wolde not vse your said victoryes after mans couetousnes and desyre, but accordynge to reasone, and so, as appered that you myght do wythout offendyng God or your neyghbour. For yf you had not had this consideration. It is clerely notory ous, ỳ you might right ealely & at many tymes, poursuyng your said victories, haue be hable to establish your estate & empyre in suche sorte, that it had not bene in the power of man to geue you afterwardes therin empeschement & disturbāce: but yf they had ymagyned any thyng agaynst you: it shulde haue bene to theyr great losse & dommaige wbout hauing power to hurt you. But you haue better loued to conteigne & arreste the course of your said prosperites and victoryes by the hongre of reason, ledde & conducted by the feare of God, for the daunger of ỳ, which might chaunce: then for to suffre the sensuall appetite to ronne on ỳ bridelle, ouerthrowen by the leste waye and displeasante to God, as I do take it. For this cause, and hauing good opinion of your Royall maiestie, I haue heretofore bene parforced to cause to comme to your knowlaige many prophane hystories, which ye had not sene nor knowen before, for that they were not translated into the frenche tongue, for some of thē were in Greke, as the same of Zenophone of the voiage of Cyrus, and the same of Diodorus of the successours of Alexandre, the other had bene furst writtone in Greke, and afterwardes translated into Latyne, as the same of Appyan of Alexandria. And thother wryttone furste

in latyne, but neuer were translated into frenche, as the same of Iustine. All the whiche, besydes the pleasure that maye be taken in readynge of them, be full of teachynges and documentes, to hym that woll taste, dygeste and reduce them vnto a morall sense. For there maye be perceyued many passages, which maye greatly serue to the conducte of publique affayres, aswell in the tyme of peace, as in the tyme of warre, And yet neuertheles, consyderynge my Ecclesiasticall estate, and also the seruytude that I beare towardes youe, whiche is suche, that I holde and repute my selfe bounden to desyre and procure youre soule helthe, chiefly: and also the prosperyte and felycyte of youre temporall estate, as muche, as any subiecte or seruaunte that youe haue, for many greate goodnes, which of youre grace and mere motion, you haue done vnto me wythoute anye myne merytes, in all poyntes vndeserued, and for the affectyon and confydence, whiche youe haue shewed, and shewe to haue in me, muche more greate, than my small seruyces maye haue deserued, I thought it not conuenable, that I had laboured so farre in translatynge for youe humayne hystoryes, excepte that I employed my tyme and labboure in some spyrytuall thyng. And therby was moued to translate the Ecclesiasticall hystorye of Ruffinus Aequileian, which is all full of good doctryne, and of good examples, seruynge for youre faythe and for ỹ edification of our consciences. And albeit that I addressed the sayd translatyon to the ryght happy remembred the late queneyoure wyfe, for the singularitie & excellencye of her vertues, and of her deuotyon, and towardnes to thynges spyrytuall, whereby she hath lefte to them nowe lyuinge a memoryall and renõme perpetuall, and an example of goodnes and vertue to all ladyes and women of all estates: yet I well perceyued, that suche thynges were common betwene youe two, as all other were. And that for pleasure, whiche youe shewe of youre grace to take in my translatyons, and also vnderstandynge the dignitie and excellencye of the matter, youe wolde lee, and cause it to be redde, and therin wolde take almuche or more delectation than at other. And notwythstandynge afterwardes hauynge no other matter in hande, whiche semed vnto me worthy of translation for to presente vnto youe, wherof youe haue not had knowlayge, and that I haue not founde in your libzarye in olde bookes, which haue benhertofore translated into frenche by many & diuers excellẽt authours, I haue fynally chosen ỹ hstory of Thucydides the Athenyan, which he hath wrytten in. viii. bokes of the warre of Peloponese and of the Lacedemoniens, whiche semeth ryghte singuler vnto me. not so muche for the declaratyon of the hystory (although ỹ it be very fayre & rare ynough to frenche men, which haue not had many of the bokes of the hystoryes of Grekes at large in theyr language) as for the profundytie and excellencye of the orations and propositiõs (which be called concõs) conteygned in the same. Which comprehende generall teachynge of all waygh-ty thynges, and the hole arte & efficacite of Eloquence, as all authours, aswell Grekes as Latyns do shewe vs. Specyally Cicero, who is the Prynce of Eloquence amongest the Latins. Thinking that I haue done nothyng by the trãslations afore sayd, yf I had not translated thys hystorye, which so greatly is celebrated by all them, whiche haue had knowlayge of the sayd orations & cõcions. And yet for all that, after I had ouerrunne the sayde hystorye, I therin founde so many difficulties, specially in the vnderstandyng of the said orations & concions (whiche haue alwayes seamed right harde to all them that haue redde thẽ, albeit that they were excellẽt in lernyng, as Cicero him selfe acknowlaigeth) that I purposed to repẽt & to withdrawe me frõ my enterpryse, & so much the more ỹ the translatyon, which was made out of Greke by Laurencius Valle, seamed to me very obscure & hard, & truly so had I done, had not bene M. Iohn lascarl,

Deuysing

Deuising with whome of this matter, by meanes of cõmunicatyon, whiche I had had with him in translation of the other Greke hystoryes, purifyed or trãslated out of Greke into Latin, wherof I haue made mention afore, & shewyng him the difficultie, that I founde in the sayde matter, he gaue me courage to intende vnto it, magnifying greatly vnto me the excellencye of the sayd hystorye, & further promptyng me ỳ he woulde correct the latyne translatyon of the same, in places & passages which he thought to haue be altered or darkened. In such sorte ỳ with good diligence, I myght take oute the true sense. And so hauing accomplyshed the sayd translation, I might saye, that I had done one principall worke in the frẽche tongue. Which promptes & persuasyons gaue me such courage, ioyned the desyre that I haue to be hable to presente vnto you one thing singulier in hym self, & not knowen to frenche men: that I enterprysed to parfaycte it, by helpe of the annotacyons and correction of the said Lascary. without whiche, for trouth I coulde neuer haue knowen, howe to comme vnto the ende, aswell for the dyfficultye of the matter, as for the imperfectyon of the Latyne translation in many circũstances. & specially in the moste harde. Therfor I most humbly requyre you (my redoubted souuerayne Lorde) that it maye be youre pleasure to take in good parte this translation. and to accepte it for the chief of the workes of my labourem thys arte of translatyon, specyally for humayne hist ories: aswell for this that I cannot fynde other matter, whiche shal not appere grosse, as concerning this, as also that my estate & my age, togethers with the busynes, in which you haue geuen me charges in Imballades, ỳ you haue cõmitted vnto me for your principal affayres, whan they haue bene most troublesome: haue taken fro me fantasye & facultye to attende or be vacant hereafter to such workes, which appertaygne to ponge people, endewed wt good wytt & syngulyer doctryne, that haue no other busynes to withdrawe theyr fantasyes. Also souuerayne Lorde, I hope that God of hys goodnes hauynge regarde to youre intente, woll change the wille of Princes & people, which haue these yeares passed, made & moued warre against youe through ambitiõ & couetice, as I do conjecture, vsing great ingratytude agaynste you, as it is well knowen, in such wise that knowyng the greate goodnes and playsures that you haue done to them, and the malyce & deceyte of thẽ that haue bene promoters and occasyõ of ỳ said warre & dissensions, together wyth the euils whiche haue chaunced & be to happen, yf it endure, & also your puyssaunce & armye so strong, that soner they maye therin loose, than wynne, lyke as they haue perceyued these two yeares passed, shal cause thẽ to requyre pair. Which God by his meane shall, easely do, hauyng alwaies bene desyred or purchalled on your behalfe, or els fro thẽ, ỳ he shall knowe to be obstynate, shall take away their strength & meanes to execute it, by such remedies perpetuell or temporall, as his diuine prouidence shall knowe to be most conuenyent for the vnyuersal wealthe of Christendome, as he hath alreadye done to some of thẽ. In such sorte, that you may vse the remanante of youre daies in quyetie & reste, to the great reioysing of your good & faythfull subiectes, to the prosperitie & augmentaciõ of your royaulme, & to the perpetuall glory of your Royall & victoryous name in thys world, and fynally after all, to the eternall felicitie of your soule. And I, who vnto this my age, which drawyeth to oldnes, haue not hytherto discharged my self in any charge, ỳ God hath geuẽ me, chiefly in the churche, but haue employed all my time in temporal and worldly negotiations & affayres, requyre hym, that I may in this, ỳ it shall please hym to lende me lyse hereafter, supplye after my frayltie, to the faultes paste in hys seruyce, wythout therfore to be withdrawen fro youre, ther, where it shal please you to employe me, & that I shall perceyue that I maye serue you & your Royaulme accordyng to my estate and condition. Wherunto I holde and repute my

selfe bounden in conscience, and cannot forsake so to do wythout incurryng the detestable synne of ingratitude. which aboue all other I haue alwayes abhorred, as the selfe thyng, that I esteme to be most displeasaunt to God. To whom I praye right soueraygne Lorde, that it may please hym to order our operations and workes in the waye of hys commaundementes.

Here followe the Chapiters

of the fyrste boke of Thucidides of the hystoryes of Peloponese &c.

In the fyrst Chapter, the Author doth shewe that the warre, whereof he woll speake, hath bene more greate then any other, that the Grekes had euer had within theyr countrey or wythout, and recyteth the begynnynge and vpcommynge of the countrey of Greece, and of all the warres, that they had had afore thys same. Cap.i.

The begynnynge of the growynge of the warre of Greece, whiche began betwene the Corynthiens and the Corcyriens, and howe the Corynthiens haupnge bene vainquished by sea, and preparynge them selues to begynne battayle agayne, Imbassadours were sent by aither of both partes to the Athenyens, to get their fauour or confederacyon. Capit.ii.

The oration of the Corcyriens before the counsell of Athenes. Capit.iii.

The aunswere of the Corynthians. Cap.iiii.

Howe the Athenians receyued the Corcyriens into theyr allyance, and sente thē succours, and howe the Corynthiens and Corcyrens had a battayle by sea, in the whiche aither of them toke it, that he had the victorye. cap.v.

The other quarells and occasions of warre that happened betwene the Athenians and Corynthyans, by meanes wherof, al the Peloponesians were assembled at Lacedemonie, to conclude warre agaynst the sayd Athenians. cap.vi.

The declaratyon or propositiō of the Corynthians to the counsell of Lacedemonye, agaynste the Athenians. cap.vii.

The declaration of the Athenyans vnto the Lacedemonians. cap.viii.

The narration and propositiō of Sthenelaydes, in folowyng, wherof warre was concluded agaynste the Athenyans. cap.v.

Howe the Athenyans, after ỹ warre agaynst the Medians, dyd buylde agayne theyr cytie, and the begynnynge of theyr Empire or Gouernaūce in Greece. ca.vi.

Of warres that the Carthagians had after the same of the Medyans, vntyll thys present warre, aswell agaynst straungers as agaynst the Grekes, by meanes wherof they encreased theyr Empyre and auctoryte. cap.vii.

The narratyon or propositiō of the Corynthyans to the counsayle of Lacedemonians before thassemblye of all the confederates. Cap.viii.

Howe the warre beynge concluded agaynste the Athenians by all the Peloponesians in the cytye of Sparte, the Lacedemonyans sent theyr Imbassadours towardes the Athenians for to summone them of certayne thynges. cap.viii

Here Thauctour sheweth incidently the Trahison e, that Paulanias would haue done agaynste the Grekes, and howe he was slayne. cap.ix.

Howe Themistocles duke of the Athenyens beynge persecuted aswell by them, as also by the Lacedemonyans, wente or fledde to the kyng Artaxerses, & there ended hys lyfe. cap.xvi.

Howe after many goynges and commynges, the Athenians toke deliberation, whyder they ought rather to accepte warre or to obey to the Requestes of the Lacede-

Lacedemonyans. Cap.xvii.
The speakynge and the oppynyon of Pericles in the counsaylle of the Athenias, accordyng wherunto, the aunswere was made vnto the Lacedemonias. ca.xviii

¶ The Chapitres of the seconde boke of Thucidides.

HOwe the Beotians before the warre was begonne, dyd prively take the cytye of Platea, whiche helde with the Athenyans, and howe they were dryuen from thence, and the more part of them that were entred within, were slayne. Cap.i.
The great preparatyon of warre, whiche is made aswell on the behaulf of the Athenyens, as also of the same of Peloponesians, and the cytyes that toke part, of thone syde and the other. Cap.ii.
The narration of Archidamus kynge of Athenyens. Cap.iii.
Howe after the persuasyons and exhortacyons of Pericles vnto the warres, all the Athenyans that dwelt in the feldes, withdrewe themselues and theyr goodes into the cytye, and disposed them selues to the assayres of warre. Cap.iiii.
Howe the Peloponesians dyd furste enter the lande of Athenes, and the pyllages that they there made, and how the Athenyans by the counsaylle of Pericles were letted to yssue or go oute, reserued the men on horsebacke, whiche were ouercomme. Cap.v.
Of many exployctes of warre, that the Athenians dyd aswel by sea as by lande, the sommer that the warre beganne, and the wynter folowyng, and also of some allyaunces and newe amyties, that they made in Thracia and Macedonia, and synally of the Publique buryals or funerals that they celebrated at Athenes, for them that dyed or were slayne in the same warre. Cap.vi.
The funerall narration of Pericles. Cap.vii
Of the pestilence whiche was the sommer folowynge in the cytye and lande of the Athenyans, and also of the feates of warre, that were done of thone syde and of the other, and of the despayre wherein the Athenyans were fallen. Ca.viii.
The narration and preposition of Pericles to the people of Athenes for to appayse them, to exhorte them to followe the warre, and to induce and suffre the presente incommodites. Cap.ix.
Of the vertues and commendable conditions of Pericles. Cap.x.
Of some other exployctes of warre whiche were done the selfe same sommer, aswell of the one syde as of the other, and howe the cytye of Potydia dyd render it selfe by composition to Thathenyans. Cap.xi.
Howe the cytye of Platea was assieged by the Peloponesians, battred and assaulted, and by the Cytezins defended. Cap.xii.
Howe the Athenyens had an ouerthrowe before the cytye of Spartolia in the countreye of Beotians, And the Peloponesians an other, before the cytye of Stracia in the countreye of Acarnania. Cap.xiii.
Howe the Athenyans had a victorye by sea agaynst the Peloponesians, and how the one and thother partye dyd prepayre them selues to fyght at an other tyme by sea. Cap.xiiii.
The exhortacyon of the capytains Lacedemonyens to theyr men of warre. ca.xv
The exhortacyon of Phormio to the souldyours Athenyens. Cap.xvi.
How in that same seconde battayle on the sea, aither of the parties reputed him

selfe to haue had the victorye, Cap.xvii.
Howe the Peloponelians failled to take the porte of Pyrea priuely. Cap.xviii.
Howe Sitalces kynge of Odrisians entred the countreye of Macedonia for to conquere it frō the kyng Perdicas, and howe he retourned. Cap.xix.
Of some feates of warre that Phormio dyd in the lande of Acarnania, and of the originall or begynnyng of the sayde countrey. Cap.xx.

¶ The Chapiters of the thirde boke of Thucidides.

HOwe the cytie of Mythilene willinge to rebelle agaynste the Athenians, was by them allieged. And howe they sent towardes the Peloponelians to haue succour, and of a discomforte that the Atheniens had in Noriqua. Cap.i.
The proposition and narration of the Mythilenians at the Assemblie of the Allyes and confederates of Greece. Cap.ii.
Of some great preparations, and of some small feates, whiche were done that same yeare of thone syde and of thother. Cap.iii.
Howe the Athenyas that were allieged in platea and one parte of the Cytezins, dyd saue them selfe by greate force and labour, and passed throughe all the walles, dyches and fortes of the Peloponeliens, whiche held them allieged. Ca.iiii.
Howe the Mythyleniens for faulte of beyng succoured in tyme by the Peloponelians, dyd render them selues to the wylle of the Atheniens, and it was determyned by the Athenyans to slaye them all, and also of some thynges that were in that same tyme done by the people of bothe parties. Cap.v.
The narration of Cleon in the counsell of Thatheniens. Capit.vi.
The opinion of Diotodus agaynste that same of Cleon. Cap.vii.
Howe the cytie of Mythilene was in dangier to be vtterly destroyed, and the punyshment that it receyued for rebellyone, and howe the Plateans rendred themselfe to the wyll of the Lacedemonians, & also of some other feates of warre, that was done the same yeare. Cap.viii.
The defence of the Plateans before the Lacedemonyans. Cap.ix.
The oration of the Thebains agaynst the Plateans, and howe they were slayne and discomforted. Cap.x.
Howe the Peloponelians had a victorie by sea, agaynste the Athenyans and the Corcyriens, that toke theyr parte, by meanes of the dyuysyon that was moued amonge the same Corcyrens. Cap.xi.
The conspiracies and partialities, whiche roase vp, aswelle in the cytie of Corcyra, as in all the other cytes of Grece: by meanes of the warre that was betwene the Athenians and Peloponelians, and the cursed euyls that thereby chaunced. Capit.xii.
Howe the Athenians sent their Armye into Sycill, and of that, whiche they dyd, and that, that chaunced vnto them, aswel in the ende of the same sommer, as during the wynter and aboute the begynnyng of the sommer then folowyng, both in the sayde countreye of Sycill, and in Grece, and also in their owne lande, and howe the Lacedemonyans dyd buylde the cytye of Araclea. Cap.xiii.
Howe Demosthenes Cappytayne of the Athenyās beyng before Leucade, departed to comme to make warre agaynst the Etholyens, and howe he was by thē discomforted

discomforted, and some thynges that were done by the Athenians in Sycille. Capit.xiii.
Howe Eurylochus Capitayne of the Peloponesiens, hauyng faylled to take the cytie of Naupacte, at the persuasyō of ỹ Ambraciens, enterprysed warre agaynst the Amphilochiens and the Acarnaniens, and howe the Atheniens dyd purifye & consecrate the Isle of Delos. Capit.xiv
Howe Hurilochus and the Ambraciens were by Demosthenes, and the Acarnanians and Amphilochians discomfyted two tymes in thre dayes, & of the sluggyshnes that the sayde Lacedemoniens vsed towardes the sayde Ambraciens. Capit.xvi.

¶ The Chapitres of the fourth boke of Thucidides.

Of some exploictes of warre that were done betwene the Athenyens and Lacedemonians, and chiefly howe the place and Isle of Pylus, was alleged by the Peloponesians, and howe the truse was made amonge them whiche were in the armye. Capit. i.
The narration of the Lacedemonians to the Athenyans, & the answere which they had, and howe the truse beyng faylled, they began to warre agayne. Cap.ii.
Of thynges that were done at thys tyme in Sycille, aswell by the Athenyans & theyr allyes, as by them of the contrary parte. Cap.iii.
Howe the Athenyans had the victorye at Pylus. Cap.iiii.
Of a victorye that the Athenians had agaynste the Corinthiens in theyr lande. Capit.v.
Howe they that were dryuen from Corinthe were taken by them of the towne by the helpe of the Athenyans, and afterwardes cruelly slayne. Cap.vi.
Of many victoryes and prosperytes whiche the Athenyans had in that same sayloune, agaynst the Peloponesians, and specyally in the Isle of Cithere and in Thrace and some other thynges. Cap.vii.
Howe the Secilians at the persuation of Hermocrates, made peace among thẽselues, and returned or sent away the Athenyans, Cap.viii.
Howe the Athenians faylled to take the cytye of Megare by the confederacie of some of the Cytezens, And how it was socoured by some of the Lacedemonians. Cap.ix.
Of a losse of shyppes that the Athenyans had, & how Brasidas passed throughe the countreye of Thrace by the ayde of Perdicas kyng of Macedonie, and of some hys frendes of the sayde countreye, for to come to ayde the Chalcidiens. cap.x.
Howe the Acanthiens forsoke the Athenians and dyd take parte wt the Peloponesians. Capit.xi.
The narration of Brasydas to the Acanthiens. Cap.xii.
Howe Hypocrates and Demosthenes dukes of the Athenians made an enterpryse vpon the land of Beotiens, in the which they alwaies fayled, to their great losse and disauauntage. Cap.xiii.
The narration of Pagondas to the men of warre Beotiens. Cap.xiiii.
The exhortacyon of Hyppocrates vnto the souldeours at the Joynynge of the battayle.

Howe Brasidas duke of the Lacedemonyens, toke the cytye of Ampipholis secretely, and some other in the countreye of Thrace by treatie. Cap. xiii.
Howe Brasidas toke the cytye of Torone by treatie and confederation, and that same of Lecythe by force. Cap. xiiii.
The demonstracyons of Brasidas to the Toronians.
How the Athenyās did make truse for one yeare wt the Lacedemonyās. cap. xv.
Howe the truse betwene the Poloponesians and Lacedemonyans was broken, by meanes of the cities of Scione & Mende, which Brasidas dyd take through rebellyon of the Cytezens from the Athenyens. Cap. xvi.
Howe Brasidas and Perdicas hauynge taken some landes from Arribeus, vnderstandyng that the Illyryans came to ouerronne them, departed asunder, & howe Brasydas beynge forsaken of the sayde Perdicas and of hys bende, saued hym selfe from the sayde Illyryans, and howe Brasydas and Perdicas became ennemyes. Cap. xvii.
The exhortacyon of Brasydas to hys men of warre.
Howe the cytye of Mende was taken by the Athenyens, and that of Scyone alleged, and some other thynges that chaunced aboute the ende of the yeare. Cap. xviii.

The chapiters of the fyfth boke of Thucidides.

Howe the Athenyans, by the condnctynge of Cleon, toke the cytye of Torone from the Peloponesians. and of a voyage, the whiche Phear the Athenyan made into Italie and Sycille. Cap. i.
Howe Brasidas had a victorye agaynste Cleon and the Athenyens, nere vnto Ampipholis, in the whiche both the chyef Cappeans were slayne. cap. ii.
The exhortacion of Brasidas vnto hys souldeours.
Howe the Lacedemonyans made peace for them, and for theyr allyes, and after howe they made allyance betwene themselues wythout the other. cap. iii.
The fourme of the allyaunce.
Howe the peace betwene the Athenyans and the Peloponesians was not obserued, and howe the Corinthians and some other cytyes of Peloponese made allyaunce wyth the Argyues agaynst the Lacedemonyans. cap. iiii.
Howe the Athenyans and Lacedemonyans were conuersante the same somer, lyuyng in doubte & dyssymulation, thone wyth the other, and of some exploictes & treaties, whiche were made duryng the sayde sommer on bothe sydes. Cap. v.
Howe the Lacedemonyans hauyng, agaynst the forme of the treatye agrede & made wyth the Athenyans, concluded allyance wyth the Boetiens wythoute them, the sayde Athenyans dyd it lykewyse wyth the Argyues, the Mantynyens and the Colyens. cap. vi.
The tenoure of the allyance betwene the Athenyens and the Argyues the Mantynyens and the Colyens.
Howe after many enterpryses & exploictes of warre, that were done betwene the allyes of the Lacedemonyens of the one part, and the Athenians on the other, ỹ sayd Atheniens at ỹ request of the Argyues declared the same Lacedemonias to haue done agaynst the treatyse of peace and of Thallyance, and to be periured.
How the Lacedemonyans wyth their allyes, beyng ready to fyght agaynst the Argyues & their allyes, before the citie of Argos. A truse was concluded & take for

A truse for.iiii.monethes by the Capitayne wythout cõsent of the men of warre, and howe the sayd truse was broken on the behalfe of the Argyues at requeste of the Athenyans, and the cytye of Orchomenia taken. Cap.vi.
Howe the Lacedemonians and their Allyes wonne a battayle agaynst the Athenyans, the Argiues & theyr other Allyes in the lande of the Mantynyens. Ca.ix
Howe peace was made betwene the Lacedemonyans and the Argiues, and after that, the Allyance, and of some other thynges, that were done alwell on the behalf of the sayde Lacedemonyans, as of the same of the Athenyans wythoute any declaration of warre. cap.x.
The fourme of the peace betwene the Lacedemonyans and Thaegyues.
The fourme of the allyaunce betwene the Lacedemonyans and Thargiues.
Howe the cytye of Melea was allieged, and fynally taken by the Athenyans, & some other thynges whiche were done the selfe same yeare. Cap.xi.
The conference and communycation that was betwene the Athenyans and the officers of Melea for to treate appoyntemente betwene them. Cap.xii.

The chapiters of the Sixt boke of Thucidides.

Of the Yle of Sicile, and by what people it was inhabyted, and howe the Athenyans enterpryled to sende thyder theyr Armye by sea for to cõquere it. cap.i.
Of some small exploictes of warre, that were done the same wynter in Grece, & howe the Athenyans enterpryled to go wyth theyr armye into Sycyle to conquere it. cap.ii.
The narracyon of Nycias before the people of Athenes for to dissuade and put of, the enterpryse of Sycyle. Cap.iii.
The narration of Alcibiades vnto the Athenians for to persuade the enterprise of Sycile. cap uii.
The narration of Nycias vnto the Atheniens, intendynge yet agayne by an indirect fourme, to breake of, the enterpryse of Sycile. cap.v.
Howe the people of Athenes at the persuasyon of Alcibiades, cõcluded the enterprinse of Sycile. And how the armye after that it was rayled, departed from the porte of Pyzeus. cap.vi.
Of diuers opynyons that were amonge the Syzaculayns, of the armye of the Athenyans, and the narrations, whiche Hermocrates and Athenagoras made vnto the people of Sarragolle, and the conclusyon that therupon was taken. cap.vii.
The narration of Hermocrates. cap.viii.
The narration of Anaragoras to the Syzaculayns. cap.viii.
The Conclusyon of one of the officers of Sarragolle.
Howe the armye of the Athenyans departed from Corcira, and howe it was ciuyll receyued bothe in Italy and Sycille. cap.ix
Howe Alcibiades beynge adiourned to aunswere at Athenes for crymes layde vnto hym, went into Peloponele, and incidently howe Hipparchus brother of Hyppyas some tyme kynge of Athens was slayne. cap.x.
Howe after the departure of Alcibiades, the other two capytains Athenyans, hauynge done some small thynges in Sycyle, came to allege the cytye of Sarragolle

golle,and had a bycto:y agaynſt the Syracuſayns. Cap.xi.
The erho:tacyon of Nycias vnto the men of warre. Cap.xii.
Howe the Syracuſayns hauyng choſen certayne newe Cappytaynes,and geuen o:dre in they: aſſay:es,made an aſſault agaynſt them of Catana, and howe the Athenyans layled to take the cytye of Meſſana. Cap.xiii.
Howe the Athenyans and Syracuſayns ſente towarde the Camerins,Imbaſſadours,ayther partye,to bryng̃e them to they: alliance,and the aunſwere that they made vnto them bothe. And alſo the pre:paratyons and pra:ctyues that the Athenyans made the sayde wynter agaynſt the Syracuſayns. Cap.xiiii.
The narration of Hermocrates vnto the Camarins.
The narration of Euphemus Athenyen to the Camarins. Cap.xv.
Howe the Lacedemonyens,at the perſuaſyon of the Co:ynthyens and of Alcibiades,agrede to the Syracuſayns to ſende them ſuccour. Cap.xvi.
The narratyon of Alcibiades Athenyan to the Lacedemonyans.
Howe the Athenyans after they had made certayne pre:paratyons, came to aſſiege the cytye of Sarragolle,and of many bycto:yes that they had agaynſt the Syracuſaynes in makyng and aſſaultyng the rampares and fo:tyfycatyons on both ſydes. And howe the ſuccours of the Peloponeſians came into Sycyle, and of certayne other thyngs. Cap.xvii.

The Chapiters of the ſeuenthe boke of Thucidides.

Howe Gylyppus beyng̃e entred into the cytye of Sarragolle wyth the ſuccours of the other cytyes of Sycyle,that toke hys partye, loſte one battayle,and dyd wynne another agaynſte the Athenyans,and howe the Siracuſayns and Co:inthians ſente Imbaſſadours to Lacedemonie,to haue newe ſuccours,and lykewyſe Nycias doth wry:te vnto the Athenyans fo: the ſelfe cauſe. Cap.i.
The ouerthwart narratyon of Gylyppus to hys men of warre. Cap.ii.
The tenor of the letters of Nycyas to the Athenyans, and the pro:uyſyon, that they made vpon the contenue of the ſame. Cap.ii.
Howe the Peloponeſyans dyd,as ennemyes,enter into the countreye of the Athenyans,and encloſed the towne of Decelea wyth walles. And of the ſuccours that were ſente into Sycile,aſwell on the behalf of the Athenyans,as of the Peloponeſians. cap.iii.
Howe the Syracuſains and the Athenyans had a battayle at the po:te of the cytye,aſwell by ſea,as by lande,of the whiche both the one and the other partye had the bycto:yes in dyuers reſpectes. And of many other ſmall ſyghtynges & erploytes whiche were done in the ſame ſiege. cap.iiii.
Of neceſſytes,wherin the cytye of Athenes was,by meanes of the warre, and how: certayne Thra:yens whiche were comme into they: ſeruyce, beyng̃ ſente backe fo: lacke of money,deſtroyed the citie of Mycaleſus,and afterwardes were almoſte all diſcomfo:ted. cap.v.
Of that,that Demoſthenes and Eurymydone Cappytaynes of the Athenyens dyd in they: Journey,goyng̃e to the ſuccour of the campe,which was at Sarragolle,and alſo of a battayle by ſea,whiche the Athenyans had agaynſte the Peloponeſians nyghe to Naupactum. cap.vi.

Howe

Howe in the meane tyme that Demosthenes & Eurimedō were in theyr Journey to comme to succour the Campe of Thathenyans in Cycile, the Siracusyans had a victorye by sea agaynste the sayde Athenyens, who besieged them. Cap.vii.

Howe Demosthenes & Eurymedon beynge arryued at the campe before Sarragosse, and hauynge in the nyght assayled the rampers of the Siracusians at Epipole, were ouerthrowen and lost manye of theyr people. Cap.viii.

Howe the Athenyans after many consultacions being determyned of theyr Siege, and to departe from it, dyd for a superstition abyde styll at it. Cap.ix.

Howe the Syracusians hauynge an other victorye by sea agaynst the Athenyans, dyd theyr force to inclose them wythin the porte, which they than did hold. Cap.x.

Of the cyties and people that entermedled in the warre of Sycile, aswell on the one syde, as on the other. Cap.xi.

Howe the Athenyans were vainquished agayne in a battayle vpon the Sea by the Syracusyans and theyr allyes, in suche sorte that they coulde not saue theselues by sea. Cap.xii.

Thenatratyon and encouragynge of Nycias vnto the souldyours. Cap.xiii.

The encouragynge of the Syracusyans to theyr men of warre.

Howe the Athenyens and theyr allyes, after the discomforture, departed frome theyr campe, to go by lande vnto the landes and cyties of Sycile, that to the their parte. Cap.xiii.

The declaration of Nycias made to the men of armes.

Howe the Athenyans, beynge with theyr frendes, departed from theyr campe after the discomforture for to go from thence by lande, were pursued by the Siracusians & theyr allyes, and fynally all discomforted. Cap.xiiii.

The Table of the Chapiters of the eyght boke of Thucidides.

Of the pryuyson that the Athenyans (vnderstandynge the discomforture of theyr people in Sycile) made to susteygne warre agaynste the Peloponesians, and howe the more parte of Greece together with the kynge of Perley, dyd allye themselues together agaynst the sayde Athenyans. Cap.i.

How the Lacedemonyans were requyred and intreated by them of Chio, & Lesbos and of Hellespounte to sende them an armye by sea for to resiste the Athenyans, agaynste whome, they were wyllynge to rebelle. And the order that therupon was taken. Cap.ii.

Howe certen shyppes of the Peloponesiens were repoulsed by the Athenyens in the port of Pyreus. And how the cytes of Chio, of Erythrea, of Mylety & many other, yelded themselues to the pleasure of the Peloponesiens, and howe the furste allyance, was made betwene the kynge of Ayze and the Lacedemonyens. cap.iii.

The tenor of the allyance betwene the king of Ayze and the Lacedemoniens, Howe they of Chio after that they had tourned against the Atheniens, caused Mylytenum & all the Isle of Lesbos to tourne from them, and how afterwardes the Atheniens recouered yt, together with certaine other cities that were rebelled

belled agaynſt them. And howe hauynge ouercomme them of Chio in thre battayles, they pyllaged and waſted theyr lande, and of certayne other thynges.
Cap. iiii.
Howe the Athenyans, hauyng allieged the cytye of Nyletum had a greate battayle agaynſt the Peloponeſians, in the whiche ayther partye in dyuers chaunges had the victorye. And howe the Athenyans vnderſtandyng that ſuccours came to the cytye, rayſed theyr Siege, and departed. And afterwardes, how the Lacedemonyens and theyr allyes toke the cytye of Laſe, and wythin the ſame Inforges, rebelle to the kynge of Ayze, whome they rendred to hys lieutenant.
Cap. v.
Howe the cytye of Chio beyng allieged by the Athenyans, Aſtyochus chief of the armye by ſea for the Peloponeſians, refuſed to geue them ſuccour. And howe the ſeconde treatye of allyance was made wyth Tiſſaphernes, wyth certayne other ſmall erplayctes, whiche were done on the one ſyde and of the other. ca. vi.
The ſeconde traictie of allyance betwene the Lacedemonyans and the kynge of Ayze.
Howe the Peloponeſians had a victorye agaynſte the Athenyans by ſea, & how afterwardes certayne of theyr Cayptains, hauynge had communycatyon wyth Tiſſaphernes touchyng an article of theyr allyäce, wente vnto the Rhodes, and cauſed it to retourne agaynſte the Athenyans.
Cap. vii.
Howe Alcibiades, beynge comme into the ſuſpytyon of the Lacedemonyans, wythdrewe hym ſelfe towardes Tiſſaphernes, and perſuaded hym to forſake the partie of the Peloponeſians, and to allye hym ſelf wyth the Athenyens. And howe Amballadours were ſente by the Athenyans towardes Tiſſaphernes for to conclude it.
Cap. viii.
Howe they of Chio, hauyng bene ouerthrowen at an aſſaulte, which they made vpon the campe of the Athenyens with great loſſe of theyr people, were ſtraightly allieged and brought into greate neceſſitie. And howe the treatie that Alcibiades toke in hande to make the allyance betwene the Athenyans and Tiſſaphernes was broken. And the allyance renewed betwene the ſayd Tiſſaphernes and the Lacedemonyans.
Cap. ix.
The thyrde traictye of allyance betwene the Lacedemonyans and the kyng of Ayze.
Howe a greate deuyſyon happened amonge the Athenyans, aſwell in the cytye as wythout, ſpecyally in the armye, which was in Samya: by meanes of chaungynge of the eſtate and gouernemente of the ſame, which dyd them great dammage.
Cap. x.
Howe the Peloponeſians conceyued greate ſuſpytyon agaynſte Tiſſaphernes, aſwell for that he deceyued them of ſuccours whiche he had promyſed them, as alſo for that, that Alcibiades had bene reſtored and called agayne by the Athenyans, whiche were in the armye, and had all the auctorytie wyth thē, which he vſed to the wealthe and prouffit of hys partye.
Cap. xi.
Howe the Athenyans beinge comme into greate deuyſyon and dyſſenſyon by meane of the commune eſtate whiche had bene chaunged, aſſembled them ſelues to comme to ſome accorde and appoynctment.
Cap. xii.
Howe the Peloponeſians had a victorye vpon the ſea agaynſte the Athenyans nyghe vnto Erithrea, and afterwarde howe the gouernement of foure hundred was abrogated, and the mutyne by that meane appeaſed wythin the cytie. ca. xiii
Howe the Armyes by ſea aſwell of the Athenyens, as of the Peloponeſiens wēt into Helleſponte, and there prepared them ſelues for to fyght.
Cap. xiiii.
Howe

Howe the Athenyans had a victorye agaynste the Peloponesians in the sea of Hellesponte. Cap xv.

Here endeth the Chapytres of the eyght bokes of Thucidides, of the warre betwene the Peloponesyans and Athenyans.

Hereafter followeth the Prologue or Proheme of Laurence Valla Translatour of the sayde viii. bokes out of the Greke tongue into the Laten, addressed vnto Nicholas of that name the fyfthe Bysshoppe of Rome.

I Maye well saye in thys behaulf (right reuerende father) that, whiche Ennius the Poete, reherceth to haue bene sayde, by Eneas. In thys substãce, it is great pleasure vnto me to haue eschaped thorough so manye cities of Grece, and to haue passed thorough the myddes of myne ennemyes. For so muche, as hauyng ended and accomplisshedde the charge, that thou hast layde on me, it semeth well vnto me to be escaped & come vnto saluetie, thorough the myddes of my ennemyes. For lyke as some of Themperours of Rome, as Augustus Anthonius, and many other, rested them selues at Rome, to geue order to the polecie of the common welthe: and committed the feate of warres, moued a farre of, to theyr Dukes and Lieutenantes: ryghte so thou, hauyng and takynge charge and care of holye thynges in the religyon of Goddes and mans lawes, of peace, of helthe, and of the augmentacion of the people Romayne, hast committed vnto me, and to many other (that haue knowelaige of the Greke tongue and of the Latyne) as to thyne Dukes, trybunes and Capytaynes, that we shulde submyt holegrece to the, and to thy obeysance, by dyuers meanes. euery one accordynge to hys charge, the most that we myght. That is to wytt, that we shulde expounde and translate for the into the Latyn tongue, all the bokes which we founde composed or made in the Greke tongue. whiche is a thynge honnorable, singulier & greatly mete for a sage personage. For what thynge may be more profytable, more plentyfull and more commodyous, than to translate bokes? Truly in my Judgement it is a marchãdyse of ryght precyous wares. And I do not compare it vnto a small thynge, whan I compare it vnto marchandyse, for there is nothynge amonge men more necessary than the same: whiche fournysheth men of that, that is conuenyent for theyr lyuynge and nurriture, to theyr clothynge and decklynge, to theyr delyghtes and to all other thynges that be conuenable for them. All the whiche thynges, marchandyse bryngeth from dyuers quarters. In so greate habundaunce, that by meane thereof nothyng is lackynge in any parte, and that all thynges be euery where common, in suche sorte, as in a manner, men were (as the saying is) in the goldenne worlde. Lykewyse doth the translatyon of bokes, whiche is so muche more worthy than marchandyse, as the goodes of the soule be more worthy, thã those of the bodye. For by thynges that thys translation doth communicate vnto vs, the vnderstandynges and wyttes of men be nourysshed, clothed, repayred, adourned, and by a manner of speakyng, made deuyne. Therfor there is nothing more delectable, more healthful, more to be desyred, & to comprehende all in one worde, more profytable, then to see trãslated into our tongue all that, that is founde in the Greke, Hebrewe, Caldee or Arabique tongue, be they treaties of histories, of orators, of philosophers, of poetes, of phisicians or of diuines. And ỳ

maye well and clerely perceyue by this: that yf the olde testament had not bene translated out of Hebrieu into latyne, and the newe out of Greke, we other latyn men shulde not haue hadde any knowelayge of God, and to be shorte, yf that I had will sufficyently to laude thys arte of translatyon, I must be more longe & more prolixe, than the tyme and purpole do requyre. But wythout speakynge of other languages for to come agayne to the comparasone that I haue made of the arte mylitarye, and of the warre in thys translation: I repute it no lesse to be thy glory to haue caused to be translated the bokes, whiche yet be founde not translated oute of Greke into latynne, than yf thou haddest brought agayne into subiection of the Romayne Empyre, Asia, Macedonia and hole Grece. Howbeit in dystributynge thy charges and commyssyons, thou hast geuen me one, beit by chance or of lett purpole, so ryght harde: that skarce there is any that can be more. for thou haste commytted to me to take and to expugne by force. viii. stronge places, set in a mountaygne vpon hyghe rockes well nye inexpugnable by artyllery, nor by skalynge, and skarcely to be batered by shot, and also it is very harde to make there any bastillyon nor mynes without sourth. And yet I will not that youe impute thys maner of speakynge that I vse, more to the weakenes of myne vnderstandyng, than to the difficultie of the matter. for all they that haue knowlayge of the Grekysshe Authours confesse by one common accorde, that Thucidides is very harde and obscure, in his orations principally: wherto the. viii. bokes of hys hyst orye be stuffed, and that doth wytnes vnto vs Cicero, whome men called the Greke of hys worlde, in his boke of Oratory, sayinge in this wyse. The same narrations or orations, haue so many hyd and obscure sentences, that skarce one maye understande them. And yf any mā would saye vnto me, wherfore hast thou than taken this charge vpon the? I answer hym: that I haue not taken it, but it hath bene geuen me, or els I would not for any thynge, haue demaunded it. And yf I haue accepted it, it hath bene for thys, that it semed vnto me a thyng reprehensible and vnexcusable to resist the commaundement of my Emperour and mayster. whome I knowe to be so wise and so vertuous. And sythens that it hath pleased hym to do me thys honnour (for so will I take it) to commyt and geue me to subdewe an prouynce, that neuer man enterprysed to assaille, I had rather dye in the pourchace, than to forsake it throughe fayntnes of harte or dysobedyence. Albeit that I haue bene deceyued of a succoure, to whome I yll trusted. to wyt of the Cardynall of Bizance, at whose persuasyon as I beleue, youe haue commytted thys charge vnto me. who is, to speake the trouthe, and wythoute flatery, an excellent Greke amonge the Latyns and an excellent latenist amonge the Grekes. For that, that nowe at the howre, that I hoped that he shulde haue helped me (as he had good knowlayge, and would haue done) he is gone for legate vnto Bullonia, wherby I fynd me as despayred of myne enterprise. not leynge a parsonage that would or might ayde me. By occasyon wherof thou mayest knowe (right reuerende father) that I haue ben in such payne and trauayle, that yf thou wouldest iudge vnto me the triumphe for thys here, as thou haste done to other in lyke case, I shulde not reioyce so muche of the same, as of thys, that I am come to thende or ouercommed my labours. for that, that I founde me many tymes wythout ayde and wythoute compaygnie, in the estate wherin they be, which make mynes in the earth to take a place, or for to fynde the mynes or the vaynes of quarreyes, and whan they haue dygged very deape, they se not lowe nor hyghe, sarre nor nere any thyng that they searched. wherfore yf that by these mynes I haue taken the places, yf I haue founde by dyggynge, the vayne of stones of pure

marbyll,

marbill,and of fyne golde(as I thinke I haue done)it is not to marueylle,yf I be right ioyful to be at the ende of my labours. For,for to speake of Thucidides, he is reputed amongest the Grekes,as the Porphir amongest the marbles, or as golde among metals,for that,that there is in hys speakynge, so muche grauitie,so muche vehemencye and so muche trouthe, wythoute glosynge(which is the pryncypall part in an hystorian)that they,whiche rede it, thinke and beleue that that he wryteth,holye to be true,and that he hym selfe that hath wrytton the hystorye,hath not onely sene the thynges,wherof he speaketh, but also was therin prelydent or chef. As he was for trouth in many thynges,so as shall appeare hereafter by the dyscours of the hystorye, albeit that he was charged to haue to slackely comme to succoure by sea,the cytye of Antypolys wyth the armye by sea, wherof he had charge. By occasyon wherof he was banysshed,although vnryghtuously. Duryng whiche banyshment, he composed thys present hystorye,and yet coulde not fynysh it as he had determyned,beyng preuented by death. And yet neuertheles thys present author and Herodotus haue the prayse amonge the Grekysshe hystoryans,all lyke as Salustie and Titus Liuius amonge the Latynes. For the one of them,to wytte Herodotus, goeth forwarde all playne and easy wythout any roughnes,as a ryuer,that ronneth swetely all hole together wythoute any sourge and wythout wawes. The other,to wyt Thucydides,hath hys course more impetuous and in speakyng of thynges of warre,semeth that he is at the poynte of doynge it , and that he geueth token to fyght. As Quyntilian the greate Oratour sayeth in thys manner. Many haue wryttone hystoryes very elegantlye,but no man putteth me in doubte, that there arne not two,that greatly exceade the other. And albeit ỳ theyr vertue and excellencye be in dyuers qualyties,yet the prayse is egall,almuch to the one, as to the other. To wytt, Thucidides,whiche is brefe and compendyous wythout interuption,and Herodotus,who is eloquent and copyous. The one is more vehemente for to moue mens hartes, the other more remys and gentle, thone is more singulier in hys orations,and the other in hys speakynge. The one is more lyuely,and the other more playsante. Thowe haste than (right reuerende father)by the testimonye of Latynes , what the hystorye of Thucydides in Greke is. And yf thou dyddest thinke, that it hath all the same maiestye translated into Latynne, I wolde forget all the laboure that I haue taken to do it. But more I wyll not,but that thou despyse not my labours,consydering, that the good knyght esteameth nothynge so muche,as to be holden and reputed,by hys heade and Emperour,to be vaillyant and hardy. Thus do I requyre you(right reuerende father)that you woll acknowlaige thys hystorye of Thucidides to be thyne and myne. For yf thoue alloweste it, and haste my worke agreable, I woll repute it common vnto vs bothe.

Here followeth the translatyon of the Lorde Clandius of Seyssell of Thucydydes into the Frenche tongue.

The furste boke of Thucidides of Thistorye of Peloponelia.

In thys furste Chapter the Author, for to shewe, that the warre, wherof he woll speake, hath bene more greate, than any of the other that the Grekes had euer hadde wythin theyr countreye or wythoute: rehercetth the begynnynge and procedynge of the countreye of Greece and of all the landes, that they had hadde before thys presente warre nowe moued.

The furste Chapter.

THucidides Athenyan hath writtone the warre, whiche the Peloponesians hadde wyth the Athenyans from begynnynge of the same vnto the ende. hopynge that men shall fynde it right great and more worthy of memory, than all thother, that haue bene before. By meanes that bothe partyes were than very puissant and plentyfull of al thinges necessarye to maigteyne it. And also for that, that all the residue of Greece did entermedle on the one syde and on the other. Some of them from the beginning and other after the consultacyon. and thys motion of warre was very greate, not of Grekes onely, but also of straungers, and by a manner to saye, of manye dyuers natyons. And albeit that of other warres, whiche were before thys, and chiefly of the more auncyent, there is no greate remembraunce nor certaintie: yet alwayes I esteme by dyuers conjectures, that I haue of manye thynges whiche I haue diligentlye inquyred, that they were not verye greate. nother cõcernynge feates of warre, nother as touchynge other thynges. For that, that it is sueriye certayne, that the countrey, that nowe is named Greece, was not in tymes paste so establyshed & permanent as it nowis. But the inhabytantes therof were oftentymes dryuen awaye by other more puissante, and wente to dwelle in other places. And by thys meane, they had not amonge them any trade of marchaundyse, nor any entrecourse by sea nor by lande, but all in feare. And for thys cause they tylled not theyr lande. but onely so muche as was necessary for theyr lyuyng. Also they hadde not than greate plenty of monney, nother dyd they plãt many trees in theyr lande, for that they were not very certaine to haue power to enioye them. And specyally not hauyng any townes cloled wyth walles, they made no greate matter to be dryuen from thence. thinking that they coulde lyue alwell in an other lande, wherby it maye be sayde, that they were not puissant nor hauynge greate townes nor apparayl of warre. So muche were all the quarters of the same Region subiected to the alterations of people, specyally the quarter whiche men nowe call Beoce, the same of Thessale and manye other that be in Peloponese. referred the countreye of Archadye, whiche was alwayes the moste ryche and most fartylle of all the other. And by meanes therof, albeit that the inhabytantes there were a lytle more mighty, than the other: yet they oftẽtymes destroied thẽselues, by questions & seditions that they had among thẽselues. & further they were greatly subiect to robberyes & pillage of strangers. wherby I fynde þt the countreye of the Athenians & the regyon Attique, hath ben longer inhabyted by one only nation of people, than any of the other, for that, þ the lande there was so barren, þ the other had no care to come thyder to wynne it. but alwayes it hath bene (as men may see and perceyue) by meanes therof more peopled and increased wyth newe inhabitantes, than any of the other, by that

Beoce.
Thessale.

that

that they whiche were chosen out of other countreys by warre or for sedition, wythdrewe themselues thyther, as into a place sure and stable. In suche sorte, that the cytye of Athenes, which is theyr principall towne, and all the countrey came to so greate increase of people, that the lande coulde not nourysshe them, but were constrayned to sende parte into Jonii, and there to make Colonies, that is to saye, townes peopled with theyr nation. There is also an other argument, whiche doth clerely to knowe, that thys was not than anye greate thynge of the sayde countreye of Greece. That is, that it is fully certayne, that before the warre of Troye, that same Greece, whiche also is called Hellade, dyd nothyng by assembly. And also had not that same name vniuersally, specially afore Hellenes sonne of Deucalion, nor yet any tyme sythens, euery countreye hadde hys particular name. But after that the sayde Hellenes and hys chyldren had occupyed Lordeshyp in Theotide, they beganne to leade oute and to cause theyr people to go from the same countreye, throughe the other countrees, and by that meanes dyd enterprise to entermedle, and vse merchaundyse. and then men began to call theym all, commonlye Hellenes, that is to saye, Grekes. And yet for all thys, they coulde not so sone obteygne the same denomination ouer all, by right longe tyme after, as it appeareth by this, that Homere, who was longe tyme after the sayde warre of Troye, nameth thē not all generally by that same name, but calleth onelye them so, whiche came frome Theotide wyth Achilles, who were the fyrste so called. But as touchynge the Danoes, the Argyues, and the Acheans he calleth them by theyr sayde particular names, and nameth them not therefore straungers, for that, as it semeth to me, that thys nomynation was not yet attributed to that hole nation and countreye, whiche we call Greece, nor dysseuered from other. All the which (except ed the same) they name Barbarous or straunge. And for conclusyon all the same natyon, which is nowe called Greece, hadde thanne particuler names. And sythens by vsynge of one onely language, it hath bene commonly called Greke, which before the sayde warre of Troye, did neuer any thynge by assemblye, aswell by reason of theyr powertye, as also for that, that they had no conuersatyon togidre. But to that enterprise of Troye, they went all, by meanes that they than had had conuersatyon amonge themselues, and had frequented to eate together. For Minos, who is mooste auncyent of them of the sayde countrey, of whome we haue harde spoken, assembled a greate quantitie of shyppes, wherewith he dyd holde and rule the greater parte of the sea, which we call presently, the sea of Greece. And fyrst occupyed the Islandes called Ciclades, whiche he peopled wyth hys subiectes, hauyng dryuen from thence the Caryens. And after hys death, he lefte them for inheritaunce vnto his chyldren. And yet neuertheles chased from the same quartier the robbers of the sea, as muche as he might, as it is to be thought, to the intente to enioye the better the reuenues therof. For that, that the Grekes and other nations which inhabyted nyghe vnto the sea and to the Islandes, after that they begonne to vse shyppes, and to sayle, gaue themselues to pyllage and to robbe vpon the sea, hauynge appoynted for thys purpose, the myghtyest amonge them. And thus they dyd, aswell for theyr gaygne or lucre, as also to nourysshe the poore people, whiche dwelled on the lande. In suche sorte, that they dayly pyllaged the townes that were openne, and not garnysshed wyth walles, and wyth the same pyllage, they lyuedde the more part of them, wythoute reputynge the sayde manner of lyuynge to be shamefull or a thynge dyshoneste. But rather dyd take it for glorye and honnoure, as men may see yet at thys presente daye, of manye, whiche exercyse the sayde Pyratycall or theuysshe craffte.

Helenes

Deucalio.

Phthiotia.

Minos.

And that doth also declare it selfe by this, that it is founde wrytton in manye Poetes, that whan the sayde people, whiche inhabited the sea at that tyme, dyd there encounter, they demaunded thone of the other, yf they were not theues. By which it is good to vnderstand, that they, which made suche demaundes, pretended that they dyd no vylleny to them, to whome they dyd it, nor toke it for shame to confesse it. And yet at thys present daye, in many quarters of Grece, they kepe the selfe custome, to wytte, amonge the Ozelians, that be in the countreye of Locriens, amonge the Etholiens, and the Acarnaniens, whiche be in firme lande, by occasyon wherof, they were accustomed to go armed. Whiche was than generall in all Grece, for that, that they had no suertye in theyr houses, nor yet in theyr iourneys. Wherfore they were constrayned for defence of theyr parsones, to go alwayes armed, lyke as all straungers do. And in so muche as men maye yet nowe see that there arne many countreys in Grece, whiche kepe thys manner of lyuynge: it is to be presumed, that it was auncyently the custome generall of all the Grekes. Amonge whome, the Athenyans were the furste, that beganne to leue thys custome, to go thus armed, and so forsakyng that same maner of lyuynge: they gaue them selfe to a cyuile and delycyous lyfe. And it is not longe tyme passed, sence the auncyent of the countrey, (truly they of moste reputacyon) dyd were robes of lynnen clothe tryfles and muskballes of golde and theyr heares tourned and trimmed rounde by nethe. And the same custome and maner of lyuynge hath bene vsed in Jonum by the accorde, whiche they had with the Athenyans. But the olde men sence that tyme there, haue to thys present, vsed a very small sort of habillementes. And the Lacedemonyās, which be most ryche and moste pompous, aswell in habillementes, as in other maner of lyuynge, go all apparayled of one sorte, the noble people, as the cōmone. And they were the furste, ỳ for to wrastelle, spoylled or tourned thē selues all bare & oynted them self wyth oyle. where auncyently they, which wold do lyke exercyses in Olympe had before them lytle clothes to couer theyr pryueties. and it is not lon ge tyme, that they lefte to were them, and the straungers do yet vse them. specyallye the Aliatiques, when they make the prize for the wrastelers & fyghters. For they receyued none, yf they dyd not were breeches. And in many other thynges it maye be shewed, that the Grekes dyd in tymes past kepe those manners, whiche the rude people nowe holde. And to come agayne to our purpose of the cytyes of Grece, those, whiche of moste freshe memory were restoored and peopled, specyally those, that were ryche, and had greate nomber of people hauntynge the sea, buylded other cytyes vpon the portes and hauons of the sea. and that they myght more suerly vse marchaundyse, and also defende thē selues frō their yll neyghbours: they kept the straytes of the lāde, which were betwene two seas, that is called Isthmos, but the auncyent cytyes be very farre from the sea, be they in Iſlandes or in fyrme lande. In the whiche, the furst founders were inhabyted to be farre from daunger of pyrates and robbers. for that, that they warred wyth the one and the other, aswell them, that dwelled in the lowe countreys, as also those which inhabyted an hyghe in the fyrme lande. And specyally the Caryens and the Phenices (which inhabyted in the Iſlandes) vsed ỳ selfe crafte of Pyracy, by meanes that they helde many of the Iſlandes. And that hath bene founde by experyence in thys warre of the Athenyens, for in pourgyng the Iſlande of Delos and plucking doune all the graues of them, that were there deade and buryed, they knewe that more than the halfe nomber were Caryens, aswell by facyon of theyr harnoys, with the whiche they were engraued, as also by maner of theyr burynge, whiche was holy suche, as now is vsed. After than,

Ozolee. Locri. Aetoli. Acarnane.

Isthmi.

Cares. Phenices.

that

that the kynge Minos had obteygned the Empire of the sea in that quarter, he chased the pyrates and theues from all the Islandes of the same sea, and in theyr stede dyd sende other people hys subiectes into many of them, for to inhabyte them. Who lyuing in more suertie, gaue them selfe more to exercise marchaundyse. Wherby some of them became so riche, that they enclosed theyr tounes with walles. And the other, which were most poore, and were not able to assure them selues wyth walles, dyd rendre themselues to be theyr subiectes by theyr owne wylle. to the intente, that they myght gaygne and vse marchaundyse vnder shadowe of them, that were more mightye. Wherupon being so augmented and enryched as is before sayd, in certayne tyme after, they assembled togethers to go to the siege of Troye. Amonge whome (in my iudgement) Agamenon was most myghtye. and he assembled together not onely the shyppes, that were necessary to cary them, which had bene at the pourchyte of Helayne for to haue her to wyfe, whiche were bounde by othe made betwene the handes of Tyndarus father of the sayde Helayne to geue ayde for theyr power, to hym, þ shulde haue it agaynste all them, that for her cause, woulde do any oultrage or wronge vnto hym, but also a great nomber of other shyppes. And they (that diligently haue enquyred of auncyent feates of the Peloponesians) saye, that the same regyon of Peloponese was so named of one called Pelops, who commyng thyther from the countreye of Asia wyth a greate quantytye of golde and syluer, albeit that he was a straunger, yet by reason of hys ryches, he was by the people of the countrey that were poore, honoured. In suche sorte, that they receyued hym for theyr Lorde. And after hys name called the countrey, Peloponese. and sythens hys deathe, hys successours and descente dyd yet get more great lordeshyppe. For it happened that Eurytheus, wylyng to go to make warre, agaynst the Myceniens, lefte Atreus to gouerne hys royaulme of Peloponese, for that he was hys vncle, brother of hys mother, and also the same Eurithens wythdrewe hym selfe thyder at that time, when hys father persecuted hym for þ death of Chrisyppus, whome he slewe. The same Eurytheus then beyng slayne by the Heraclides in the countrey of Attique, the Mycenyens, that feared to fall into the handes of the sayd Heraclides, knowyng moreouer the sayd Atreus to be myghtye, and a man that loued the people, they receyued him vnto theyr lorde. And by meane therof, he was kyng and Lorde of Micena wyth all the rest of þ landes of his said nephieu Eurytheus. By meane wherof, the Pelopides, to wit, the discente of Pelops were more myghtye than the Perseydes, to wytt, the descente of Perseus. Who before had dominyon of that countreye. Agamenon succedynge the same Eurytheus, which also was a man myghtye by sea, more than any other of the Grekes, assembled in the sayd countreys whiche he helde, thys armie, more by force, than by loue, for it is very certayne, that he came to the said siege of Troye with greater nomber of shyppes, than any of the other, and that he gaue of the sayde shyppes, vnto the Acardyans, lyke as Homerus recyteth, yf we woll take hys testimonye to be suffycyent in thys behaulf. For in speakynge, as a man had geuen hym the Royall sceptre, he sayth that the same Agamenon, beslydes the countreys that he held em fyrme lande, had rule in many Islandes. and that coulde no man do that dwelled in fyrme lande (reserued the Islandes nerte vnto them, which were not many in nomber) yf he had not bene mighty by sea And as touchynge that hooste, that Eurytheus brought to Mycena, we maye well iudge, that they myght haue bene they, that were assembled before in the countreye of Grece. For Mitena was a very lytle towne, and though in that tyme it was taken to be greate, yet nowe it wolde not so be taken, whiche

Agamenon.

Tindarus.

Pelops. called of peloponesians and so named

Eurithe us.

Atreus.

Chrisyppus.

is an argument euydent ynough to beleue, that he had not there so great nom-
ber of shyppes at the Siege of Troye, as Poetes haue wryttonne, and as the re-
nome hath rõned sithens. For yf the cyty of Lacedemonies were not inhabyted,
and that there remayned but the temples and comone buyldynges, I beleue,
that in succession of tyme, men wolde not beleue at the syght, that it hath bene
so stronge, and so puyssant, as it nowe is. albeit that it holdeth two partes of the
lymyttes of all Peloponese for hys terrytorye, and ruleth all the remenant, and
that it hath many other cytyes and landes out of the sayd Peloponese in hys al-
lyance. And neuertheles before the sayd cytye was well peopledde and buylded
wyth sumptuous temples and other edifyces (Than whan the people were dy-
spersed through the vyllages, lyke as all the other people of Grece were) It is
clere and manyfeste that it semed muche lesse. The cytye of Athenes shulde be an
other thynge, yf the lyke shulde chaunce, that it were habondoned, for mẽ might
ymagyne and iudge in seynge the greatnes and situation of the same, that it had
bene double more myghty than it is. And thus I conclude that we ought not
holy to beleue that, which Poetes haue wryttonne of the sayd armye of Troye,
nor to haue more regarde to the greatnes of cytes, then to theyr power. And that
the same hoste was greater then any of them, whiche had bene before, but much
lesse then those, that men make at this present, we may well beleue it by the Po-
esye of Homer. For although it be very lykely, that he made the thynge more
greate than it was after the style Poeticall, for to geue more great lustre or be-
autye vnto hys declaratyon: yet were not those same than, so greate, as these
in thys present tyme. And that may appere by thys, that of the twelf hundred
shyppes, which he recõneth, he wryteth that those of the Beotiens caryed euery
one, a houndred and twenty men, and they of Philoctete fyfty. wyllyng to shew
by thys, what the greatest and the least shyppes myght cary, seing that he ma-
keth no mentyon of the greatnes of the other, nor of the nomber of the people
that they caryed. which is to declare, that the greatest caryed but one houndred
and twentye men, and the lesse fyfty. And also it appereth that all they, whiche
were in the shyppes of Philoctete were both warryers and maronners, by that
he sayth that they were all men of warre, aswell the maronners, as the other,
as he sayth. And also it is to beleue, in so muche that the Kynges and Dukes
of the countrey palled the sea wyth theyr puyssance and apparayle for the sea,
that there taryed not many people in the countrey. And also they had not than
shyppes couered and stronge, as men haue nowe a dayes. But they were onely
small slight shyppes mete for to robbe vpon the sea. And therfor (takyng thẽ for
meane betwene the greatest and leaste, he couldde not haue so great nomber of
people in them, that men myght saye, that they had bene sente by the common
assemblye of all Grece. And that chaunsed more for faulte of moneye, thanne for
faulte of people. For they myght not cary but so manye people, as they thought
to be hable to nourysh, duryng the warre. Nowe is it very certayne, that after
they were arryued, they were the stronger. For elles they of Troye wolde not
haue permitted them to close theyr camp vnto the walles. And also they ayded
not them selues durynge the siege wyth all the people, that they had brought
out. But for faulte of victuayles, they were constrained to sende one parte to la-
boure the countreye of Cheronese, and one other parte to robbe and pyllage by
sea. So that beyng so dyspersed, they susteygned warre agaynst the Troyãs, the
space of tenne yeares, aswell in defendynge, as in assayllynge, for that, that they
were indifferẽt and egall in force, by meanes of the absence of the people, which
the same Grekes had sente oute to laboure and for pyllage, but yf they had had

prouysyon

pꝛouision of victuailes, so that without goinge to laboure and pillage, they might haue taryed altogithere, certaynely, they might haue taken the cytie and haue destroyed it, as they dyd after, with muche lesse tyme, but they had inough to do foꝛ a tyme, to defende thẽselues. So than it must conclude, that the waꝛes and armyes, whyche haue beꝛe thys of Troye were very smalle foꝛ lacke of monney. and that the selfe same, whyche is most celebꝛated and most renommed, was muche lesse than poetes haue writtonne. And furthermoꝛe it is manyfest that the Grekes after that warre, were oft tymes chased from thair countrey, and constrayned to go to dwelle in other countreys, so that they had not so muche reste, that they myghte multeplye and encrease. ⁊ that chaunced, foꝛ that they had bene soo longe at the siege of Troye, that at thair retourne, they found many thynges chaunged. and many sedytions aꝛose in the cytes, so that some of them, that had destroyed the sayde cytie of Troye, were constrayned to buylde newe cyties, foꝛ they, whom we call now the Beotiens, being chased by ỹ Thessaliens from the lande, whyche they helde aboute thꝛe skooꝛe yeares, after the destruction of Troye: came to inhabite that countrey, whych is called Beoce. and bifoꝛe was called Cadmee. which, one parte of thẽ had holdenne in tymes paste, and specyally than, whan they departed to goo vnto Troye. And the Doriens, about foure skooꝛe yeares after the sayd destructiõ of Troye, helde Peloponese. And a longe tyme after ỹ coũtrey of Greece beinge with greate difficultie peasable, and the inhabitantes assuredde, they beganne to sende fourth thair people foꝛ to inhabite other coũtrees. Amonge the whyche, the Athenyens dydde people the countrey of Jonũ. and some other Jslandes. And the Peloponesians and other people of the reste of Greece, dydde people Jtalye and Sycille. All which thynges were done, sythens the takynge of Troye. The countrey of Greece, being than bicome so puyssant and riche, there chaunced euerye daye newe rulers in ỹ cyties by meanes of the reuenue therof, whych was greately augmẽted. Foꝛ bifoꝛe ỹ kynges came by succesiõ, ⁊ they had thair puissance, rightes ⁊ pꝛehemynences lymyted. and also they studyed moste in nauigation, by meanes that all Greece dyd than frequente moste commonly the sea with small shippes, not hauing yet the vsaige of greate. wherof the Cozynthyens were ỹ furste Jnuentoꝛs, and there were made the furst galleys, that euer had bene sene in Greece. And sythens one Amynocles the Cozynthyan shyppwꝛyght, made fower foꝛ the Samyens, aboute thꝛe hundꝛed yeares bifoꝛe the ende of the warre, wherof we wꝛyte. And the moste auncyẽt warre by Sea, wherof we haue knowlaige, was bitwene the Cozynthyens and the Cozcyꝛyens, whiche was than there, aboute two hundꝛed and thꝛe skooꝛe yeares. And foꝛ that, that the cytie of Cozynthe is the strayte of the land betwene the two Seas, it was alwayes the staple of the Grekes, whan they vsed marchandyse, yet moꝛe foꝛ land, than foꝛ Sea. By this meane (and that aswell they that inhabyted within Peloponese as without came to marchandise within thair lande) they were moꝛe ryche, than the other, lyke as the selfe poetes do vs to vnderstande, whiche call Cozynthe the ryche cytie. And yet sythens that, all Greece dyd geue themselues to nauigation and marchandyse by sea. After that the pirates and robbers were dꝛyuen away, the sayd cytie became muche moꝛe ryche, bicause that they came from all coostes to lande there. As touchynge the Jonyens, they had a longe tyme after, the vsage of saylinge in the tyme of the furst kynge of Perse Cyrus, and of his sonne Cambyses, so that they defended thair Sea agaynste the sayde Cyrus. And in the selfe same sayson, Polycrates that obteigned the rule in the cytie of Samye,

Boetii. Thessali Cadmei. Dozes. Amynocles. Cozcyrenses.

after

Cambyses. after the tyme of Cambyses, was so myghtye by Sea, that he occupyed many Ilandes. Amonge whyche was the same, that men call Rhema. the whyche he cõsecrated and gaue vnto the god Apollo, who was in the temple of Delos. Rhema. Phocens. After that, the Phocyans, to wytt those, that founded the cytye of Massilia, vayn-Massilia quyshed the Cartagyans by Sea. And the victoryes & battailes by Sea, where-of we speake, were greatest and most renommed, wherof there is any memory. and yet neuerthelas were longe time, after the destruction of Troye. Moreouer the Athenyens, the Egenytes and other, that men fynde by wrytynge to haue had than armye by Sea: had very small nomber of shyppes: and also were very lytle. For the more parte of them, caryed not aboue fyfty men, and that was ve-Iegineti ry seldome. For the Athenyens, hauyng warre agaynst the sayde Egenetes, and fearynge thair strengthe by Sea, Themistocles thair Duke and Cappytayne per-Themi-stocles. swaded them, that they shulde make oute stronge shyppes for to beate them by Sea. whych thynge they did & yet notwithstãdynge, all the same shyppes were not couered. Such was the estate & hoolde of the Grekes by sea, aswel from the begynnynge and auncyentie, as also afterwardes. whereby, albeit that it were not very greate, yet neuerthelas they that intermedled, acquyred and gotte greate riches, greate reuenues and greate lordeshyppes, by meanes that in saylinge, they subdued many Ilandes, chiefly those, that were in the barayne contrey, and lackynge many thynges necessary. Also they made not than anye warre by lande, wherby myght be gottone anny greate puissance, for insomuche as the warres were betwene neyghbour and neyghbour, there was no greate gettynge, vntyll they beganne to go fourth by sea, & to conquere without thair countreys: for they coulde not agre togithers to obey vnto the great and principall cyties of the countrey. And when they were assembled to counsell vpon warre, they coulde not agre of the ayde, that euery countrey shulde make and contrybute, but, wythoute commune assembles, they warred the one neyghboure agaynste the other, so as occasyons sarued thẽ. Vntyll the warre whych in tyme Chalci-denses. past was betwene the Calcides & Eretriens, in the whyche, all Greece was deuy-Eretici. ded & toke part with ỳ one & vò the other. After that, many empeschementes happened vnto euery of the sayd people of Greece, which vòholded thẽ frõ encreasyng thẽselues. For as the Ionyens beganne to augmẽte themselues, Cyrus wyth the myght of Perse came vpõ them, & after that the same Cyrus had vaynquyshed Crelus. Crelus, he toke by force and subdued all the countrey, whyche is betwene the ry-The ry-uer of Halis. uer of Halis, & the sea. As touchyng the other cyties of Greece, ỳ gouernours, that had dominatiõ ouer thẽ, toke no care, but onely to kepe thair persones & thair auc-toryte, & to enryche & enlarge thair particuler howses. And for that cause, went not much fourth of the sayd cyties for to go to conquerre a farre of. Also it is not founde that they dyd any thynge worthy of memory. but onely a certayne small warre amõgest thẽ betwene neyghbour & neyghbour, reserued thẽ that occupyed Sycille, who, were most puyssant. After ỳ saison it chaniced, that ỳ rulers, aswell of Athenes, as of ỳ other cyties, were chased away by ỳ Lacedemoniãs, excepted thẽ of Sycille. For the cytie of Lacedemonie, after ỳ it was encreased by the Do-ryens, who at this present dothe inhabite there, albeit ỳ very long tyme it was troubled by cyuile sedyctions & dissentions (as we haue vnderstand) yet alwayes lyuyng, both in ỳ tyme, & also of auncyentie, in good manners & by good lawes, yt preserued it selfe fro tyrannye, & mayntaygned his libertie. For we fynde, that there were passed more than foure houndred yeares, from the ende of the warre, wherof we speake, ỳ the Lacedemonyãs had hadde, ỳ same fourme of lyuyng & of gouernance of publique wealth, as they presently nowe haue, and also were so

puyssant

puyſſante by meane therof, that they amended the gouernaunce of other cyties. Anone after the tyrantes were dryuen out of Greece, the Medes warred againſt the Athenyens, and vainquyſhed them at Marathonica, and tenne yeares after, the kynge Xerxes came with an inestymable puyſſance for to ſubdue hole Greece. For to reſiſte whole puyſſance, by a common accord of all Greece, the Lacedemonyans, as moſt myghtie, were made chief of the ſayd warre. And the Athenyãs, parceyuinge the commyng of the ſtrangers determyned to forſake thair cytie, and to beſtowe themſelues in thair ſhippes, whiche they had cauſed to be made and apparailled for that purpoſe. and by thys meane, they became people of the Sea. And certayne tyme after that, ỳ by one accorde and by one comon aſſemble, they had dryuen away the ſtraungers all the Grekes, that were rebelled frõ the obedyence of the Perſyans, and ſykewyſe they, that were vnyted to reſiſte them: deuyded them ſelues vnto two factions, the one vnder the Lacedemoniãs and the other vnder the Athenyans. for that, that thoſe two cyties, were moſte myghthie of all the other, to wytt, Lacedemonye by lande, and Athens by Sea. and yet neuerthelas they abodde by a certayne ſmal ſpace of tyme, in good amytie, makynge warre and takynge parte together. But anonne after, warre began betwene the ſame two cyties and thair allyes. and there was no natiõ of Grekes in any parte of the worlde that folowed not the one parte or other. In ſuch ſort, that frõ the warres of the Medes vntill thys here, wherof we ſpeake, they haue bene alwayes in warre or in reſpyte of warre, to wytte, the ſayd cyties, the one agaynſt the other, or ells agaynſt thair ſubiectes, that rebelled agaynſt them. By meanes wherof, they be by longe experyence greatly exercyſed in armes, and alſo be well prouyded of all thynges neceſſary for warre. Nowe the ſayd two cyties had dyuers manner of lyuynge with thair ſubiectes and allyes. For the Lacedemonyens made not thairs, tributoures. but wolde alonely that they ſhulde gouerne themſelues as they dyd, to wytt, by a certayne ſmall nomber of the moſte honeſt people amongeſt them, for thair profytt and vtilitie. But the Athenies by a lytle and a lytle gott to them all the good ſhippes that thair allyes had, excepte them of Chio and of Lelbos, and after dyd laye vpon them certayne tryboute. by meane wherof they made an armye more great and more myghtye on thair ſide onely, than all the coũtrey of Greece had euer made bifore, frõ the tyme that they made warre generally together. Suche was the eſtate of Greece in auncyente tyme, as farre as I came fynde. albeit that it be rycht harde to beleue, if a man wolde narrowely conſyder and debate all the tokens or ſignes. For ſomuche as the people that heare ſpeakynge of thynges paſſed (though that it be of thair countreys and of thair owne anceſters) they ſuffre the bruyte to ſpreade abrode & ronne as one reporteth it vnto thẽ, wythoute enquyrynge any further of the trouthe. For we ſe that the Athenyens bileue and ſay commonly, that Hyparcus was ſlayne by Armodyus and by Ariſtogitone, for that he was a tyrante, and they do not conſyder that in the ſame ſaylone, that he was ſlayne, Hyppias whyche was elder brother of Phiſiſtratus reigned in the cytie of Athẽs. of whõ Hyparcus and Thellalus were brotherne. and that one daye Armodius and Ariſtogiton, who had interpryſed to kylle them all three, imagenynge that thair purpoſe had bene diſcouered, by ſome thair accomplyces, vnto the ſayd Hyppyas, durſte not execute thair enterpryſe agaynſt them, doubtynge that he had bene aduertyſed therof, but yet neuerthelas they determyned to do ſome thynge worthy of memory bifore they were taken, ſo they came to fynde Hyparcus, who was makynge ſacrefyce in the temple, that is called Leocorion, and there they ſlewe hym. And in many other thynges, wherof men haue yet memorye, we fynd that

Marthõ Xerres

Chio. Lelbos.

Hiparchus. Harmodius. Ariſtogiton. Phiſiſtratus. Thellalus. Leocorium.

that the other Grekes haue fauſe opynion, and thynke them to be other, than they haue bene. As the Lacedemonians, who bileue that thair rulers, whan they putt the balles in the boxes in the counſaile to ſhewe thair opynion, dyd putt in euery of them not one onely, that is to ſaye, that they had two voyces. And that there hadde bene a company of pirates in thair countrey, whiche neuer was. So ſloutkulle and neglygent many people be to ſerche the trouthe of thynges. But who wyll conſyder the argumentes, that I haue brought in and approued by thys, that I haue aboue recyted, ſhall not be deceyued. Nor ſhall geue full faith vnto poetes, who make the matters more great, than they are, by fayninges: nor alſo vnto hiſtoriās, who myngle poeſies through out thair hiſtoryes, and ſtudy more to ſpeake playſante thynges, than veritable, lyke as Herodotus dyd. Wher by it is chaunced that a great parte of that, that they ſayde without bryngе any argumentes or tokens of trouthe, by ſucceſſyon of tyme, is holden and reputed for a fable. And yet is true. And although that men haue alwayes iudged thys warre wherof we wryte, to haue bene very greate, and ſithens that it hath bene ended, haue by workes therof, had in admiration the former and auncyent: yet it ſhalbe ſhewed euidently vnto all them, that woll dylygently conſyder the one and the other, that thys here, hath bene moche greater than any of the other. And notwythſtandynge that it ſhulde be a very harde thynge for me to ſhewe all the counſayles, that haue bene holdenne, the deliberatyons, opynyons and cōcluſyons and all the other purpoſes that were put fourth, aſwell in generall, as in particuler, and aſwell bifore the warre begon, as after, not only of that, which I haue vnderſtanderſtande by other, but alſo of that, that I haue harde myſelfe: yet that, whiche I haue harde of credible perſones that were preſent at the communycation, and that dyd ſpeake thynges, conſonante to the trouthe after the comon opynion, I haue putt it togither by wrytynge. And as touchynge that, whyche hath bene done durynge the warre, I wyll not wryte that, that I haue heard ſay of all people, though it ſeme vnto me verytable. But only that, that I haue ſene and that I coulde vnderſtande to be certayne by credeble parſones, that haue had true knowlayge. And alſo it hath not bene without dyfficultie to know the trouthe, for thoſe themſelues, that had bene preſent, dyd ſpeake dyuerſly after thair particuler affectiō, or after as they mynded it. And for that, that we woll not ſpeake tryflynge thynges, it may be well, that our hyſtory ſhall not be ſo delectable to reade and to heare. But they that wyll knowe the trouthe of thynges paſſed, and by the ſame conſyder and iudge thynges that may chance hereafter, luche or the lyke, ſhall fynde it profytable. For thys is not our intente, for to make for thys preſent tyme a tale playſante to heare for one tyme, but a hiſtorie profytable to be knowen forever. And to declare, howe that this warre hath bene greater, than that, whiche the Grekes had agaynſt the Medes: It is very well knowen, that the ſame was ended in two battailes by ſea, and ſo many by lande there, where as thys endured eyght longe tyme. and alſo there happened many euylls by meane ther of in Grece. luche, as no mā dyd euer ſe to happē in lyke tyme, though all thoſe, that haue bene done in Grece, were reconed or accompted, aſwell by ſtraungers, as amongeſt themſelues, were it by townes deſtroied and lefte deſolate, or inhabited agayne by other people, the auncyēt being chaſed awaye by fortune of warre: were it by cytezens or people ſlayne and bannyſhed by dyſſentions and cyuil ſedytions. And yet by an other true tokenne it maye be welle iudged greater. than the other auncyēt, wherof the renome hath remayned: and that is by the ſignes & other myſchappes, ỳ hath bene ſene, aſwel by greate and exceadynge Earthquakes, that chaūced in many places of Greece,

as

as also by the Eclipses and obstinations of the sonne, more ofte, than had bene euer sene, and also by greate extreme heates, wherupon solowed greate samyne, and after a vehement pestylence, whyche brought te many people to deathe. All whych thynges came wyth the warre, whereof we speke. Of the whych, the Athenyens and the Peloponesyans were authors, haupnge broken the peace, that they had made for thyrty yeares after the takynge of Eubece. And to the intēt, Eubea that there be no occasion to enquyre the causes, wherupon this so greate a warre beganne, I am wyllynge to reherse yt here. And I agre or graunt, that the most true and pryncyple was after myne iudgemente, (wherof there ys no speakyng) the feare, whyche the Lacedemonyens hadde of the Athenyens, whom they saw in shorte tyme to be so myghtie. Notwithstandynge, the reasons, that were alleged publiquely and commonly on the one syde and on the other, for the whiche the peace was broken betwene them, were suche, as I shall declare.

The begynnynge of the Arising of the warre of Grece, whiche begonne bitwene the Corynthiens and the Corcyriens. And howe the Corinthiens hauyng bene vanquyshed by sea and preparynge to begyn bataile again, Ambasiadours were sent by auther of both parties towardes the Athenyēs to wynne or obteigne thair aide and fauour.

☞ The.ii. Chapter.

Epydanne is a cytie, which lyeth on the right hand, as men cōme from Epidam
Greece into Iouū by sea. which bordreth vnto the Taulanciēs, which mus. be strangers of the countrey of Iliria. Into the same, in tymes past Tablan came to inhabyte certayn Corcyriens, brought thider by Phalius the tii. Corinthiā. who was of ỹ dissēte of Hercules, sonne of Erathoclides. which Pha- Phalilius was geuē thē for chief or hedde by ỹ Corinthiēs, who were thair superious us. & Metropolitains of the sayd Corcyriēs. wout whose lycēce, it was not laufull to Erahto- the same Corcyriens to go to buyld a new Collonie or habitatiō in an other coū- clida. trey after thair lawes. And with the sayd Corcyriens, some of ỹ selfe Corynthiēs & a nōber of the Dorryans went thider to inhabite. And so it happened, that wtin a small tyme the sayd Collonie & towne of Eppydanne, became greate & mightie, aswell in ryches, as in people. But hauing bene many diuisiōs amonge thē, some strāgers, thair neighbours, made afterwardes warre agaynst them. By meanes of whyche warre, thair force and puyssance was gretly dymynuched, and fynally by the last sedicion and mutyne, whych they had biefore this warre, whereof we treate, the comōs did chase awaye the nobles and the pryncipall gouernours of the cytie. who, wythdrewe themselues towardes the straungers, thaire neighbours, wyth whome they came oftentymes to ouerrunne and pyllage the lande of the sayd cytie, aswell by sea, as by land. whych seinge, they that taryed within, sente thair messengers towardes ỹ Corcyriēs, as to thair Metropolitains, prayinge them, that they wolde not suffre them so to be destroyed, but to sende them some parlone to make appoynctemēt with thē, that were dryuen out, & to appaise the warre of the straungers. which requeste the said messengers made in all humylitie to the Corcyriēs, beinge assembled in the tēple of Iuno. But they graunted thēno prouysion. wherupon the Eppydannyans, seinge themselfe so forsaken and destituted, and not knowynge, what way to take to be delyuered fro the said warre: sent other messengers to the tēple of Delphos, to knowe of ỹ god Apollo,

(who gaue there hys aunſwers) if it were expediēt for them to geue thair cytie to the Corinthiens, whyche hadde from the begynnynge brought thair auncestors into the same, to thintent that they ſhuld come to ſuccour thē. The which god made them aunſwere, that they ſhulde geue themſelues to the ſayd Corinthiens, and take dukes and cappytaynes of thair people. whyche aunſwere receyued, they ſente thair Imballadors towardes the ſayd Corinthiens, to ſhewe thē, how that they had bene brought to the ſayd place of Epydanne by one of thair citezeins, and alſo that they were admonyſhed, by thaunſwere of god Apollo, to comme to render themſelues vnto them. Seinge whyche requeſte, the Corinthyens deliberated to go to ſuccour them, aſwell for that, that they reputed thē almuche thair burgeoſes, as of the Corcyriens, as alſo for the hatred that they had agaynſt the Corcyriens. who, albeit that they had auncyētly bene thair burgeoſes, and that the cytie of Corcyre had bene founded and peopled by the Corynthiens, yet they palled not vpon them. and in thair publique feaſtes, dyd not them the honnours, whyche the burgeoſes of a towne were accuſtomed to do to thair cytie Metropolytayne. And alſo in thair ſacrifices, they gaue not to the cytezeins of Corynthe. any place more honnorable, than vnto other. And the ſayd Corcyriens dyd thys for that, that they were than, very ryche and mightie by monney and all apparaille for warre, almuche or more than any other cytie of Grece. they were alſo fyerce, for the puyſſance that they had had by ſea, yet more greate, than they at that tyme had. And for the glory, that the Phaetians, who before had inhabited in thair cytie, had hadde in feates of the ſea. whyche moued them to kepe alwayes an armye by ſea, whyche they than had myghty inoughe. For at the houre that they begamme the warre, they had ſix ſkoore ſhippes. The Corynthyens, than being hatefull to the Corcyriens for the reaſons aboue ſaid, ſente of thair people to garnyſhe the towne of Epydanne, and alſo ſome Imbrothiates and Leucadyans, and further ſuffred to all thoſe of thair cytezeins and ſubiectes, that wolde, to go thider to inhabyt. And for that, that the Corcyriens were ſtronger by ſea, fearynge that they wolde impeſche thair people, whyche they ſente to ſuccour the ſayd Epydamnyans, if they wente by ſea, they cauſed thē to go by lande vntill Apollonia, which was one of thair townes. whā the Corcyriens vnderſtode, that the Corinthians garnyſhed the ſayde towne of Epydanne wyth thair people, and thinhabitātes therof were geuen vnto them, they were greatly diſpleaſed. So they incontynently ſente thider an armye with xxv. ſhyppes. and wyth an other nomber of ſhyppes, to trouble them the more, they ſente them, whome they had chaſed oute of Epydanne afore ſayde, whyche came furſte vnto them to render themſelfe, ſhewynge thair auncyente nobilitie, whyche myghte be ſene in the ſayde place by the graues of thair auncestors, prayinge them that they wolde ſette them agayne into thaire houſes and to chaſe awaye the garnyſon of the Corinthians. And for that, that the ſayde Epydamnyēs refuſed to receyue thē & to obey to the ſayd Corcyryens, they came to aſſiege thē wyth fourty ſhyppes accountyng them wyth the bannyſhed men, whome they wolde haue ſette agayne into the towne. and they called to thair allyaunce the Illyriens, neyghbours to the ſayde cytie. Hauynge than aſſyeged the towne, they cauſed yt to be cryed wyth the ſounde of a trompett, that the habitantes or other ſtraungers, that were within the ſame, myght comme fourth in ſuerty, and they that wold tary wythin were declared enemys. But ſeing that none of them came fourth, they determyned to aſſaulte the towne. whyche is ſituated vpon a dyſtreayte of land, & compaſſed about with the ſea on both ſides. The Corinthiās being aduertyſed of this ſeage, aſſēbled thair army to go for to ſuccour

Phea-ces.

Imbro-ciate.

Leuca-dii.

Apollo-nia.

uccour thair people.and ordayned to sende to the sayd place of Eppdãne a new Colonie of thair citezens.and so made suche an ordenaunce,that they,that wold not than go wyth the other,whyche presentely wente thyther for to dwell there, might afterwardes come,and haue asmuche parte as they. payinge from that tyme to the people of Corynthe,syxtene groates a pece,so there were many that payde monney, to be there receyued afterwardes.On the other syde the Corynthiens sente towardes them of Megare, to pray them that they wold sende thẽ thair shippes for to accompaigny them,if the Corcyriens wold empesche them. who sente vnto them.viii.shippes wel appointed.They of Paules,that is a cytie of Cephaleniens,iiii.the Epidauriãs hyne.The Harmyõs,one.The Troesaniãs, twayne.the Leucadians,tenne. and the Ambraciotes.viii.as touchyng the Thebanis and the Philasiens, they demaunded of them monney, and of the Helus, empty shippes and monney. besydes thys, the sayd Corinthiens hadde on thair syde,thyrty shippes armed and apparailled,and thre thousande fote men. whan the Corcyriens vnderstode the greate preparation that the Corynthians dyd make,they sente towardes them messengers, and withe them came thider Ambassaders from the Lacedemonyens and Sycionyans. who demaunded of the Corinthiens,that they shulde withdrawe thair garrisone from Eppdanne,wyth thair burgeoses.that they had sent thyder to inhabitt ther,for that,that they had nothynge to do with the Eppdannyans. and if they there pretended any ryghte, they offred to stande to the ordenance of some of the cyties of Peloponese,suche as they shulde deuyse together. and if they wolde not stande to the ordenance of man, they were content to be iudged by god Apollo Delphique, rather than to make warre wyth them.And that they shuld wel aduyse and thynke,that if they wolde come by force,they shulde constrayne the same Corcyriens to make newe allyances for to defende thẽselues.wherunto the Corynthiens aunswered them, that if they cauled the shippes and straungers that were bifore Eppdanne to be withdrawen,the rest myght afterwardes be commoned vpon.For it were to no purpose,to speake of puttynge the matter in iustyce, hauing thair Siege afore the towne. To thys the Corcyriens replyed,that they were content to do yt,prouyded that the Corinthians shuld withdrawe thair people frõ the towne. & therupõ wolde geue such suertie by othe, as was accustomed,& that both parties shulde surceasse all exploictes of warre vntyll the dyfference shulde be determined.But the Corinthians,who bifore had thair people embarqued & the succours of thair allyes all ready, wolde not so agree.but sente bifore an herault, to defye the Corcyriens,& by & by departed from thair porte with.lxxv.shyppes & two thousande fote men to go agaynste Eppdanne, fully determyned to fight agaynst the Corcyriens.Now ỹ cappytaynes of the shyppes were Aristeus,sonne of Pelicas,Callicrates sonne of Calle,Timanor,sonne of Timates,and of the footemen,Archetymus sonne of Eurythmus,& Isarchidas, sonne of Isarrus. beinge than arryued with thair armye for anempste the towne of Actie, in the quarter of Anactorie,where the temple of Apollo is,in the distrayt of ỹ goulphe of Ambracyens: the Corcyriens sente vnto theme an heralte in a brigantyne, to shewe them,that they shulde not come further agaynst them.& in the meane tyme they dyd make ready thair shippes & putt themselfe in battayle,tarynge for the aunswere,whych being cõme,and vnderstandinge by the same,that there was no hope of peace,they began to sayle agaynst thẽ. the nõber in all was. lxxv. shippes,,the fyfty reconed,whyche were at the siege of Eppdanne. So anone the two armyes came to mete the one the other, and the battayle was very sharpe. but the Corcyriens had ỹ victory very glorious. For there were fiftene shippes

Magara. Pales. Cephalenii. Epidaurii. Hermiones. Croezenii. Leucadii. Ambraciate. Thebani. Phliasii Aristeus Callicrate. Timanor. Archetimus. Isardichas. Actium. Anactoria.

D.ii. of the

of the Corinthyens, all to cruſshed and drowned. After whych victory, the ſelfe ſame daye, the Eppdamnyēs dyd render themſelues by compoſition. whych was ſuche, that the ſtraungers ſhulde be ſolde, and the Corynthiens pryſonniers to be vſed at wylle of the ouercommers. For thys victory the Corcyriens ſett vp their Trophe of ſpoyle vpon the mounteine nighe to Corcyre, named Leucyma. and ſlewe all the pryſonners, that they had taken within the towne, excepte the Corinthyens, whome they kepte pryſoners. And folowynge their victory, after that the Corynthyens, whyche ſhaped the battayle, were retourned: they toke all that, which they helde nygh to the ſea, and paſſynge fourth, they pyllaged and deſtroyed all the territorie of Leucada, whyche was one of the Colonies of the Corynthyēs. and afterwardes dyd burne the towne of Cylenes. wherin was the chyef of the Elyenes, for that, that they had ayded the Corynthiens with monney & with ſhyppes, & in effect, by ryght longe tyme after the victory, they kepte the ſea at thaire playſure, doing muche euyll and domnmaiges to the frendes & allyes of the Corinthiens. Until ſuche tyme that the Corynthyans, ſeynge their frendes ſo myſuſed, ſente a freſhe a newe armye by ſea. and came to pytche their campe in Actie. and nygh the ryuer of Thelphrotyde, that they myghte defende and ſuccour Leucade and the other cyties, that toke thaire parte. And on the other ſyde, the Corcyriens lodged thair campe, aſwell on the ſea, as on lande in Leucyne, whiche was directly ouer anempſte the other, and all the ſommer both campes dyd contynue wythoute wyll to aſſayle or drawe nyghe the one to the other, and in begynnynge of wynter they retourned bothe into hys houſe. Nowe the Corynthiens did ſo lamente for the victory that the Corcyriens had hadde agaynſte them, that they neuer ceaſed afterwardes to make ſhyppes, in ſuche ſorte, that they rayſed agayne a newe armye by ſea, very puyſſante. For they gathered togither for monney, maryners and ſouldeors aſwell of Peloponeſe, as of all the remennant of Grece. wherof the Corcyriās, (whan they vnderſtode yt,) were greatly aſtonyed. For that ſpecially, that they had no allyance wyth any other of the cyties of Grece. For they were not wyllinge to bynde themſelues to take parte wyth the Lacedemonyens, nor wyth the Athenyans. So they thought it expedyent to ſende Imbaſſade towardes the Athenyans to make allyance wyth them, and to gett of them ſome ſuccour, if it were poſſible. whyche ſeinge the Corynthians, they lykewyſe ſente thair Imbaſſade to the Athenyens for to lett, that they ſhulde not geue any ſuccour to the ſayd Corcyriens.

So they were harde in the counſaille of Athens, the one byfore the other. and the Corcyriens beganne in the maner that folowyth.

Trophe is a ſygnefyed vp in token of victory.

Leucima.

Leucada.

Cillenes

Elienes

Thelphroditi

The Oration of the Corcyriens

before the counsayle of the Athenyans.

Ca.iii.

IT is reasonable, lordes Athenyans, that they whyche comme vnto thair neygbours, for to requyer of them ayde, lyke as we nowe come towardes youe, if they cannot shewe any plaisirs and secuites by them donne in tymes passed, nor anye allyance. wherby they arne bounden to do yt, that than they declare vnto them furste that the plaisir whiche they demaunde of them, ys for proffytt of them, of whome they requyre it. and it is the most expediēt meane for to perswade. if that it may be vereyed. And if that may not be, at the leaste, that it shall not noye or bryng any dommage vnto them, & fynally that they shall perpetually bynde them, vnto whom they shall doit. And if they ne may nor cā shewe any of the said thynges, they ought to take it in worthe, if mē refuse to graunte thair demaunde. All whyche thynges, the Corcyriēs, whyche haue sente vs hyther to make allyaunce with youe, do perswade themselues to be hable to veryfie and approue. And al be it that the opynion that we haue had vntyll this present wythoute raysone, may be dommageable vnto vs, for the necessitie, wherin we now be, (for we were not willing hertofore to make allyance wyth any parsone, vntyll tyme that we had some necessitie, and at this presente, hauyng warre wyth the Corinthyans, we be constrayned to comme to requyre it, whereby it chaunceth that that, whyche we iudged in tymes past to be modestnoulnes and prudence, to wytte not to bynde ourselues by allyaunce to any other, to the intent, not to be by that meane constrayned to put our estate in daunger for thair appetite, it is nowe ymputed vs for follie and lacke of wytt) yet alwayes, wythoute helpe of any persomme, we repulsed and chased away the armye be Sea of the Corynthiens whyche came to assaulte vs, but seynge, that our ennemyes do fortyfie themselues, and take ayde of the countrey of Peloponese and all the remnant of Greece, for to come afresh to ouerrunne vs, & knowing, that we arne not puyssante inoughe to resiste so greate a multytude, and that yt shulde be greate daunger for vs, if we shulde comme into thair subiection, we arne constrayned to serche lykewise for succour on all sydes, where we may haue yt. And it is to be pardoned though we presume nowe to do agaynst our auncyent custome and opynion, wherein we haue longe persevered through errour, and not of malyce. And if youe wol throughly heare what we woll saye, this allyance, whyche we demaunde of necessyte of youe, shalbe honorable and profytable by many reasons. Furste that youe shall ayde them, that be outraged or wronged, and not thole that do wronge. Secondarely by that, that youe shall succoure them that be in ryghte greate daunger, youe shall employe that benefyt in that place ꝑ euer shalbe hadde in remembrance, and furthermore beynge myghtie by sea as we bee, consyder whan there maye euer comme a better occasyon for youre increase and prosperyte, and to the greater descouragynge of your ennemyes, than to see to be offered vnto youe (and that wythoute any coste or daunger) the greate puyssance, whyche youe shulde buy at hyghe pryce and wythe greate intercessyon. and besydes thys, youe shall gette prays of all natyons, and an perpetuall obligatyon of them, that youe shall haue defended, and also youe shall greatly increase youre strengthe. All whyche thynges haue not bery oftentymes chaunced to oure remembrance. and it hathe not bene many tymes sene that they that requyred succoure of other in feate of

warre, haue offredde them almuche ayde and succure, as they demaunded of them. And if any man woulde say that we came sarue for nothynge but in tyme of warre, and that yow haue done, truly he deceyueth hymselfe greatly and vnderstandeth not, that the Lacedemonyans, fearynge your puissaunce, do prepare themselues to warre agaynst you, and that the Corynthiens, whyche haue great amytie with them and be your ennemies, go aboute to subdue vs, for to haue afterwardes the better meanes to assaulte youe, to the intente that we, whome they hate as they do you, shulde not be hable afterwardes to come to succour you. and that we shulde not putt them by of one of the two opynions that they haue, to wytt to hurte vs and to fortefie themselues. Wherfore reasone woll that you receyue vs into your allyance, sythens that we requyer it. And by this mean that youe preuent thair imaginacions & pretenses, rather than to be afterwardes constraynned to vse to comme by contrarys and newe remedys. And if they woll say, that it is not honnest that you receue into your allyance thair burgeoses, they ought to consyder, that euery Colonie or cõpany of inhabitantes ought to honnor hys cytie Metropolitayne, that hath founded it, whã that it doth him good, but if it entreateth thother noughtely, it must departe frõ his frendeshipp. For men do not sende Citezeins into newe places to inhabitt, to the intent that they shulde sarue them that tarved in the cytie, but to the ende, that they may be lyke and as brotherne. Nowe it is very notorious that the Corynthyans hathe wronged vs. for where we presented them to stande to tryall and iudgement touchynge the cytie of Epydanne, they had leuer debate thair quarelle by warre, than by frendeshyppe. And that whych they do agaynst vs that be thair burgeoses and parentes, ought to make you wyse. and not to suffer yourselues to be deceyued with thair trõperies nor to obey to thair fraudulente requestes, for he lyueth in suertye, that agreith not to his ennemyes, in the thynge, wherof he may repente hymselfe. And somuche the rather youe ought to receyue vs vnto your allyance, that in so doinge, the Lacedemonyens cannot say, that youe haue done againste the treatie of peace, that is betwene you and them, consyderyng that we are not allyed to thone nor the other. And by the same treatie it is prouided, that if there be any cytie of Greece, that be not allyed to the one nor to the othere of the sayd cyties, yt may allye it selfe vnto whyche of them yt woll. And yt shuld be very strange and vnreasonable, that they myghte arme thair shippes not onely with your frendes and allyes, but also with your subiectes, and that it may not be lawfulle for youe to accepte an allyance, whyche men comme to offerre to you. nor to do your profit there, where youe may, and that it shuld be imputed vnto youe for cryme or offence if youe dyd graunte vnto vs that whych we demaũde. Truly we shuld haue muche greater cause to sorowe for youe, if you wolde not graunte vs our requeste whyche be not your ennemyes, seing vs in suche dangier. And howe muche goodnes so euer youe dyd, youe shulde not therby appease thies here, which be your ennemys, of thair ill intent & purpose. but youe shulde permyt thẽ through your necligẽce to take away your strẽgth, which you ought not to do, but rather to defẽde, that none of your subiectes shuld go to thair wages. and in receyuyng vs to your allyance, to sende vs suche succour, as youe shal thynke good, openly, wherby many comodyties shal come vnto youe lyke as we haue shewed in ỹ begynnyng & aboue al other do shewe thys folowyng. For it is notorious, that thies here be our enemyes, & also they haue power to chastise & correcte thẽ ỹ they repute to rebelle, against thẽ. wherfore seing that we do offre you a fellishyp & alliãce to ayde you & sarue in ỹ sea, & not onely by land, in suffring vs to be lost, you shal haue much greter losse & dõmage, thã if you did lese but people

he dwelth in foolysshe that agreith not to his ennemyes

ple of mayne lande. For youe ſhulde bryng it to pas (yf you coulde) that none myght be ſo puyſſant by ſea as you, and yf you coulde not do that, at the leaſte that all they that hadde power there, might be your frendes and allyes. I haue no doubte that the cauſes whiche we ſhewe, do not ſeme to euery of you, bryefe and profytable, but ſome maye feare, that in thus doyng, youe ſhulde breake the peace. Unto whome we anſwere. That it is better for you not to truſt ſo much to that confederation, and for to encreaſe your ſtrength, by meanes wherof you ſhall kepe youre ennemyes in feare, rather, than truſtynge therunto, not to be wyllynge to receyue vs to youre allyance, and to abyde more feble, ſeynge your ennemyes ſo ſtronge. Who yf they ſubdue vs, ſhalbe holy aſſured of theyr purpoſe. And on the other parte they that make thys doubte, do not well conſyder the profyt and honoure of the cytye of Athenes. For thys queſtyon here is not onely for Corcyre, but alſo for them of Athenes it ſelf. For that, that they maye well perceyue that the warre is prepared not to be made at a longe tyme hereafter, but preſently. Wherfore there ſhulde be no difficultie to receyue into youre amytie and allyance oure cytye of ſo greate importance, beynge frende or enemy, conſyderynge that it is ſo ſituated, that by the ſame, one maye eaſely paſſe into Italye and into Cycile. and alſo let, that ſhyppes may not paſſe from the ſayde places into Peloponeſe, nor from Peloponeſe thyder, nor elleſwhere. Beſydes many other commodites and profittes, that you maye haue by the ſame. And for to reherſe in ſhorte wordes the ſubſtaunce of that, which I haue ſayde, I cõclude that you ought not to refuſe vs, but to conſyder that there be thre cytyes in Grece, myghtye by ſea, to wytt, ours, yours and that of the Corinthians. And yf you refuſe to ioigne ours wyth yours, and ſuffer that it be added to the ſame of the Corynthyans, you ſhall afterwardes haue warre wyth the Peloponeſiãs and wyth the Corcyryens. Where yf you retaygne vs, you ſhall haue more ſhippes and force by ſea for to reſiſte youre ennemyes. Thus ſpake the Corcyryans. and afterwardes the Corinthians were harde, who ſpake in this maner.

The naration and anſwere of the Corintiahns to that ſame of the Corcyriens.

The.iiii. Chapter.

For lomuche as thies Corcyriens here, haue not onely ſpoken of thair caſe for to be receyued to your allyaunce, but alſo of vs, ſaying that we haue bruſtely bigonne warre vpon them, it is neceſſary for vs to make mention of bothe. and afterwardes to ſhewe youe, that youe ought to admit our demaunde (which is very reaſonale) and to reiect the prouffites, that they here do preſente youe againſt reaſone. They furſt ſay, that by modeſtie they neuer haue made allyance wyth any cytye. But truelye yt hath not bene, neyther for modeſtye nor for vertue, but throughe noughtynes, for that, that they woulde not haue any compaignyon nor wytnes to theyr myſcheues and yll dedes, that myght rebuke nor warne them of theyr ſhame. Alſo the ſituatyon of theyr towne, is mete to make, that they maye be arbyters of the oultrages that they commyt wythout commynge into any iudgemente of reaſone. For that they wente not muche into other Regyons, but the other nations came to them for marchaundyſe. And ſo that, whiche they pretende for theyr glorye, not to haue wylled to make allyance wyth other people, hath not bene

to that intent, that they had not bene partakers and felowes of the vyolences & iniuryes that the other commytted lyke as they fay: but to the ende that of thofe crymes that they dyd perpetrate, there fhulde be no arbitratours nor wytnes. And where they were ftrongeft, myght wrong the other, thinking that fo much they made theyr profyt the more, that their pyllage was more fecrete, and alfo hadde therin the leffe fhame. And yf they were fo honneft people, as they faye, they fhulde fhewe more theyr vertue and wyfdome, in geuyng and receyuynge thinges raysonnable. which they haue not done towardes other, and leffe towardes vs. For albeyt that they be oure burgeofes, and that we haue founded and eftablifhed them, yet notwythftandynge before thys tyme, they be departed from vs, and nowe they warre agaynfte vs. And where they faye, that we haue not fent them from our cytye to inhabyte there for to be euyll intreated or wronged by vs, we anfwere them, that we alfo haue not lodged the there, to receyue oultrages and vilanyes of them, but for to be alwaies theyr fuperiours. And that they fhulde honour vs fo, as reafone woll, and as they do, & we haue fente to other Colonies. All the which beare vs fingulier loue and reuerence. Whereby it may fuffyciently appeare, that inafmuche as we be agreable to all the other, whiche be in greater nomber: they heare do wrongfully hate vs. and yf we haue warred agaynfte them, it hath not bene wythoute reafon, nor for a fmall caufe. And in fo muche as we haue done them good for a fmall occafyon, rayfone wolde that they fhuld haue endured and borne with our angre, and fo we fhulde haue had regarde to theyr pacience & modeftie. But they, truftynge in theyr ryches, after many infolencies, that they had vfed againft vs, came to take and occuppye the towne of Eppydanne. which is of our iurifdictiō. And alfo they toke it not than, whan it was trauailed by warre of ftraungers, but at that tyme, when we came to fuccour it. And they yet wholde it by force. And it anapleth not to faye, that before they had done it, they were willing to fubmyt it to tryall and iudgement, for this is not to purpofe whan a man hath occuppyed & holden a thinge frō another, to appeale it vnto iudgement, but men fhulde prefent fuche partes before they come by force. which they haue not done. but they offred vs the waye of iuftyce onely at that tyme, whan they helde the towne afieged, and that they fawe vs ready to come to fuccour it. And not content with that, they arne come hyther towardes you, to requyre, that you wolle receyue them vnto your allyance, and to be theyr compaignyons. And that not onely to the warre, but alfo to theyr vyolences and vnryghtuoufnes, beynge oure ennemyes. which thing they fhuld rather haue demaunded, whan they had nothing done vnto vs, and not nowe, that they haue wronged vs, and fet themfelues in daunger. and fithens that you haue had no partycypatyon wyth them, nor receyued any fauoure of them than, whan they were wythout bufynes, you ought not nowe at thys preſente, to communycate to them your power. But rather, as ye haue not bene partakers of theyr offences, fo oughte ye to kepe your felues from incurrynge for theyr caufe, into any faulte towardes vs. For it is to them, which haue in tymes paſſed communycated theyr force wt their frendes, that men ought, whan the cafe requyreth it, to render the lyke. But ye that haue not in anye thynge participated of the crymes and vyolences of thefe here vnto thys preſente, haue no occafyon to entermedle of their affayres for the tyme to comme. Nowe we haue declared to you, and done to be knowen (as it apperteygneth) that we be grounded in good reafone, & equitie againſte them here, and that they haue oultraged vs, by their violence & couetyce. It nowe reſteth to cauſe it to appeare, that you may not wt reafone

receyue

This is not to purpofe whan a man hath occuppyed & holden a thinge

receyue them into your amytie and allyance. For albeit that it be sayde by oure treatie of peace, that it is lawfull for all the cytyes of Greece, that were not of your alliance, nor of ours, to ioyne them to which of vs they wolde, that is not to be vnderstanded, that they maye do it to the preiudice of the other partie. but it is ment for them, that haue nede of ayde, and demaunde it. Wythoute that, ỹ they, of whome they demaunde it, shulde depart from the allyance of the other. And not for them, that vnder colour of bringyng and requyryng peace, shulde procure warre agaynst the frendes of them, of whome they demaunde it. Which thynge woll presently chaunce, yf you regarde not that, which we woll say vnto you. For yf you receyue these here, you shall not onely be theyr allyes, but you shall also become of our frendes, our ennemyes. And therfor yf you be vñ them, it shall iustely force vs in reuēgyng our selues on thē, also to reuenge our selues on you. Wherfore you shulde do wysely, and accordynge to raysone, not to take theyr partye, and better shulde you do, yf you toke ours (who be your allyes and confederates) agaynste them that neuer had allyance nor treues wyth you. And you ought not to begynne to make a newe lawe, that thone of the partyes may receyue to hys allyance the rebelles of the other. For we haue not done the lyke towardes you. But than, whan the Samyans rebelled agaynste you, and that the other Peloponesyans were in contentyon and dyuers opynyons, whyder they ought to be ayded or not, we iudged not against youe. For it semed also vnto vs to be agaynst reasonne, to prohibyte anny parsonne to chastice hys subiectes. And yf that ye woll retire, wythdrawe and defende our subiectes, that shall haue committed any cryme or offence, youe maye well knowe, that we woll do the lyke vnto yours. And by thys meane you shall make a lawe, that shall redounde more to your dommage, than to ours. For that, that youe haue greater nomber of subiectes, than we. To conclude, we thinke that we haue shewed and sufficyently declared before you accordyng to the lawes of Greece, our right, and that whiche raysonne wolleth. and that whiche we shall hereafter shewe, is in manner by exhortacyon and requeste. And also we woll not demaunde anything of youe, as youre ennemyes to hurt you, nor yet as your frendes to abuse you, but for to be bled accordynge to raysonne. and also we thinke that youe ought to do it, for that, that in that tyme, that you had warre agaynste the Egynetes before the warre of the Medyans, at which tyme youe had no great shippes: the Corynthyens leante you, twenty. By meanes of whiche seruice, you had the victorie agaynst the sayde Egynetes. and by meanes of this, that the other Peloponesians dyd for oure loue, not geue any succour vnto the Samyans, you toke vengeance on them at youre wille. And that was done in tyme of one so greate a warre, that the people, for the desyre that they had to vainquyshe their ennemy, regarded none other thynge. But helde for frende all men that ayded them at that theyr busynes, though that before they had bene theyr ennemyes, and for ennemy, euery man that was on the other parte, although he had bene before, their frende. For also they left theyr particular and domesticall affayres, wythout geuing order therin, for the desyre and obstinacye that they had to reuenge them on theyr enemyes. Wherfore those amonge you, that haue remembraunce of the sayd pleasures and seruices, and the other yonger men, that haue harde it spoken by youre auncyentes, ought to be of opinion, that mē shuld recompence them by lyke meanes. And yf it shulde be sayde that that, which we speake is very reasonable, but that that, which the other present, shulde be more profytable, yf there be warre, we answere you, that howe muche the more, that men procede iustely in theyr causes, so much the greater profyt doth comonlye Egynete

followe. And the warre, wherof the Corcyrens do put you in feare, and for doubte therof, do perſuade you to do vnreaſonable actes, is not yet certayne that it ſhall fortune. And therefore it is not reaſonable, that for ſuſpytyone of a warre incertayne, youe ſhulde take the quarell preſented by the Corcyrens agaynſt vs, your frendes and allyes. And yf youe haue any Imagynation of the ſayde warre for ſuſpycyon that is chaunced betwene vs, by meanes of them of Megare, youe ought by your wyttes and prudence nowe to dymynyſhe and aſſwage it, rather, than to encreaſe it. For a good ſeruyce done in ſeaſone, though it be leſſe, may reſtrayne and appeaſe a faulte and ennemytie goynge before, muche greater than the ſeruyce. And you ſhulde not be moued for the offer that they make you of theyr ſhyppes, for it is greater ſuertie for you not to take quarelle agaynſt youre frendes egall vnto you, than to gett greate thynges of people pufled vp wyth pryde, for a lytle preſente proſperytie, with the daunger, that may chaunce by meanes of them. Furthermore we, that be in the ſame fortune that we were, whan we requyred the Lacedemonians, do make vnto you the ſelfe requeſte, truſtynge to obteigne it of you, as we haue of them. to wytt, that it maye be laufull for euery of vs, to punyſhe and correcte hys burgeoles and ſubiectes. And that in ſtede to haue bene ayded agaynſt yours, through meane of our oppynyon and decre, youe woll not hurte vs agaynſt ours, by your ſentence, but rather render the lyke vnto vs. and conſyder that nowe is the tyme, that he that ſhall ſerue, ſhalbe holden for euer for a trewe frende. and he that ſhall deſerue, for a greate ennempe. And for concluſyon that youe receyue not theſe Corcyrens here to your amytie and allyance agaynſte oure wylle, nor geue them any ayde agaynſt vs. In whiche doynge you ſhall do youre dutye, and that, that appertaygneth to youre offyce, and alſo ſhall do the thynge, that ſhalbe profytable for you. Sniche was the ſpeakynge of the Corinthyans.

Howe the Athenians receyued the Corcyrens into theyr allyance, and ſente them ſuccours. And howe the Corinthiens and Corcyrens had a battaile by ſea, wherof ayther of them, toke it to haue the victorye.

The.v. Chapter.

After that the Athenyans had harde bothe parties, they dyd put the matter into deliberatyon two tymes. Whereby, at the furſt they ſolde theraylons of the Corinthiens as good as the other. But at the ſeõd tyme, they changed theyr opynyon, and concluded to make allyance wyth the Corcyrians, not in the manner that they requyred it. To wytte, for to be frendes of frendes, and ennemys of ennemys. For in that doinge and goyng agaynſt the Corynthyans wyth them, they had broken the allyance that they had wyth the Peloponelians. But onely for defence of the one partye and of the other, yf any came to aſſaulte them or anye of theyr allyes. For without that, they doubted greatelye to haue warre wyth the Peloponelians. and they wolde not ſuffre the Corcyrens to be deſtroyed, who were ſo ſtronge by ſea. But they wouldе ſuffre them to warre amõgeſt themſelues, by that meane to dymynyſhe theyr ſtrengthe, and after that they were weakened, to take warre agaynſt hym, that they ſhulde thinke good. On the other parte, they conſydered the con-

the commoditie that they myght haue by meane of the sayde Iſlande for to go into Italy and into Sycylie. To thys intente, the Athenyans made allyance & confederation wyth the Corcyrans in the manner that is declared. And anone after the departure of the Corynthyans, they sente them for succour, tenne shippes armed. wherof Lacedemonius, sonne of Cymō, Dyotymus, sonne of Strōbicus, and Protheas, sonne of Eppicles were Cappytaynes. Unto whom they dekended, that they shulde syght agaynſt the Corynthyans, excepte they came agaynſt Corcyre, and would go on lande for to take or endommage the cytye or territorye of the same. in whiche case, they myght defende them for theyr power, fearyng to breake the peace, which they had wyth the Corynthyans, which they pretended not to do by that meane. After that the sayd tenne shyppes were departed, the Corynthyans, who had made theyr preparatyon, came agaynſte the sayde Iſlande of Corcyre, wyth an houndred and syftye shyppes. of ỹ whiche there were tenne of the Helyens, and almany of the Eleucadyens, twelue of the Megarens. xxvii. of Ambraciens, one of the Inactorians, and the reſte of theyr owne, which were foure skore and tenne. And euery of the straungers had theyr Cappytaynes and rulers by them selfe. Of the succours that they had sent, and of the shyppes of the Corinthians, Xenoclides sonne of Eurydes wyth foure colleagues or compaignyons that were appoynted vnto hym, was Cappytayne, So they departed altogether wyth a good wynde from the poorte of Leucade, and came vnto the lande, that is foranempſte the Iſlande of Corcyre. to wytt to the mouteigne, named Cymerium, which is ỹ mouth or entry of Thelphrotide. In whiche place there is a poorte, and aboue the poorte, a cytye distante from the sea, named Ephire, and nere vnto the same, there is an other cytie, in the selfe regyon of Thelphrotyde, named Eleatyde, about which, goeth a great marreys, which indureth to the sea named Acheruſe by meane of the ryuer of Acherō, which after that it hath trauerſed the sayd countreye of Thelphrotide, renneth ouer the sayd Marreys, and on the other syde, runneth vnto the sea, an other ryuer named Thyamys, which departeth the countreye of Thelprotyde, and that same of Ceſtryne. Betwene theſe twayne ryuers, is ſituated the sayd promontozy and rocke named Cymeriū. Into the same place, came the Corinthians to take lande. The Corcyrens, beyng aduertyſed of theyr commynge, came vō an houndred & tenne shyppes to plant theyr campe, in one of the nert Iſlandes there named Sibota. And Mycyades and Eſimides Eurybarian, were Cappytaynes of theyr armye. They had more beſyde the sayde nomber, tenne shyppes, wyth Athenyans. And beſyde that, they had ſet vpon the promontozy of Leucyne an thouſande foote men, that the Lacynthyans had sente to theyr ſuccoure. And alſo they loked to be ſocoured by ſtraungers, whiche inhabyted there adiopnynge, which were alwayes theyr frendes. After that the Corynthyans had ſett theyr matters in order, and taken victuailes for thre dayes, they departed by nyght from the sayde promountozy Cymeriū, to comme to syght wyth ỹ Corcyrens. And by that it was day, they ſawe them a farre of in the mayne ſea, commyng ryght agaynſt them. So they put them ſelues in battayle on both ſydes. and made theyr order as followeth. The Corcyrens dyd put on the ryght ſyde, the tenne shyppes of Athenes, & they deuided thē ſelues in thre bandes on the left ſyde, euerye of them hauyng hys Capitaine. On the Corinthians ſyde, the Ambratiens and the Megarens were on the right wynge, in the middle were the other allyes, ſo as they were founde, and in the lefte wynge directly agaynſt the ryght wynge of the Corcyrens were the Corinthiens theyr ſelues. In thys manner came the one agaynſte the other, hauyng eyther of both ſydes

Lacedemonius
Diotymus.
Protheas.
Chimerium.
Thelphrotydes.
Ephire.
Acheruſia.
Acheron
Thyamys.
Ceſtrines.
Sibota.
Mycyades.
Eſimides.
Leucymia.

geuen

geuen tokens to fyght, and aither of them had bestowed a great nombre of Archers and of other well armed, in the toppes of their shyppes vpon top castels, euyll ynough appoynted after the fashyon of that tyme. and they foughte verye sharpely, but not by arte (as they do at this dayes vpon the sea) but hande to hande wythout remouing, as fote men do, that fyght on mayne lande. For after that they were myngled together, they coulde not well remoue thē selues, nor drowne the one the other. And ỹ hope of victory was in them, that fought in the toppe castells, rather than in any other thynge. And in effecte they fought more by strengthe and by courage, than by connynge. The fight and conflicte was very great. And the shippes of Athens went to succoure the Corcyrēs, where as they sawe thē ouercommed, for to feare the ennemyes, and yet they dyd not fyght agaynste them, fearyng to disobeye the commaundement of theyr Lordes. So chaunced it, that the Corinthiens that were on the right wynge, were so ouercharged by theyr ennemies, that they toke them self vnto flight and were chased and followed by tenne shyppes of the Corcyrens vntyll the lande, where theyr campe was. and they landed after thē in suche sorte, that they toke & pillaged al that, that they found within. and afterwardes set fyer therin. But in the meane tyme that those were there occupyed in the chase & in pillage, the Corinthiens ỹ were in the left wynge, hadde easely victory agaynst theyr ennemyes, that taried and fought agaynst them, for also they were stronger in shyppes. The Athenias than seynge the Corcyrens so ouercharged and put to rebuke, beganne to succoure them earnestly and wythout dissymulation. and yet inuaded not the Corinthians at the begynnyng. But after that they sawe the Corcyrens in flight, and the other that chased them: they bent them selfe to fyght, and to resiste, the beste that they coulde, wythoute makynge any difference of the one, or of the other. For that, that necessytye requyred it, so that the battaylle remayned betwene the Athenyans and the Corynthyans, the Corcyrans beyng in flyght. neuertheles at the last they were constrayned to wythdrawe them selues after the other, and so the Corinthyans followed the chase. And taried not to bynde, and fasten to theyr shyppes the barkes of the shyppes that they had beaten downe, nor yet to cause them, that they had taken, to be towed to lande, but in sayling & chasynge, they indeuored themselues more to slaye the ennemyes, then to take them alyue. whiche doyng they slewe many of theyr frendes, that they founde in theyr waye vpon theyr shippes and on the bottomes of them of theyr syde, that had bene dyscomfyted, thinking, that they had bene enemyes. For so great nomber of shyppes beynge assembled, aswell on the one syde, as on the other, and all Grekes, after that they were myngled togeder, they knewe not well the one, the other. And they coulde not tell, who were the ouercommers or ouercommed. Also truly, this was the greatest assemblye of shyppes, that euer in tymes paste had bene made of Grekes, agaynst Grekes. After that the Corinthians had had chased the Corcyriens to the entrye of the sea, they dyd retourne to receyue their shippwrackes and shyppes shatered abroade and bruised, and also theyr people that were hurte. So they founde a greate nomber whiche they brought vnto the poorte that is oueranempste from the Iland of Sybota in the fyrme lande, which is holy deserte in the regyon of Thesphrotyde, where the straungers that were comme to theyr ayde, dyd tary them on lāde. And after that they had bestowed there theyr bruised shyppes and theyr hurte people, they sayled agayne with the other shyppes, that they hadde hoole, for to go agaynst Corcyre. whiche seyng the Corcyriens, came agaynst them with those hole shippes, and them of Athens that were lefte. Fearynge that the sayde Corynthyans wolde haue made

some

some entry into their lande. Nowit was than late and very nyght, and they had nowe begonne to geue token that they woulde fyght. When the Corinthians perceyued, a farre of in the sea, twenty shyppes, that the Athenyans hadde sent a freshe vnto the Corcyrians. fearyng that the tēne, which they sente them furst, were not sufficyent ynough to saue and defende them, lyke as also it chaunced, by occasyon thereof, the Corinthians begonne to take their oores, and by litle & litle to retourne backe, for that principally, that they knewe not whyther there came a greater nomber after the same that they sawe or not. whereat the Corcyrens, which coulde not yet see theyr sayd succoure, were all abasshedde, seing theyr ennemyes so to retourne, and coulde not thinke wherfore it was, vntyll that some of theyr people perceyued the sayd twenty shyppes, and signifyed to them, that they came directly vnto them. Then beyng nowe also night, the Corcyrens lykewyse withdrewe themselues, and in thys manner, hauyng foughte vnto darke night: they departed. And anone after, the sayde twenty shyppes, aryued at the porte of Leucine where the Corcyrens were withdrawen, passynge ouer the deade and the broken peces of the shyppes, that were bruised & drowned. of which twenty shyppes Glaucō sōne of Leager & Andocydes sonne of Leogorus had the conducte. And for that, that it was night, the Corcyrens at the furste burnte were in doubte, that they had bene ennemys. But hauynge certen knowlayge of them, they receyued them with greate ioye. The morowe after, the thirty shyppes of the Athenyans, wyth them, that were lefte hoole vnto the Corcyrens, wente out of the poorte wyth theyr sayles displayed and came agaynst the porte of Sibota where the Corinthians were, to see yf they would come agayne to battayle. Who, whan they sawe them so to come, departed frō the porte into the mayne sea all in good order, and there kepte themselfe sure only to defende them, not willing to go to assayle thē. For that, that they feared the sayde shyppes newely comme, which were all freshe and hoole, and theyrs were greatly hurte or empayred at the battayle the day before. and theyr people were busyed to kepe the prysonners that they had taken in the sayde battaile. and also they coulde not refreshe themselues wyth any thynge in the place of Sibota where they were, for that, that it was deserte and barayne. So they cared not, but howe they might honestly withdrawe them self into theyr quarter, fearyng that the Athenyans wolde not suffer them to departe from thence, vnder coulour that they hadde broken the peace, by that, that they came to assayle thē the daye before. So they deuysed to sende vpon a brygantyne some of theyr people towardes the sayde Athenyans, without any herault, for to espye what they wolde do. Who spake vnto thē in this maner. You do agaynst reasone (lordes Athenens) to begynne warre vpon vs, commyng directly agaynst the treatie of peace, that we haue togidres. and to let vs that we maye not chastyse oure subiectes. And yf you be deliberated so to do and to empesthe vs that we maye not go agaynst the Corcyrens, or ells where that we woll, and by that meane will to declare your selues our ennemyes, beginne with vs that be here, & intreat vs as enemys. At which wordes the Corcyrēs that coulde vnderstande them, beganne to crye all in one voice, that they shuld be taken, and all slaine incontinētly. But the Athenians aunswered thē in this manner. Lordes Peloponesians, we perceyue not, that we haue broken the treatie of peace, whiche we haue with youe. For we be not comme hyther to fyghte wyth youe, but onely to defende and kepe the Corcyrens oure allyes. Wherfore yf youe woll go anye where elles than into theyr lande, we woll not trouble youe, but yf you come to endomage theyme, we woll defende them with our power. which aunswere receyued

Glaucō. Andocides.

by the Corynthians, they prepared them selfe to retourne vnto their houses. But before theyr departure, they sett vp theyr Trophee in token of victory in the firme lande of Sibota. And after theyr departynge, the Corcyryens gathered togeder theyr brokenne shyppes, and deade people, whome the wynde, from of the marreys, had in the nyght dryuē to the shore of the sea, euen as they aryued. Afterwardes they set vp an other Trophee in signe of victory in the Iſlande of Sibota, directly agaynste that same of the Corynthians. For bothe parties pretended to haue had the victory. To wytt the Corinthians for that, ꝑ they kepte the sea vntyll nyght, and gathered many shipwrackes of the shippes drowned, and also great nomber of their deade people, and further had taken more than a thousande pryſonners and drowned aboutes three skoore & tenne shippes with ennemys. And the Corcyryens, for that they had drowned about .xxx. shyppes with ennemys, and gathered together the shipwrackes and theyr deade bodies alwell as they. And moreouer for that the daye followyng, hauing had the new ayde and strengthe of Athenyans, they had offred them battayle, and they durst not marche forwardes, but were retyred. In thys manner both partyes departed, hauynge opynyon of the victory. The Corynthians, in theyr retourne, toke sodenly and pryuely the towne and porte of Anactorye, which is at the entrye of the Goulphe of Ambracie, whiche porte was common betwene them, and the Corcyryens, so they fournyshed it wyth theyr people. And afterwardes retourned to Corynthe. where beyng aryued, they solde of the Corcyriens, which they had pryſonners, aboutes eight houndred, and two hundred and fyftye they reteygned, ouer whome they set good watche, trustyng by theyr meane to ouercome and recouer Corcyre. For the more parte of the sayde pryſonners were of the principall of the cytye. Suche was the ende of the same furste warre betwene ꝑ Corynthyans and Corcyriens, after the whiche, the Corynthians retourned to theyr habytacyons.

Anactorium.

Ambraciū.

The other quarells & occaſions of warre, that happened betwene the Athenians and the Corinthians. By meane wherof, all the Peloponeſians were aſſembled at Lacedemonye for to conclude warre agaynſt the sayde Athenyans. Cap. vi.

THe warre, wherof we haue spoken, was the chiefe occasyon of ꝑ same, that was afterwardes betwene the Corynthians and the Athenyans. For that the sayde Corinthians pretended, that the same Athenyans had broken the treatye of peace vꝫ them, by geuyng succours vnto the Corcyriens agaynſte them. Afterwardes there chaunced other occasyons to moue warre betwene the sayd Athenyans and all the Peloponeſians, which were theſe. The Athenyans, perceyuynge that the Corynthians wente aboute to reuenge them selues on them, came to the towne of Potydea, whiche is vpon the deſtrayte of Palenes, & was one of the Colonies of the same Corynthians, and theyr subiect. So they cōmaunded vnto the inhabitantes, that they shuld rase downe their walle of the syde of Palenes, And further to geue thē pleadges, and to dryue away theyr gouernours and officers (whome the Corynthians called artifycers, and sente them euery yeare vnto them) & not to receyue them more from thence forwardes, And this dyd they, fearynge that the sayd Potydiās, shuld haue declared agaynſt them, & also cauſed the other allyes to declare, which were in the cōtrey of Thrace at the procurement & inſtigatiō of the

Potidea.

Palenes.

of the Corinthians.and also of Perdicas,sonne of Alexander kynge of Macedonie,who was newely become theyr ennemy, although that before he was their frende and allye.By meane of this,that they had made amytie and alliance with Philippe hys brother and Dodras,whiche hadde warre agaynst hym.For feare of which allyaunce,he wente to the Lacedemonians, and had perswaded thē to make warre agaynste the Athenyans.And so was allyed with the Corinthiens for to take into hys tuition the towne of Potyde.And furthermore he practised with them of the countrey of Chalcyde that be in Thrace,and with the Beotiēs, for to cause them to rebell agaynste the Athenyans, hoppynge that yf through thayde of the same townes and countreys,he myght brynge them to his allyance,he myght make stronge warre agaynste the sayde Athenians.Who,whā they understode it,for to let the revoltement or rebellyon of the said cities and countreys,delyberated to send Aceſtratus,sonne of Lencomedes accompanyed wyth tenne other Capytaynes wyth.xxx.shippes armed for to make warre in the countrey of Macedonie.And commaūded thē,that in passyng,they shuld take pleadges of thē of Potide,and beate downe theyr walle. And furthermore that they shulde take good hede that the other cytyes dyd not rebelle.whiche understandynge the Potydyans,sente some of theyr cytezeins to Athens for to see,yf they coulde obteigne of them,that they wolde do no notoueltie.And on the other syde they sente wyth the Corynthians to Lacedemonye to haue of them counsaille and comforte.who perswaded them that they shulde prepare to defende themselues,yf anye woulde constrayne them,to that,which is declared.During this tyme the Imballadours,that were gone to Athens:after that they had at lēgth shewed & debated theyr cause,obteigned very litle of them.But they had,in their presence,despatched the thyrty shippes,that they sente agaynste Perdicas and agaynst them.The Potydyans perceyuing this,trusted in the promes of the Lacedemonyans.Who had allured them, that yf the Athenyans came against thē, they wolde enter in armure into theyr lande, and wolde rebelle agaynste the said Athenians,the Beotians & Calcydes of one cōmune accorde wt thē. Which Calcydes Perdicas had perswaded,that they shulde habandone,& forsake theyr townes that they hadde on the shore of the sea, for that they were not defensyble.And that they shulde withdrawe them selfe into the cytye of Olynthe which standeth Inner into the lande,and that they shulde fortefye the same aswell as they could. And vnto them that had habandoned theyr townes & howses,he gaue them to dwelle in,durynge the warre,the cytye of Migdonie,which is nyghe the marreys of Bolive.which the Calcydes dyd, and dyd beat downe their townes and houses,and prepared themselfe to make warre.whan they,that conducted the thyrty shyppes of Athenes, were in the countreye of Thrace, understode that the said cities were rebelled,specyally that of Potyde,& considerynge that they were not stronge ynough to make warre agaynst Perdicas & agaynst the cities revolted,they toke theyr iourneye towarde Macedonie, whither they were chiefly sent.where they founde Philippe & Dordras,that came to ioygne to thē wt the hoste,that they had assembled in the mountaignes.During this tyme,ỳ the shyppes wt Athenyans were in Macedonie,the Corinthiens,fearing ỳ the cytye of Potyde,whiche had declared it selfe agaynst the Athenians,had no succour,for ỳ they toke it to be their proper acte:sente for to saue & defende them, a thousande six houndred foote men,aswel of theyr citezins and subiectes ỳ went willingly,as also of mercenaryes or huyred men which had soulde or wages in the countrey of Peloponese,all wel armed, and foure houndred slightly armed. Of whome Aristeus,sonne of Adymantus had the conduct,for that, ỳ he was very agreable to the people. In suche sorte,that many good cytezens wente thi-

Perdicca.

Philippus.

Derda.

Chalcides.

Migdonia.

Aristeus.

der wyllingly in hys compaygny. and of the other parte, he had alwayes bene frende to them of Potyde. at whiche place, he arryued with hys people the fourtyth daye after theyr rebellyon. The Athenyans than beyng aduertysed of the rebellyon of the Potydiens and of the succours that the Corynthyans had sent, Callias dyspatchedde Callia sonne of Calliadus and foure other Cappytaynes in hys cõpanye wyth two thousande men for to go agaynste the sayde cytye of Potyde. who beynge arryued in Macedonie, founde that the people, that were furst cõme thyder, had taken the cytye of Therme, and helde the same of Pydne allieged, & Therma. so they ioyngned to them, that they toke it. but for the necessitie and desyre y they Pydna. had to go unto Potyde, vnderstandynge that Aristeus was there arryued, they were constrayned to make appoynctemente and allyance wyth the sayde Perdicas. By meane wherof, they departed from Macedonye, and toke the waye Berrea. strayght against Potyde. So they arryued at the pozte of Berrye, and thought to haue taken the towne at the arryualle. But seynge that they coulde not doit, they wente a lande, and marchedde strayght fourth agaynst Potyde. Hauyng in theyr hole armye thre thousande foote men, aswell of theyr people as of theyr cõfederates, and fyue houndred horse men Macedonyens. and more they had. lxx shyppes whiche came coastynge the lande. In suche manner, they iourneyed easely, that the thyrd day they arryued at the place of Gigrone, where they plan- Gigonum. ted theyr campe. The Potydians and Aristeus with theyr people, vnderstandyng the commynge of the Athenyans, wente oute of the cytye, and came to sett theyr campe before the cytye of Olynthe, vpon the dystrayct, keyping theyr mar- Olynthus. ket wythoute the towne. And they all wyth one accorde dyd chose Aristeus to be Cappytaine of the foote men, and Perdicas of the horsemen. who incontynentlye after the appoinctement made wyth the Athenyans, rebelled agaynste them, & had sente horsemen for to succoure the sayde Potydians, of whome he had geue Iolaus charge to Iolaus, as hys lieutenant. Now the opynyon of Aristeus was to tary the Athenyans vp to the bende, that he had in the sayde strayte, by the which me muste of force passe, to come to Potyde by lande, yf they wolde comme thyder to assayle it. and that the Calcydes, wyth the other confederates, that were wout the straycte, & also the horsemen of Perdicas, shulde tary within the towne of Olynthe. to the ende, that yf the Athenyans came to assaulte them, they shulde come fourthe to hys succour, and enclose the sayde Athenians at theyr backes. On the other syde Callia, Cappytayne of Athenyens and hys compaignyons sent theyr horsmen Macedonyens that they had, with certayne nomber of footemẽ, before Olynthe for to kepe them, that were within, that they shulde not come fourth to succour the other. and they with the remaynant went directly againste Potyde. And when they were nygh to the straicte, seyng their ennemys, that prepared them selfe to fight, they put them selues lykewyse in order. and so came incontinently to the battayle. In the which, Aristeus and they that were with hi, aswell Corynthiens, as other all very good warryours, dyd dryue backe, & putt to flight the formerwarde of the ennemys, that came agaynst thẽ, & gaue them chase a long way. but the other pouct, where the Potydiens & the other Peloponesians were, was by the Athenyans vainquyshed & chased to the gates of the towne. Which seyng Aristeus, after that he was retourned fro the chase, was in great doubte, to which of two places he might retyre, to Potyde or to Olynthe. & fynally he determyned to withdrawe himselfe with his people, y he might ioigne agayne with hys wyn Potyde, for y it was the nerte retrecte. So they went into the sea, which did beate the walles of the towne, & betwene the same and manye great stones, that were set afore, for to breake the wawes of the sea, they passed

through

throughe right great dangier of many throwes, that the enemys dyd cast against them. wherby some of thē were slayne, but the more part entred into the towne. Nowe were come fourth to succour the Potydyans, they that were within Olynthe, which is situated in an high place, without the destrayte, distant frō the place, where the battaille was fought, aboutes six thousande pales. But the horsemen, Macedoniens, came agaynste thē to dryue thē backe. And after that they of the towne sawe, that the Atheniens hadde the victory, they retyred, & the Macedoniens lykewise towardes the Athenyans. And thus the horsemen, neyther of the one syde nor of the other, were not at the battayle. This done, the Atheniens set vp their Trophee in token of victory, & rendred to the Potydyens theyr dead men according to the custome. which were founde well nygh, to the nōber of three hondred, aswell of their citezeins, as of theyr allyes. and of the Athenyans aboutes the halfen deale. Among whom, was Callias one of theyr Cappitaynes. That done, the Athenians closed the walles aboute with hydes towardes the destraicte, & sett their people there to kepe it. But they durst not go, and drawe theyr closure of the other quarter of the cytye of Potyde towardes Palene, which was longynge to the same towne of Potyde. although that it were not walled on that syde, for that, that they were not in nōber to maigteigne two seges. and feared that yf they parted thē selues, they of the towne wolde comme to assaulte them, in the one or the other place. Whan the newes were signified at Athenes, howe Potyde was assieged by their people, but that they had not enuyroned Palene w̄ murage, they sent thyder with in a lytle tyme after, six hondred men a freshe, vnder conducte of Phormyon, sonne of Asopius. who being departed from Aphite for to come towardes Palene, set hys people on lande, & wente fayre & well agaynste Potyde. Destroying and burnyng theyr feldes. And seing that none came fourthe of the towne, he closed Palene with a walle, by meane wherof the citie of Potide was assieged, and beaten on both sydes by lande, and also was assaulted on the sea syde, by meanes that the Athenyans had gottē the poorte. Aristeus, than seing that there was no more hope to be hable to defende the towne, yf no succour came from them of Peloponese, pretended that w̄ some good wynde ẏ might happen, all the people, that were w̄in the towne, should be sente away, reserued sixe hondred (wherof he wolde be one) the longer to sustaigne the siege, vntyll some succour came vnto thē. For he feared, that victuailes shulde fayle thē. But seyng that he could not perswade that, he went fourthe in a night w̄out knowlaige of the Athenians to geue order for that, ẏ was necessary, & to prouyde for other affayres, that were w̄oute. & went to the Calcydes, by whose ayde, he dyd many exploictes of warre in the landes of the Athenians, & of their parties. And among other, being come to ronne before the citie of Sermypile, he had set an ambushement. by meanes wherof he slewe a great nōber of citezeins which came forth vpō him. And neuertheles he solicited & laboured greatly the Peloponesians to sende hym some succour to Potyde. In this entreseates or proseduinges, Phormion, after that he had enclosed Potyde on al sides, came wyth sixe hondred men to ouerronne the countreys of Calcide and Beoce. and so toke some castells. Suche than were the quarells, betwene the Athenyans and Peloponesyans, for the Corynthyans were sorye, that the Athenyans had troubled the citie of Potide (which toke theyr part) and theyr Cytezeynes and other Peloponesians that were wythin. The Athenyans complayned that the Corynthyans had caused the Potydiens whiche were theyr subiectes to rebelle, and that they were come to theyr ayde for to defend them against them. But the warre was not yet fully declared. so that there was some respitt, for that the question was not yet generallye agaynste all the Peloponesians,

Phormio. Alphi.

but onely agaynste the Corinthiens. who alwayes fearynge the losse of Potyde and of theyr people that were within, dyd not cease to practyse theyr allyes, to come with them towardes the Lacedemonyens. whiche were theyr heade, to make theyr complayntes agaynste the Athenyans, as breakers of the peace, and ennemys to all the Peloponesians. whiche they dyd. And on the other syde, the Agenytes came thyder not publiquely and openly, for they durste not for feare of the Athenyans, but secretely, they perswaded warre, as the other dyd. For that that they complayned, that the Athenyans wolde not suffre them to enioye their lybertye, as it was appoynted by the sayde treatye of peace. when all the Ambassadours of the confederated townes, whiche were comme for thys matter, were arryued at Lacedemonye, the Lacedemonyens assembled theyr counsayle, and caused it to be declared wyth loude voyce, that yf there were any parsonne that pretended to make any complaincte agaynst the Athenyans, he shulde speake publiquely, as the custome was. At whiche admonytion came before them almost all the confederates of Peloponese, makynge theyr complainctes and doleances. And belydes them, the Megarens. who complayned for that, that beynge vnder the seignioryе of the Athenyans, they had prohybited them to vse marchaundyse in theyr porte, & in theyr terrytoryе. The Corinthians were the laste, for they suffred the other to speake before, of a sett purpose, for to prouoke and get the Lacedemonyans, and afterwardes they spake in this manner.

¶ The narration and propositi-on of the Corinthians in the Counsayll of Lacedemonye, agaynste the Athenyans.

The. vii. Chapter.

THe layth and loyaultie, that youe kepe amonge you, aswell in commun, as in particuler (Lordes Lacedemonyās) maketh, that yf any the other of vs shulde saye any thynge agaynste you, that no man wolde beleue hym. And in that, youre modestye and loyaultie causeth youe to be esteamed. But youe vse one greate ignorawnce, touchynge thynges that be wythoute. For albeit, that we haue often shewed and preached, howe the Athenyans woulde ouercomme and oppresse vs, yet woulde you neuer beleue vs, but that, that they, that shewed it vnto youe, shulde saye it, by meanes of particuler questyons, that they had with them. and by meane therof wolde not assemble your allyes, before that we were oultraged & wronged. But youe haue forborne vntyll thys presente,, that we be inuaryed. And therfor it is very reasonable that in presence of youre sayde allyes and confederates, we make the longer proposityon, forsomuch as we be dowbly offended. to wytt, by the Athenyans that haue oultraged vs, and by youe that haue not regarded it. And yf there were any reasone, whereby a man myght defende, that it were not holye nor ryghtous, that the Athenyans be they, whiche trouble all Grece: It were requysitt that we shulde cause it to appere vnto them, that knowe it not. But what nedeth nowe to holde any longer purpose of it, sythens that youe may see, the one brought into the seruitude by the Athenians, & the other sharply assaulted. & specyally they, ỳ be your allyes. whom of a long saysone, they haue imagyned to withdrawe vnto them, for to serue & ayde thē agaynst vs in time of warre.

Truly,

Truly,if warre were made agaynſt thē.Certaynly they haue for none other purpoſe occupyed Corcyre,nor now do holde potyde aſſiged.wherof the one,to witt, Corcyre ſhulde fournyſhe the Peloponeſians with greate nomber of ſhyppes,& the other ys very propice,for the aſſayres of Thrace.For the whych thinges you arne to be blamed.For that,that from the begynnynge,whan the warre of the Medes was fynyſhed,you ſuffred them to make thair cytie agayne. And afterwardes, moreouer to increaſe yt wyth greate walles. And ſucceſſiuely from that tyme vnto this preſente daye, haue tolerated and ſuffred them to depriue from lybertye and putt into bondage, not thair allyes onely: but alſo ours. How beyt it may well be ſayde,that it is youe, that haue done it.For the myſdeede is more attributed vnto him that ſuffreth it to be donne, where as he may lett or withſtande yt:than to hym that doth yt.And principally to youe,that beare ỹ praiſe and the tytle to be defendours of the lybertie of Greece.And yet neuertheleſs with great payne,youe haue nowe cauſed the aſſemblye to be made.And wol not take the thynges to be certayne,that be holy not orious.But youe wolle that we ſhal declare by what meanes we be iniuried,where as it is neceſſary to deliberate but only,howe we ſhulde reuenge vs of the wronges, whyche hath be donne vnto vs.For in this, that the Athenyans dyd not comme agaynſte vs to outrage vs atoones,but by lytle and lytle,although they yet knowe not of thys aſſemblie. they do it not wythout cauſe.But we perceue very welle, that it is for that,that they thynke that ſo doynge, that youe ſhulde not parceue yt through the ſlackenes and forbearyng,whyche they knowe to be in youe.whyche thynge you ſhuld eaſely do,if they executed al atones that,whych they haue enterpryſed.But whā they ſhall ſee that you vnderſtande and paſſe not on yt,they wol execute yt much more boldely and wyth greater force. Nowe,lordes Lacedemonians, youe arne they only,that be in reſte.and woll not reſiſte violēces by force,but by lēgth of tyme.nor abate the ſtrengthe of your enemys whā they begynne to increaſe, but tary,vntyll they be dowbled.And thys ys not only now,that youe haue had this cuſtome.For we all do knowe, that the Medes, that came frome the worldes ende agaynſte you,were in your lande bifore youe had made prouiſions,that you might & ought to haue done bifore,for your honnour & ſuertie.And now you ſett at nought the Athenyans, whyche be not farre from youe, but euene youre neyghbours.and youe loue better,that they ſhuld come to aſſayle youe, thā furſt to inuade them.and by thys meane,to put your ſelfe in hazart of the warre,whā they ſhalbe much more ſtronger than they were.Truly youe ought well to conſyder that the victory,whyche we had agaynſt the ſtranger,kynge of Medes,was in a great parte through hys faulte. And chiefly the Athenyans, whan they had warre agaynſt vs,were vaynquyſhed more by thair errours that they committed,than by our valyantnes.And alſo youe ought to remēber that ſome of ours, truſtynge to your ayde and fauour, were taken and deſtroyed. and thynke not that we ſpeake thies thinges for hatred that we haue agaynſte the ſayd Athenyans by manner of quarellinge. For it is the parte of a frēde,to his frende,that he ſheweth hys quarell or playncte whan one doth that to an othere. whyche he ought not to do.but it is by manner of acculation that we complayne of the iniuries, that our ennemys hath donne to vs. And truly, if there be any people in the worlde,to whome it is laufull to complayne themſelues and to ſorowe for thair allyes and confederates,we arne they,as we thinke.marked ſpecially,that we do fyght for ſo greate quarelles,and for thynges of ſo greate ymportance. wherof,as it ſemeth to vs,you haue no regarde.and woll not conſyder, that we haue to do agaynſte the Athenyans,whyche be your ennemys,and people, that

seke alwayes nouelties. and also be subtyll to studye oute meanes to increase themselues, and diligent to execute them. but as touchynge you, you thinke that it is suffycient to kepe togider that, that you haue, wythoute to enterpryse any thynge. and also be negligent to execute, though that necessitie requyre it. And by thys meane we see, that they haue greater audacyte, than force, so that they put themselues into many greate daungers agaynste oppynion of the people, and neuertheles whatsoeuer harde thinge that they enterpryse, they haue good hope to execute yt. but your harte ys much lesse to enterpryse, than your force, for to execute yt. wherby it chaunceth, that in enterpryses, that be wythout dãger, you put doubte. & you neuer thinke that you arne longe inough out of busynes. furthermore they be diligente and you negligence. They go contynually fourth of thair countrey, and you arne restfull in yours. for they thinke that thair voyages do wel recompense thair ablence. but whan you go out of your countrey, you thinke that that, whyche you leue behynd youe, ys losse. They, whan they haue vainquished thair enemy, do pursue thair victories at lengthe. and whan they are ouercomed, they lose not one iote of courage. And furthermore in prouding for thinges, whyche cõcerne the weale of thair cytie, they vse thair wytts & counsayle, as it were for thair owne cause. but as for thair bodyes, they sett them of & haband onne them, as if they were of strange people, whome they knewe not. And whan they fayle to execute any enterpryse, they thinke that they haue losse so muche of thair owne. And also whan they haue gotten any thynge it semeth to them to be very lytle in regarde of that, that they thought it to be. And if they alsayed to do any thinge, wherof they had bene frustrated of thair hope, they parforced themselfe to recouer suche losse, by some newe enterpryse. And I thynke in effecte, that they and none other haue and hope togiders the thinge, that they enterpryse. so diligent be they to execute thair enterpryses. Also in all thies thinges they vse thair lyfe, and all thair age, in labours and in daungers, wythoute muche enioynge the thynges that they haue gottonne, for the contynual desire, that they haue to gett other. And they thinke that there was no feaste nor other thynge so playsante, as that, in whyche they executed the thynge, whyche they enterprysed. and that the repose, that men take throughe necligence, ys more damageable to the parsone, than laborious exercise. in such sort that it may be wel said (to cõprehend all in fewe wordes) that they be borne vnto such wytt, that they cannot be in rest, nor suffer other to rest. Hauing than one such a cytie your enmye, you slepe, lordes Lacedemonies. and thinke that they may well reste, who, whan it is necessary) execute vertuously. & geue to vnderstãd, that if any would oultrage them, they haue the harte to resiste. And youe mesure youre modestie & equitie, with no wille to do euille to an other. and to reuenge youe, whan men would do it. whyche thynge youe shall skarcely do whan you haue to do with a cytie your neyghbour, whych shalbe equall wyth yours. And nowe you woll, as we haue before declared, lyue & be conuersant with the Athenians accordinge to thair auncẽt mãners & customes. but it is necessary to haue regard to ỳ thinges newe & presente in this case, as in all other busynes. For as it is right conuenẽt for a cytie, that ys in rest & peace, not to change hys lawes & auncyent customes, right so, for that, whyche is oppressed with affaires by an other: It is necessary to thinke on many newe thynges. And to Imagynne many craftes for to resiste. & it is the cause, wherby the Athenyans be alwayes inclyned to enterprise new thinges, muche more than we, for the greate experience that they haue. wherfore, lordes, it is nedefull that henceforwardes, youe cease youre prolonging and slackenes, & that youe succour your frendes, specially those, that be at Potyde as we

haue

haue vnderstanded. And entre with diligence into the landes of the Athenyans. and suffer not your frendes and parentes to fall into the hande of your mortall ennemys, nor also that we the other, be constrayned through despayre, to seke other allyaunce than yours, whyche we may well do in thys case, wythout to be reprehended of the goddes, by whome we haue made othe, or also of men, that shall vnderstande the reasone, wherfore we shall haue done yt. For they that departe from thair allyes, beinge by them forsakenne, arne not to be reputed breakers of faythe. but worthely those, whyche haue denyed them succour. whyche if ye do fourthwith delyuer vs, we wyll parseuer in the faythfulnes, that we owe youe. For dounge otherwyse, we shulde be vnhappy, and also coulde not recouer it of other people, that haue, as greatly, biloued vs. Upō whych thynges it may please youe to take good counsayle and good deliberation. and so to do, that yt may not be not sayde, that you gouerne the countrey of Peloponese wyth lesser dygnytie and reputation, than your parentes dyd, that haue lefte youe thys gouernance. In this manner, spake the Corinthians. Nowe were than in the cytie of Lacedemonie, certayne Ambassadours of the Athenyans, whyche were sente thider longe bifore, for other matters. Who, vnderstandyng thies complaintes and practises, denised, that it was expedyēt for thair honnor to go towardes the Senate of the cytie, not for to aunswere to the complaintes, that were made agaynst the Athenyans: but for to shewe them in generall, that they oughte not to determyne vpon those thynges, bifore they had first well digested them. and to do them to vnderstande the strengthe of thair sayd cytie, bringinge to remembrance of the auncyent men the thynges, whyche they knewe, and doynge the ponge men do vnderstande those thynges, wherof they had yet no experience. For they thought well, that, whan the Lacedemonyans had vnderstande thaire declarations, they wolde be more enclyned to maigntaigne the peace, and rather contynue in reste, than to begynne the warre. For this they sayde vnto the lordes of the counsaylle, that they had some matter to shewe them, if it were thair plaisirs, who gaue them audyence. And they did speake in this manner.

The narration of the Ambassadours Athenians to the Counsaylle of the Lacedemonyans.

The.viii. Chapter.

WE be not come into this towne, lordes Lacedemonyās, for to debate wyth our allyes, but we were here for other matters, as ye do know. yet vnderstandyng the complaynctes, that the othere cyties do make agaynste ours, we be willinge to presente and declare, not for to aunswere, against ethe charges that they lay vnto vs (for also you arne not our iudges betweene vs and them) but to the entente, that you credite not lyghtly that, whyche they say agaynst vs, and for thair parsuation determyne slightly in this matter, (whyche is of so greate importance) otherwyse, than is requisitt. and also for that, that we woll well informe youe of our affaires and dedes, as they bee, and that the same, whyche we holde, we haue lawfully gott oneyt. And furthermore that our cytie ys suche, that yt ought to be estemed. And wythout reherslynge the thynges so auncyent, that men haue more knowlaige therof by common fame and renomme, than by true scyence: we wol speake of them that were

doone

doone in the warre of the Medes, wherof youe haue true knowlaige. although that it be noysome and molestuous to repete it often tymes, yet it is necessary nowe to do it. And also if that, whyche we than did at our great danger, redoundeth to the comon weale of all Greece (wherof youe haue bene partetakers) men shulde not be asshamed to shewe it, not somuche for to excuse and iustifie oure selues of the thinges that arne layde to vs, as for to do youe to vnderstande with what cytie, you shall haue to do, if that through euill counsaille, you enterprise the warre. For turste it is very certayne, that we onely wente bifore the straungers in danger of oure lyues at Marathonie. And afterwardes, whan they came agayne the seconde tyme, seinge that we were not myghtie inoughe to goo to fyght wyth them by lande, we wente to encounter them by sea wyth all our shippes, and vainquished them at Salamyne. whych victorie letted them, that they wente not to pillage and fourraige all your townes and cyties of Peloponese. whyche they might easely haue donne, consyderinge that they coulde not succour the one the other agaynste oone so mightie an armye by sea, as they hadde. The whyche thynge, the Barbarous kynge did well than declare. For beinge by vs ouercommed by sea, and knowynge that he coulde neuer assemble one suche a puyssance, he retourned wyth the greater partie of his hooste. by whyche dede, being fully clere and notorious, that the force of Greece, consisted in the armye by Sea, we fournished than thre thinges, vtile and profytable for all Greece. To wytt, greate nomber of shyps, a Cappytayne ryght wyse and diligente, and a harte obedyent and corragious. For as touchinge the shippes, we hadde lytle lesse than foure houndredde, whych were two partes of the hole armye. Concerninge the Cappytayne, we gaue youe Themistocles, whiche was principal author and mouer, that the battaile was made in the discreate of the sea, which without all doubte, was the saulgarde of Greece. By occasyon wherof, youe iudged vnto hym singular honors, more than to any other estrangier, that euer came vnto youe. And as for the courageousnes of harte, we shewed yt very openly. For seing that we had not any succour by lande, for that, that the ennemys had lately gayned all that, whyche was bifore vs, we determyned to leaue our cytie, and to destroye our houses, and to loose our particular goodes, (not for to habandonne and forsake our frēdes and allyes and to disperse ourselues into dyuers places, which if we had done, we had not done them any iniurie) but we went fourth to serche the dangers vpon the Sea, wythoute hauinge regarde or shewinge any grudge againste you, for that, that ye came not to succoure vs in tyme of nede. wherfore we may well say for trouth, that we were as profitable than vnto you, as you vnto vs. For youe, that kepte stille the townes inhabyted and therin had your goodes and your wyues and childrenne, fearing to lose them, came to our ayde, not somuche for vs, as for yourselues. For if you hadde mynded to haue done for vs, youe shulde haue come thider bifore oure cytie had bene habandoned and destroyed. but as touchynge vs in forsakyng our towne, (whiche nowe had no more fourme of a cytie) for to succour yours than, whan it had no great apparance to saue yt selfe, we were well wyllinge to cōmyt and putt ourselues into the dangers of the sayd warres. and by thys meane was cause, for a greate parte, of your saulftie and of ours. where, if we had bene mynded to submit ourselues vnto the kynge of Mede, as many other countreis did, fearynge to be destroyed: or after that we had habandoned our cytie, had not had the hardynes to take the seas, but as people sayntе harted, had wythdrawen our ourselnes into sure places: truly ye durst not haue comme bifore the ennemy with so smal nomber of shyppes, as youe than hadde. wherupon by that meane, youe shulde haue

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bene constrayned to haue done, as he wolde, wythout any faightinge. Nowe semeth it not vnto youe, lordes Lacedemonyans, that for thys our hardynes and prudence, we be wel worthy to haue and obtaigne the principalitie & seigniory, whiche we nowe haue? Whyche ought not to be enuyed nor molested by Grece, for that, that we gott yt not by force: but partly by pursuyng the ennemyes, whiche you woulde not do, and partly at requeste of some of our allyes, that came to praye vs that we wolde take them into oure protection and gouernance. By meanes wherof, we haue bene constrayned to conserue and encrease our principalitie from that tyme vntyll this presente, furste for feare, afterwardes for honnour, and fynally for profytt. And semge also that we we enuyed of many people, and that some of our subiectes and confederates, be lately rebelled againste vs, whome we haue subdewed and chastised, yea and that youe arne moued to departe from our amytie and haue some suspition againste vs, we shulde not be well counsailled to desiste from our trauayle, but we shulde putt our selues into greate daungier. For they, that shulde departe from our obeysance, shuld come vnder yours. wherefore no man is to be blamed, if in thynges, wherin he parceyueth greate danger, he prouydeth for his indempnyte. And youe, lordes Lacedemonyens, do not you gouerne for your profitte the cyties of Peloponese? And if youe had contynued in your Empyre from the warre of the Medes vntil this present, youe shulde haue bene both enuyed (as we be) of straugers, and also molestuous and rigorous to youre subiectes. And of force, youe shulde aither haue bene blamed to haue bene to farre imperiall and rygorous to youre subiectes, or elis haue bene constrayned to put your estate into dangier. And therfore if that we haue taken and conserued the rule and superiorite, that hath bene geuen vs, we haue done no newe thynge, nother that, that ys contrary to humayne lawes and customes. And also there be thre great thinges, that defende vs to leue and forsake yt, to wytt, the honnor, the feare, and the profyttte. And of the other parte, we arne not the inuentours and authors of suche thinge, for it was neuer otherwyse, but that the more weake were constrayned to obey vnto the stronger. And we be well worthy and do merytt so to do in our iudgement, and also by yours, if you woll egally consider, both profitt and reason. For no man woll prefarre reason somuche before profitt, that if any honest occasion be offred hym to obteigne aduantage by force, that he woll lett yt slippe. And they be to be prayled, that in vsynge and administringe right, be of nature more benyng and gracious in thair gouernement, than the rule & rygbt of gouerning requyreth, lyke as we do. And if our Empier came into other mens handes, we thinke, that they shulde better parceue yt. Althoughe that for this oure bountie and gentlenes, we gett more reproche, than prayse. whych is a thinge very vnreasonable. For, for that, that we vse the selfe lawes in our contractes and in oure iudgementes with our subiectes. whyche we vse amonge our selues (besides this that it is a thynge contumelious and shamefull for vs) yet they repute vs to be playdors and contentious. And there is not one among thē, that consydereth, that there ys not any people in the worlde, that more gētly entreate thair subiectes, thā we do. And also men do not obey to other, that be playdours, as men do vnto vs. For it is lawfull for them to vse force against thair subiectes, whyche be intierly thair obeissantes. wherfore it is not for them to come therto by iudgement nor proces. But concerninge ours, for the libertye, whyche they haue bene accustomed to haue with vs and to be egall wyth vs in iustice, if a man do them wronge in any thinge by deede or by woorde, be it for neuer so small a matter, for the opynion that they haue in the righteousnes of oure gouernance, and that

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it shulde not be taken from them: they not only be not thankefull to vs, for that the remanant was lefte vnto them, that men might haue taken from them by force: but also they take yt for more displeasure to lose that lytle of thair good, than if at the begynnynge we had vtterly captyued them to our wille, and vsed towardes them violence, & not iustyce. And yet in this case they durste not ones haue murmured or grudged, but being our subiectes by wylle, they would haue thought it a great offence to disobey vs. For we see euydētly that the people take it to be more greuous and are more angry, whan they be wronged, than whan they be forced. Also whā a mā speketh to defraude one, or to do hym wrong, it is sayde, that the iustyce ys comone: but whan a man speaketh of constraynynge, it is vnderstanded that there is a superiour, vsinge wille. Of this cometh yt, that they, whych presently be our subiectes, whan they were in subiection of the Medes, indured paciently thair Empyre, and now ours semeth vnto thē to be harde. But to a discrete parsone, this is no marualle. For al subiectes do alwayes cōplayne of the seignyorie, that is presente. And if your selfe had changed our Empire and shuld rule our subiectes: truly the benyuolence that youe shuld gett of them for the feare, that they haue of vs, shulde tourne into euyll wille or displeasure. if youe wolde kepe the trayne and shewe yourselues of the sorte, that youe declared in that lytle tyme, that ye had the gouernance of all Grece, in the warre of the Medes. For youe do not communycate your lawes and youre customes to othere. And moreouer whosoeuer is sente by youe to be Duke or Cappytayne in any armye, he vseth not other manners, than he was wonted to before. For such, as all the remenant of Grece doth vse, but by all facyōs doth make strange particularites and differente frō other. wherfore, lordes, vouchesauill to cōsider, that the matters whereof ys question, be waighty and of greate importance. And be well worthy to be longe consulted vpon. And geue not somuche faythe to the counsaille and accusacyōs of the other people, that you take this charge so great, vpon youe. But thinke well before the begynning of thys warre, of what importance it is, and the daungers that may chaunce. For by lengthe or contynuance of warre, happenne many hazardes. From whyche, we yet arne clere, bothe youe and we. But whan it shalbe bigonne, yt is not knowin, vpon whiche of vs they shall fall. Also it is certayne, that they that be to desirous and hasty to begynne warre, do peruerte the order of reasone. For they begynne by execution and by force. whyche shulde be laste, after that it were well consulted. whyche faulte no man shall fynde in vs, and also we see not, that it is yet in youe. For this cause, whiles the thinges be entier and hole, we woll well admonushe youe, that youe take good aduise, nother to breake the peace, nor to falsefie your othe. And if there be any difference betwene vs, let vs auoide yt by the manner conteigned in oure sayd treatie of peace. Orells we protest, and take to wytnes, ỳ goddes, by whom we haue sworne, that yf you be the Authors of the warre, we wol pursue yt vnto the ende. Thus dyd the Athenyans speake. And after that the Lacedemonians had harde aswel the complayntes of the Peloponesians, as the declaracyons of the sayde Athenians, they caused them all to go fourthe, and put the matter into deliberacion amonge them selues. So the more parte of them, were of opinion, that the Athenians dyd wronge and that it was expedient to moue war against them wythout longer tarying. Whiche parceyuyng the kynge Archidamus, who was taken to be a wyse man and of clere vnderstandinge, stoode vp, and did speake in this manner.

The narration and proposition of Archidamus kinge of the Lacedemonyans.

The.ix.Chapter.

I Haue experimented many warres, lordes Lacedemonyans, and also I knowe that there be many amonge youe that be in suche age, that they wolde not counsaille to warre, by imprudency and rashly, as yt chaunce the to many, and also wolde not repute warre to be a thynge euer nor good. And if we consyder this same, wherof question ys presently had, we shall not take yt to be smalle. For if question were to make warre agaynste the Peloponesians our neighbours, our strength shulde be lyke vnto thairs. For that, that we might leade our armye subdaunly agaynste euery of them. But to make warre againste them, that be farre from vs, and that be greatly experymented in the sea, and fournished habundantly of all thinges necessary, to wytt, of ryches, aswell in particuler, as in comone, of shippes, of horses, of harnnes & of people, asmuche and more, than any othere cytie of Greece, and also haue moreouer many allyes, trybutours vnto them, howe shulde we enterpryse yt or vpon what hope? Consydering that we arne vnprouyded of all thynges to assayle them fourthwith. For if the question be of an armye by sea, we arne much more weake thã they, so be we of siluer, for that ỹ we haue none in general, nor meane to recouer it by and by, of particulars. Some do trust peraduẽture, that we arne more puyssante than they in the feate of warre. And that we haue more people. By meane wherof we may easely ouerrunne and waste thair landes. But yt muste be consydered that whan we shall haue well wasted thair territorye, they haue much other landes elleswhere. And also they haue the Sea, whyche shall furnysshe thẽ alwayes of that, that shalbe necessary for them. And whan we shal haue practised and caused thair subiectes and allyes to rebell, they muste be succurred by sea. For that the more parte ys inhabytinge in the Ilandes. And therfore, what manner warre shall ours be? Conliderynge that if we be not stronger than they in the sea, or that we take not from thẽ ỹ reuenues, wherwyth they do furnisshe the charge of thair shippes, we shall destroy more of oure landes, than of thairs. And also we may not afterwardes departe with oure honnoure frome warre, specyally beinge thauthours of yt. And we oughte not to hope that by haynge pyllaiged and wasted thaire landes, we haue the former fynished the warre. But I feare rather that in this doing, we leue yt vnto oure childzen. For it is not to bileue that the Athenyãs haue so small harte, that for seing thair terrytorie wasted, that they woll render them subiectes vnto vs, or that they be so afrayde of warre, as if they did not knowe what it is. And yet notwithstandinge I am not so destytute of wytte that I woll counsaile youe to lusser your frendes & allies to be inuryed. And that youe cause not the wronge and deceptes of the sayd Athenyans to be parceyued. But I saye truly that youe ought not yet, to take armure and make warre agaynste them. But youe shulde sende towardes them, and sommon them to do right. Shewinge them, that we be not minded to suffre suche thinges. And that rather we woll fyght, than indure them, wythout alwayes to shewe that we be to soore chafed to beginne the warre. And in the meane tyme, we maye prepare our cale, drawinge to our amytie newe people, aswell Grekes, as straungers from all parties. Whereby we maye haue ayde of shippes and of monney. For yt is lawfull for them, that by thaire allyes be euill

handeled,(as we be by the Athenyans)to take allyaunce, and to make amytie with all people,for to ſaulſe and to kepe thaire eſtate.And alſo we maye in the meane tyme aſſemble oure particuler forces. And if they obey vnto the demandes that our Imballadours ſhall make vnto them,it ſhalbe a right good thing. And if they do it not, we ſhall haue,(by puttinge this practique in vre)two or thre yeares ſpace,for to fourniſhe vs of that,that ys nedefull.And we may afterwardes,if we thinke good,begynne the warre.And whan they ſhall ſee our preparation to be ſuffycient for to execute that,whyche we ſhall haue ſignefied vnto them:they ſhalbe more enclyned to obey vs.And ſpecially,haupnge thair terytorie intier and not waſted. For that, ſhall cauſe queſtyon for to determyne, how they ſhal ſaue thair goodes,bifore they be pilledged by thair enuemys.And I do thynke,that we ſhulde repute and holde that ſame thair territorye(ſo long as it ſhall be entier in thair handes)as for a ſure hoſtage or pledge.And ſomuch the more,as it ſhalbe the better labored.By reaſone whereof,we ought willingly to cõſarue or ſaue it For by deſtroying yt, we ſhulde cauſe them through diſpayer to bicome inexpugnable and not to be ouercome. And if, bifore we be prouyded and furnyſhed,we do waſte the ſayde landes at the deſyre of oure confederates,and by meane of thair accuſations, I feare greately that we ſhall prouyde very euill for the feates of them of Peloponeſe.And that it redounde the to thair greate dammage and diſhonnor,for that,that ſuche accuſations, be they comone or particuler,may well be appaiſed.But a warre,that ſhall begynne by all vs the other in generall, at the deſyre and for the complaynctes of ſome particulers,maye not eaſely be lefte of,with oure honnoure.And alſo we knowe not what ỹ end therof ſhalbe.And if it ſemeth to any,that it is for lacke of harte,that many cyties confederated dare not enterpryſe fourthwith warre agaynſte one only cytie:Conſyder, that they haue of allyes ſo many as we,and thoſe,whyche they haue,be thair cõtrybutours. and ſo be not ours,Cõſyder alſo that to maigteigne warre,it is as neceſſary to haue monney to paye the charges, as to haue people and harnois, whyche be vnprofitable, if there be not wherewith to entertaigne them.And ſpecially for people of mayne lande,againſt thẽ by Sea. wherfore lett vs furſte take order for the expences,and lett vs not feare for the wordes of our allyes.For truly,like as the yll or goodnes that ſhall chaunce,ſhalbe more imputed vnto vs,than vnto them, ſo oughte we to forſee & conſider with greate leaſure,to what ende the thynges maye growe.And you ought not to take for reproche and ſhame,the prolonginge & ſlackenes that they charge vs with. For if youe be to haſty to begynne warre,bifore youe be prouyded,yt ſhall indure ſomuch the longer.And for that, ỹ our cytie hath alwaies bene frãke & right gloryus,yt may wel be ſayd that this prolonging & deliberation haue euer be ioyned with our grauitie.By meane whereof,we alone & none other,do not lyfte vp oure ſelues by pryde in our proſperities, & in our aduerſities do ſhewe oureſelues leſſe aſtonied,thã any other.And alſo we be not moued lightly by praiſings or perſwaſyõs of other,to enterpryſe thinges, ỹ we knowe to be ryght difficile,nor likewiſe by rebukes & reproches.And in effect we be by meanes of this ſobernes both good warryons,and alſo ſage & well aduyſed.To wytt, good warryours,for ſomuche as of that ſobrenes procedeth ſhamefaſtnes & feare of ſhame, & of that cometh hardynes.Alſo we be ſage & well aduiſed,for that, ỹ we be ſo taught & inſtructed fro our youth, not to preſume to be ſo wyſe, as to be bolde to contẽpne & tranſgreſſe our lawes,and to ſhewe our modeſtie,rather by induring thair rigour,thã in diſobeing thẽ. And moreouer we lett not greatly our ſtudy on vayne and vnprofitable thinges,as to deſpyſe and abate by greate narrations & ſtif woordes,

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that be nothing to purpose, ꝯ force and puyssance of our ennemys. or to perswade lightly to begynne warre, as though here were no othere thyng to do. But we haue the prudence to thinke, that the fantasie of men that arne not exceadynge farre from vs, ys lyke vnto ours, and that the hazardes of warre be not compryzed in narrations of many woordes. Wherfore we ought alwayes to geue order to our busynes in effecte, and not by woordes, and to presuppose that we haue to do with suche ennemys, as vse good counsell. And not to putt our confydence in faultes, that may be made, but to presume, that they prouyde aswell for thair affayres, as we for ours, & that there ys not greate difference betwene one man & an other, but that same ys most wyse and most estemed, that shewithe beste his knowlaige at nede. Haue wille therfore (lordes Lacedemonyās) to kepe and entertaigne this forme of lyuynge, whyche your auncesters haue lefte youe. By folowynge wherof, we ourselues haue alwayes prosspted and prospered. And let vs not suffer ourselues to be perswaded, to consulte and determyne in a momēt of tyme, of the lyues and faculties of greate nombere of people, of greate expences, and defrayynge of monney, of many townes and cyties, and of our glory and reputacion. But all at leasure aduyse youe what youe haue to do. For we haue better occasion to tary than any of the other, by reasone of our force. And for cōclusion myne aduyse is, that we shall sende towardes the Athenyās, for to shewe them declarations touchynge Potyde, and the other complaynctes & querells, that arne made agaynste them. And somuche the rather, that they offer themselues to stande to iudgemente, by whyche thair doinge, we may not reasonably go agaynste them, as outragious & enforcers. And neuerthelas may in the meane tyme prouyde vs of thinges necessary for the warre. For by this meane, you shal both prouyde sagely for your affayres, and also put your ennemys in great feare. Thus spake Archidamus. And after that many other had spokenne, in the laste place arose vp Stenelaides, who was for that tyme, one of the Trybuns of the people, that they call Ephores, and he did speake in this manner. Stenelaidas

The narration and proposition of Stenelaydes, by folowinge wherof, warre was concluded agaynst the Athenyans.

The.i. Chapter.

TRuly, lordes, I cannot vnderstande, what the Athenyans will to say by the longe talke, wherwith they haue kepte vs here, for they haue done nothinge but highly praised and sett fourth thair puyssance and thair dedes, without excusinge themselfe in any manner of the iniuries and outrages, that they haue done to oure allyes and to hole Peloponese. And if they were good againste the Medes, somuch arne they double more worthy of punyshment, to be euill against vs, nowe beyng bicome yll, for good. But as touchynge vs, and them that be lyke vnto vs, truly we be holy suche, as we haue bene in tymes passed. And if we be wyse, we woll not despise our allyes that be outraged, nother woll we delaye to succour them, seinge that men delaye not to outrage theyme. And though the other haue more monney: more shippes and more horses than we: we yet also haue good allyes and valyaunte, that deserue not to be forsakē & left to the Athenias, nother that we shuld not redresse thair cōplaintes, for praces nor for wordes, cōsydering ꝯ they be outraged

by dede and not by woordes. But we ought to fyght agaynste them fourthwith and that with all our power. And it is not nedefull that any man teach vs, how we shulde consulte and deliberate in this case, seyng that we be thus outraged. For it is for them, that are mynded to wronge other, conuenyent, to make thies longe consultations. And therefore, lordes Lacedemonyans, iudge manfully and declare warre, in shewynge and defendinge youre dygnitie and maiestye Spertayne. And suffre ye not, that the Athenyans make theirs more greate, nor to destroy oure allyes. But hauinge the goddes to helpe vs, lette vs warre againste them, that do iniurie vs. After that Stenelaides hadde thus spoken, he layde and ordonned that the matter shulde be putte into deliberation of the counsayle, to be determyned by ỳ greater voyce. And for that, that the noyse was greate amongest them, for the diuerlyte of opynyons (for thair custome was to declare and geue thair consente and opynyons by thair voyces and not by small balles) for to encourage them the more to be of his opynyō, he sayd in this manner. All those that be of opynyon, that the Athenyans haue brokenne the allyances and wrōged our frendes: aryse & withdrawe yourselues into this place. shewinge them a certayn place of the halle, where they helde counsaile. And they that shalbe of contrary opynyon, withdrawe youreselfe into the othere. whiche they did. So there was founde a muche greater nomber of them, that were of the opynyon, to make warre. This done, they cauled thair allyes to be called, and shewed them, that they thought that the Athenyans did wronge. But neuerthelas bifore they wolde determyne warre, they were mynded to haue the aduyse and opynyon of them all, to thintent that if it were mete to make it, the same shuld be done by one comon accorde. And hereupon they sente all the Imbassadours that were there, home to thair houses for to consulte euery of them in his quartier. And lykewyse the Athenyans, after they had receiued answere of that, that they were sente for, they retourned to Athenes. And this publicite, that is to say, decre of the people, was made and pronounced the .xiii. yeare after the truyse of thirty yeares, whyche had bene made after the warre of Eubee. And the Lacedemonyans were moued to make this decre, not somuche for the woordes and declarations of thair allyes, as for feare that they had, that the Athenyās shulde make themselues mightier. Seinge that the more parte of Grece, was now subiected vnto them. And they were encreased sens the warre of the Medes, in the manner that foloweth.

Howe the Athenyans after the warre of the Medes, buylded agayne theire cytie, and the begynnynge of thair Empyre in Grece.

The .xi. Chaptre.

Micales Leotychides.

After that the Medes were departed from Europe, beinge vainquisched by the Grekes, aswell by lande, as by sea, and that they, that were saued by sea, were discomforted nigh to Mycale: Lyothichides kyng of Lacedemonyans, (who was Duke and Cappytaine to the Grekes, that were at the same discomfyture of Mycale) retourned home wyth the Grekes of Peloponese, that he had vnder hym. But the Athenyans wyth them of Ionum, and of Hellespont, whyche than were rebelles agaynste the kynge of Sestus Mede, taried and allieged the cytie of Ceste, whiche the same Medes did holde, who did forsake it. And by that meane, the same Athenyans and allyes toke yt,

and

and there kepte thair winter. The wynter passed, they all departed frome Hellespont, the countrey beynge habandoned of the strangers, and the Athenyans wente to take agayne thair wyues chyldren and moueables that were in the cyties, wherin they had bestowed them to be kept, at the begynning of the warre. After, they retourned vnto Athenes, & determyned to make agayne and buylde thair walles of the towne, the moze parte wherof were beaten downe. And likewyse the howsen. some of them in very small nomber relaued. whiche the chiefe of the straungers had kepte for to lodge in. Whyche thinge vnderstandynge the Lacedemonyans, they sente thair Imbassadours to empesche and lette them to doyt. Alwell for that, that they not wyllingly did see, that they noz other shulde haue walles to thair townes, as also at the instigatiõ of thair allyes, that feared the puyssance of the same Athenyans, seing that they had a muche moze greate nomber of shippes, that at begynning of the warre. And that seins the same, they had conceyued a great audacytie. So the sayd Imbassadours requyred thẽ that they wolde not make agayne thair walles, but rather plucke downe all those of the other townes, that were out of Peloponese, that remayned hole. And yet not withstandynge did not declare vnto them the cause that moued them to make this requeste: but shewed thẽ that it was for feare that if they made again thair sayd walles, & the straungers shulde retourne, they shulde haue an other place to receyue them, wherin they myght warre againste them, as they did than in the cytie of Thoebes, whyche they did holde. For they sayde, that Peloponese was a place sure and defensible, suffyciẽt for the retreate of all the Grekes. When the Athenyans had harde this Imbassade, they aunswered that they wolde shortly sende of thair people to Lacedemonye for to make them aunswere. And with this answere sent thẽ again incontynently. And this they did by the counsaille of Themistocles, who perswaded them, that they shulde sende him fourthwyth bifore vnto Lacedemonye, and that within certayn tyme after, they shulde despatche other people, that shuld haue charge of that matter with him, & in the meane tyme shuld cause with all diligence to be sett to worke all thẽ of the towne, alwel lytle, as great, & alwell men, as also women, to make the walles for to rayse thẽ by all meanes to be so high, that they might be sensible, and that they shuld take the matter and the stones there, as they shulde fynde them most ready, without sparing edifices publique or particuler. And after that he had shewed them this, and what he intended to do, he went to Lacedemonye. At whyche place beynge aryued, he went not to the officers, nor to the counsel in many dayes. But whan any of the counsailers demanded him wherfore he slacked somuch to go thider, he founde dyuers excuses saying ỳ he taryed for his cõpaignyons, excusing thair retardãce by dyuers meanes, & neuerthelas saying, that he hoped that they shuld come ryght shortly, & that he marualled, howe they taryed so long. Wherũto the honest people of the towne did geue credite, for the amitie & knowlaige that they hadde of hym. But duryng this tyme, people came euery daye, that reported to the sayd Lacedemonyãs, how that the walles of Athens were cõtynually made vp with all diligẽce. And nowe were so heighned, that it was not to bileue, ỳ they wolde cease. Themistocles, thã seinge that there was no moze meanes to abuse them, prayed them, that they wolde not beleue reapoztes, but to sende frome amongest thẽ faythfull parsones vnto the places for to see the thinge at ỳ eye, and to make vnto thẽ true reapozt. which they did. And on the other side, he sente secretly by one his messenger to aduertyse the Athenyans, that they shuld reteigne the sayd Imbassadours by the most cloked meane that they coulde, & not to suffer them to departe, vntill that he were come again vnto thẽ. In the meane time

aryued togither his companyons of the Imbassade, to wytt, Hambronicus son of Lysicles, & Aristides sonne of Lysimachus. who signefied hym that the walles of Athens were nowe of good heigh and defensible. For he feared that whā the Lacedemonyans vnderstode the trouthe of the thinge, that they wolde restrayne them. The Athenyans did righte well that, whyche he commaunded them. whereof, after that he was aduertysed, he came to the counsayle of Lacedemonyans, and shewed them that the walles of his cytie were nowe made in suche sorte, that they were defensible for them that were within yt. And if the sayde Lacedemonyans or thair sayde allyes woolde frōthence forwardes sende thair Imbassadours, they sholde sende them vnto people, that vnderstode well what were expedyent and profytable for a comon wealth. For at what tyme yt semed vnto them expedyent to forsake thair cytie, and enter into thair shippes, they shewed that they hadde the harte and mynde to do yt, without counsaille of any othere. And also sithens, in all the affayres that happened duringe the warre, whan they were putt into deliberation, thaire opynion was founde so good, as any of the other. And therfore they thought yt good, most expedient and profytable, that thair cytie were encloſed with walles, rather than to leue it open, aswell for the wealth of them, as of thair allyes, for yt were impossible that thinges might egally be consulted vpon, where as indifferēcie were not hadde. wherfore it was nedefulle, aither that all the cyties confederated shulde be without walles, or ells that those Lacedemonyēs confesse & acknowlaige that those of Athēs haue bene made with good raison. The Lacedemonyens shewed not thēselfe to be displeased against the Athenās, for thies wordes. For also they sent not thair Imbassade to impesch thē precisely to make thair walles, but only to perswade them to put the matter into general deliberatiō. For ỳ, that they had thē in great loue, for the good wyll that they had shewed, & for laruyce that they had done at ỳ warre of ỳ Medes. Neuerthelas also they were sory to haue bene so deceyued of thair opynyō. In this māner retourned Thābassadours of both partes without any declaratiō of displeasure. And also ỳ cytie of Athenes, was by this meanes in shorte tyme, encloſed wth walles. which were made with greate haste, as may be well perceiued by this, ỳ men may se the foūdacions to be of many sortes of stones. & in some places they be not layde egall, but as they were founde. And also men may see there, many stones wrought and entailled, whiche had bifore serued for monumentes or tombes. and had made the circuicte of the walle muche more large than the towne was. And for this cause they toke the stuf in all places to fournyshe yt. Besides this, Themistocles perswaded the Athenyans to make an ende of the walle, whiche he had causeld to be begonne in the yeare, whā he was gouernour and ruler of the cytie about the gaate of the sayd cytie, that is called Pyree alweil for that, that the place was very propice, so as it than was (and yet beinge encloſed shuld be more necessary, hauing thre natural portes encloſed) as also to the intent that the Citezeins, might the rather geue thēselfe to saylinge, whyche was the thyng, by meanes wherof, he thought that the cytie might be made more puyssante. For this cause he was the furste, that had the hardynes to say to the Athenyās, that there lacked to rule the sea. And incōtynently afterwarde begonne to enterprise the Empyre. Thus by hys counsaile, the wall was made and fynysshed, wherwith the porte of Pyree was encloſed (so that we se it now if such largenes, that two wagons may passe there) al of great quartered fre stones wtfourth made with chalke & sande, and on the owte side the stones be ioyned with graspes of irone with leade. But yt it is not rayſed aboue ỳ one halfe in height, that it was appoynted to be of. which was such, ỳ if it had

Pyreus.

had bene so made, A very fewe people, though they were no warryous, might haue kepte it agaynste a greate armye. And the other people of defence, myghte haue entred theyr shyppes for to fyght. For all hys entente was principally, to the assayres of the sea. For thys cause (as I thinke) that he perceyued that the Medes, yf they wolde retourne into Grece, might come sooner, & more easely by sea, than by lãde. Wherfore it was more expedyẽt, to fortefye the porte of Pyree, than the cytie. For this cause, he oftentymes perswaded the Athenias, ỳ yf they were constrayned or ouercharged by lande, they might retyre & strength them in thys place, and make all their defence by sea. In suche manner, the Athenyans after the departure of the Medes, fortefyed theyr cytye and theyr porte wyth walles. Anone afterwardes, Paulanyas Lacedemonyan, sonne of Cleombrotus Duke of Grekes, departed from Peloponese with twenty greate shyppes. And with hym went thirty other shyppes wyth Athenians, togeders with a greate nomber of other theyr allyes, whiche wente all to lande in Cypres. where they toke by force, many townes and cytyes. And frõ thence went to Bizance, which the Medes dyd yet than hold, and dyd take it lykewyse by force. All which thinges were done vnder the conduct of the sayde Paulanias. But for that he shewed hym selfe to lofty, or high, and imperiall towardes the allyes, and impytuous to all other, and specyally to the Ionyans and those that newely had bene recouered from the obeysance of the Medes, they could not indure it. but prayed the Athenyans for the amyte and allyãce that was betwene them, that they wouldebe theyr heades, and not suffre, that the sayde Paulanias shulde so oppresse and ouertreade them. Wherunto the Athenyans gaue willyngly the eare, and watchedde the meane and occasyon, howe they might most honestlye do it. So chaunced it, that in the meane tyme, Paulanias was sent for or commaunded home, by the Lacedemonyans, who had nowe ben aduertysed by many people of the vyolences, that he dyd, and that he gouerned hymselfe more lyke a tyraunte, than a Duke. And by thys meane, all at one tyme, he was called backe, & all the Grekes became vnder the obeysance of the Athenyans, reserued them of Peloponese. And after that the same Paulanias was come agayne to Lacedemonye: he was conuicted of many violences & particuler pyllages, but no greate tryme coulde be approued agaynste hym. Neuertheles before he was acquyted, it was layde to hys charge, that he had confederacie wyth the Medes. And for so muche as it was in a manner clerely approued so to be, they wolde not sende hym agayne to the armye, to haue the charge, but in hys stede they sent Dorres, and certayne other Capitaines with a small nomber of people. But whan they were aryued at the armye, the sayde men of warre, seing, that Dorres regarded them not, retourned vnto theyr houses. Whiche seynge, the Lacedemonians wolde not sende other vnto them, fearyng that those, that they shulde sende thẽ, shulde become worse, lyke as they had experimented by Paulanias. And moreouer they delyred gladly to be delyuered from the warre of the Medes. And to leue the charge therof, to the Athenyans, who semed to them to be people mete to haue conduyte therof, and also were than, theyr good frendes. The Athenyãs haupnge by thys meane taken the auctoryte and principalitie vpon the Grekes, imposed and rated for euery of the cities confederated, a certayne nomber of shyppes, and a certayne quantytie of monney for defence of the countrey against the Medes. And also to reuenge them of the euyls, that they had done in the countreye of Grece. Wherunto, the sayde confederates dyd gently agree for the great hatred that they hadde conceyued agaynste Paulanias. And than treasourers and receiuours were furst created by the Athenians, for to recouer, and kepe

Paulanias. Byzantium. Dorcis.

the monney of that same imposte, whiche they called, Tribute. And it was the
Delos. furste, that euer had bene impoſed ouer the Grekes, and yt amounted to the ſo-
me of foure houndred threſkooze talentes, and the temple of Delos was choſen
foz to kepe it in. And there the sayde confederates dyd make theyz assemblies, and
ſo euery of the confedered cytyes, at the begynnynge, did chose theyz Dukes and
heades, whiche dyd gouerne them accozdyng to theyz lawes. And they were all
called, and had theyz voyce in the common consultacyons that were made foz
the feates of warre. The Athenians came to thys degre of rule and auctozytye,
by occasyon of warre with the Medes. And foz the deſyre that they had to do
greater thynges. But sythens the sayde warre vntyll this presente, whereof we
speake, the sayde Athenyans dyd many greate feates. aswell agaynſt straūgers,
as agaynſt theyz cōfederates, that wolde haue made nouuelties, and also againſt
certayne Peloponeſiās, which in all the affayres of the sayd Athenyās, were wil-
lyng to withstande and hynder them. The whiche matters, I am mynded here
to bryngе in, departynge somewhat from my narration, foz that, that all they,
whiche haue wzitten ome before me, haue omytted this parte. makynge onely mē-
tion of thynges, that were done before the warre of the Medes, oz in the same
warre. And specyally Helicanus, who speaketh some thynge in hys hyſtozye of
Athenyans, and toucheth it compendyouſly, without parfaictynge oz makynge
distinction of the tyme. Also it semeth vnto me conuenyent, to make this narra-
tion foz that, that thereby it shalbe vnderſtande, howe the Empyze of the Athe-
nyans hath bene eſtabliſhedde.

Of warres that the Carthagi-
ans had, after that same of Medes, vntyll this presente warre, aswell agaynſt the straungers, as agaynſte the Grekes, by meanes whereof they increased theyz Empyze and auctozytie.

Cap. xii.

Cimon. Eyona. Strymon. Scyros Dolopes. Caristii Euboea Naxi

AND furste, vnderconducte of Cymon sonne of Mylciades, they toke
and pyllaged the toune of Eyonne, which is vpon the ryuer of Stry-
monne, that the Medes dyd kepe. After, they toke and fourraged the
Isle of Scyze, that is in the sea, Egee, and frō thence chaled the Tol-
lopes, who kepte it, and dyd inhabyte it with their people. And after, they had
warre agaynſte the Caristyans and other of the Isle of Eubee, whome fynallye
they subdued by treatie, and succelliuely the Naxiens, that were rebelles againſt
them, who being conquered by foze, were the furſt of the cyties confederated, ẏ
the Athenyans brought into seruitude agaynſt the fourme of the allyance. And
they dyd the lyke afterwardes vnto other, which rebelled in lyke manner, which
many dyd, by reasone of this, that whan they fayled to fourniſh the nomber of
shyppes, oz to paye the trybute, that they had graunted, oz ells that they depar-
ted from the armye wythout lycence, the Athenyans conſtrayned and puniſhed
thē rygourouſly, which thyng was to greuous foz thē to indure. Foz ẏ they had
not bene accuſtomed to be ſo conſtrayned. And neuertheles they sawe ẏ Athenyans vſe more auctozitie, thā they were accuſtomed, & ẏ the warre was not egal-
ly made, by reason of this, ẏ thoſe Athenias had the power to cōſtrayne thē, that
fayled, wherof, they themſelues that were conſtrayned had bene cause, foz that
that

that through slouthfulnes to go to warre, and that they wolde not forsake their houses, some amonge them had compounded to geue moneye in steade of shippes, whiche they were bounde to sournyshe for theyr portion. By meane wherof the power of the Athenyans waxed strong by sea, and they abodde holy destitute of shyppes. In suche sorte, that whan afterwardes they wolde haue rebelled, they founde themselues vnprouyded, and coulde not resiste. After these thynges the Athenyans and theyr confederates made warre agaynste the Medes. And in one daye, hadde two victoryes, the one by lande nyghe the ryuer of Eurymedone in the countreye of Pamphilie, and the other vpon the sea, nyghe therunto, vnder the conducte of Symon. In whiche battayle by sea, were taken and descōfyted all the shyppes and galleis of the Phenycians, which were to the nomber of two houndred. It chaunced anone after, that the Thasians rebelled from the sayde Athenyans, by occasyon that the same Athenyans made theyr estaple of marchaundyses, and specyally of Iron, in the quarter of Thrace, whiche was on the other syde of the sea, dyrectly agaynst them. But the Athenyans sente thyder theyr armye by sea, whiche descomfyted that same of the Thasians. And afterwardes landed and allieged the cytye. In thys selfe tyme, they sente tenne thousande housholdes, aswell of their citezeins, as of theyr allyes, to the quarter of Strymonne for to inhabyte wyth theyr people the towne, whiche was than called, neuf chemins, and is nowe named Emphypolis, and chaled from thence the Edonians, that held it. But afterwardes, those Athenians beyng entred further by lande into the countreye of Thrace, were all descomfyted, nyghe vnto Darasinque, by the people of the countrey, who were displeased, that the sayde towne was so peopled with straungers. In these affayres, the Thasians that had bene ouercome by sea, and were allieged by the Athenyans as is before sayde: sente towardes the Lacedemonyans, to requyre succoure. prayinge thē, that they wold enter into the countreye of the sayd Athenyans, to thintent that they might be constrayned to rayse and breake theyr siege, and go to succour theyr lāde. which thynge the Lacedemonyans dyd secretely graunte to do. and had parfourmed it, had not bene a greate earthquake, which happened in theyr countrey. By meanes wherof, they durste not enteryryse that warre. And also it chaunced in the selfe same tyme, that all the captyues of the Lacedemonyans, that were in the quarter of Thuriate and of Elchee, dyd flye vnto Ithome, which slaues or captyues, were, for the more parte, descended of thancyent Messenyens, that were brought into captiuitie. And herfore they were al called Messenyans. By occasion wherof, the Lacedemonyans beganne warre agaynste them of Ithome. and thereby, coulde not succour them of Thase. who, by these meanes, were constrayned by the lengthe of the alliege, at the ende of thre yeares, to render them to the wylle of the Athenyans. whiche dyd rase downe theyr walles, and toke from thē all theyr shyppes. And further, caused them to pay all that, that they could make at that tyme, and taxed great stipendes to be payde in tyme to comme. But by thys meane, they lefte them theyr territorye and the mynes of metalls, that were in the mountaygnes. During thys tyme, the Lacedemonyans perceyuing that the warre, which they had begonne agaynst them of Ithome, dyd draw to be very longe, they sente to all theyr allyes, to haue succour and ayde of thē. And amonge the other, towardes the Athenyans, for that they semed vnto them, most expert to assaulte townes & walles, and that by theyr ayde they myghte take the towne by lengthe of siege. whiche they myght haue done, for the Athenyans sente vnto them Cymon, with a greate bende, yf the Lacedemonyans had not suspected the sayd Athenyans. wherby afterwardes, open discorde folowed

Eurime don.

Thasii.

Amphipolis.

Edoni.

Drabescus.

Thuriate.

Ethees.

Ithome.

Messenii.

discorde folowed betwene them. For that, that the Lacedemonians, seyng: that the towne receyued them not, they beganne to doubte them, and to feare the audacitie of the Athenyans, and theyr redynes to enterpryse newe thynges. In such sorte, that they doubted, that they of the towne, hadde some intelligence or confederation wt thē, by meane wherof they shewed thē, that for that tyme they had no more nede of theyr succour. And vnder thys coulour, lycenced them to depart, reteignyng neuertheles alle the other confederates. Wherupon the Athenyans knowyng euydently that thys was done for suspytyon, and not for other cause, toke this lycence to great displeasure. For they thought well, that they had not merited that same, towardes the Lacedemonyens. And therfore beyng comme agayne to Athenes, and hauyng made reaporte to the cytezens, they departed from the amytie and allyance, that they had made with the Lacedemonyans at the warre of the Medes, and dyd reallye themselues with the Argyues, who were ennemyes of the Lacedemonyans, and both two togidres made allyance with the Thessalyans. But in the meane tyme, they that were within Ithome, seynge them to weake to resiste the might of the enemys, beyng also anoyde by the length of the siege, which they had nowe susteigned nighe vpō tenne yeares, they made appoinctement with the Lacedemonyans. By whiche it was ordeyned, that they shulde auoyde the towne and all the countreye of Peloponese in suertye, wythout euer to retourne thyder. And yf any of them were found there, that he shuld be bondman vnto hym that toke hym. which appoinctment those same Lacedemonyans made, through occasyon of an aunswere, that they had had before, durynge the warre, by the Oracle of Apollo pythius. Which was of suche substaunce. The Ithomyan, that shall requyre mercye, ought to be suffred to passe. And the Ithomyans being by thys meane chased from theyr landes, withdrewe themself, all, with theyr wyues and houseboldes, towardes the Athenyans. Who, for the hate, that they had agaynste the Lacedemonians, receyned them willyngly, and sente them to inhabit the Islande of Naupacte, which they had newely conquered. And they hadde chased from thence the Locres Olsolyans. And in a manner, at the self same tyme, they of Megare departed frome the allyance of the Lacedemonyans, and rendred them selues vnto the Athenyans. By occasion of thys, that hauyng warre agaynste the Corinthians for theyr lymytes or boundes, the sayde Lacedemonyans sent them no succoure. And by this meane, the Athenyans do holde Megare, & the towne of fountaynes, which they name Pegale. which place of Megare, they fortefyed with thicke walles, & extended from the cytye, vntyll the ryuer of Nysee. And the same Athenyans caused those walles to be warded by theyr people. whiche was the furste cause of the enmytye betwene the Athenyans and the Corinthians. It chaunced vpon thys, that Inarus sonne of Sammyticus kynge of Lybyans, that be borderers to the countreye of Egypte, hauynge assembled a mightye puyssance in hys citie named Marye sur le Phare, entred into the sayde countreye of Egypte, which was than in the subiection of king Artharerses. and so what by force, and what by treatie, wythdrewe a greate parte to hys obeysance. and that done, sent towardes the Athenyans for to make allyaunce with them. who at that tyme were aryued at the Islande of Cipres, with two houndred shyppes, aswell of theyr owne, as also of theyr allyes. And after that they had harde and vnderstanded the requeste of the sayd Inarus, they lefte the enterpryse of Cypres, and wente from those parties, and by the sea, entryng into Nylus, they toke at theyr aryual two partes of the cytye of Memphis. And the thyrde, named, the whyte walle, they belieged. Wherunto were retyred the Medes & the Perses, that were escaped

Argiui.

Thessali.

Naupactum.

Nisoea.

Maria super Pharū.

Memphis.

ped from the other two partes with the Egyptians, that were not rebelles. On the other syde, in the self same tyme, the Athenyans that wente fourthe with theyr shyppes, nyghe vnto Halie, dyd fight agaynste the Corinthians, & againste the Epydaurians, and were vanquyshed. But anone after in a battayle by sea, which they had agaynst the Peloponesyans nere vnto Cerryphale, they had the victorye. And agayne after, hauyng begonne warre agaynst the Egenytes, they had there an other great battayle betwene them by sea, nygh vnto Egyne, in the which, all the allyes and confederates of bothe partyes dyd mete, wherof lykewyse those Athenyans had the victorye, and dyd wynne or drowne. lxx. shyppes of ennemys. And pursuyng theyr victorye, entred into lande, and besieged the sayde citie of Egyne. Hauing Locrates, the sonne of Stribus, for Capitaine. whiche seynge, the Peloponesyans dyd take the quarell of the saide Egynettes, as theyr allyes, and sente to theyr succoure for the begynnynge, three houndred mē, Corinthians and Epidaurians, who occupied the promontoryes of Geranee. And on the other syde, the Corinthians with theyr allyes, entred in battayle into the lande of Megare, thinkyng that the Athenians, hauing an armye in Egypte and at Egyne, could not defende, in so many places: and at the least, yf they wold defende the countreye of Megare, they shulde be cōstrayned to rayse theyr siege from before Egyne. whiche notwithstandynge, they dyd not. But all they, that coulde beare harmoies, aswell olde as ponge, came out of the cytye, and met the Corynthyans before Megare. And so dyd fyght agaynst them. And the battaile was so egall, that aither of the partyes, pretended to haue had the victorye therof. But the Athenians dyd make and set vp theyr Trophe or signe of victorye, pretending to haue had the better, for that, that they abodde and kepte the cāp. By meane wherof the Corinthians, that were retourned into theyr cytye, seynge that the auncyent cytezens blaymed them, for that they were retyred, came agayne twelue dayes after, for to plante and set vp theyr Trophee, for anempste the same of the enemyes. But the Athenyans that were in Megare, yssued forth vpon them with so greate furye, that they slewe all them, that hadde sett vp the sayde Trophee. and the other ỳ shulde haue bene theyr saulfgarde, they put to flyght. Of whome a great parte in theyr fleynge, ranne into a felde closed wyth dyches, so that there was none commynge fourthe. which seyng, the Athenyans dyd set at the entryng a good bende of theyr men to kepe them, that they retourned not backe. And the other ennyroned the sayde dyche on all sydes, and with strokes of stones slewe all them that were entred within. which was a great plage to them of Corinthe, though the reste of their people dyd saue themself within the towne. Aboute the tyme that these thynges were done, the Athenyans enterprysed and begamme to make two great and thicke walles, that wente from the cytye. Thone, vntyl the port of Pyreus, and the other vntyl the same of Phalere. At which tyme, the Phociens hadde their armye agaynst the Dorians, frō whome the Lacedemonyans were nowe departed, & helde besieged thre of theyr townes, to wytt, Beon, Sytynyō & Erineon. Wherof after ỳ they had taken the one, the Lacedemonias sent to the succour of the said Dorians, Nicomedes sonne of Celobrotus, who than gouerned the citie, for & in stede of Plistynates sōne of Paulanias, kynge of Lacedemonias, wt a thousand, fyue houndred men of their lande, & about ten thousand of their allies & cōfederates. Notwithstādyng before they aryued, Understanding ỳ the Dorians had rendred thēself, by composition vnto the Corinthias, they retourned vnto their houses. But they were in greate feare to be empesched by ỳ Athenias yt they toke their voiage by sea for on ỳ coste of the goulphe of Crissee, the Athenias had great nōber of shyppes armed, & on the other coast of Geraine, there was also dāger. for ỳ the Athenyans dyd holde us.

Halia.

Cerryphalea.

Aeginete.

Aegina.

Locrates.

Geranea.

Phalern.

Dorees.

Nicomedes.

Plistoanar.

Crisloe.

Megare

Megare and countaynes, called Megale, and had there alwayes both people and shyppes. And further the passage was harde and straycht. and also they knewe that the Athenyans dyd there wayte for them. For this cause they concluded for the moste expedyente, to soiourne in the countreye of the Beotians, vntyll suche tyme, that they had better aduysed for theyr iourneye. And also at the persuasion of some of the Athenyans, suche as imagyned to chaunge the gouernaunce popular of the cytye of Athenes, and to lett that the walles shulde not be parfaicted, that were begonne. But the Athenians that perceyued it, came fourth agaynst the Lacedemonyans, both olde and yonge to the nomber of a thousand, and assembled of theyr allyes, to the nomber of .xiiii. thousande, aswel for that, that it semed to them, that theyr ennemys knewe not whyder to go, as also for that, that they greatly doubted that they were cõme for to trouble theyr estate and common gouernaunce. Beside the sayd nomber, certayne horsmen of the Thessalians, came to ayde the sayde Athenians, for the allyance that they hadde with them. But they tourned to the other parte, at the battayle, that was made nyghe the towne of Tanagre, in the countreye of Boece, wherof the Lacedemonyans hadde the victorye, notwithstandyng that there was greate manslaughter on bothe sydes. After which victorye, the Lacedemonians entered into the countreye of Megare, and cut downe all theyr trees, afterwardes toke theyr iourney by Geranye and by the distraict of Peloponese, and retourned into theyr houses. But the Athenyans three skoore dayes after the sayd battayle losse, retourned with a myghty power into the countreye of the Beotiens, vnder the conduct of Myronides, and hadde a victorye ouer them, nyghe Enophite, and by meane therof, sayled themself of all the lande of Beoce, and of Phocide, and rased downe the walles of Tanagre, and toke a houndredd hostages or pledges of the rychest of the Locriens and the Eponcens. And also they fynyshed in the selfe tyme the two walles, that they had begonne at Athenes, for to extende vnto the two portes. After thys, the Egenytes were constrayned by lengthe of siege, to render them selfe to the Athenians, vpon these conditions, that they shuld beate downe theyr walles, geue ouer all theyr shyppes, and yearely pay certayne trybute. At departure from thence, the Athenyans wente rounde about Peloponese, and burned the senses of the Lacedemonyans. and toke from the Corinthians, the towne of Calcabe. After thys, at theyr landynge, they fought agaynste the Cycionyens which were comme thyder agaynst them, and vanquished thē, all which thynges were done in Greece by the Athenyans, in the tyme, that they had theyr armye in Egypte. In whiche countreye, they had many dyuers aduētures of warre. And besydes thys the kynge of Perse, from the begynnynge that he vnderstode theyr commynge into that same countrey, sente one hys capitame a Persian, named Megabalus into Lacedemonye, wyth a greate somme of monye, for to persuade the Lacedemonyans, that they shulde by force enter into the lande of Athenes, to thintent to dyuerte or tourne by thys meane, the Athenians from Egypte. But after that the sayde Megabalus had spente one parte of the monneye, and sawe that he nothyng preuayled: he retourned with the rest into Egypte, and sente an other capytayne, named also, Megabalus, sonne of Zephirus Persian to the sayde countrey of Egypte, with a great armye, which, beyng arryued, hadde a battayle agaynst the Egyptyans, whiche were rebelles & agaynst theyr allyes, in the which they were vainquyshed, and the Grekes that were within Memphis, were chased away. who withdrewe themself into the Ilande of Prosopyde, whiche is in the Ruer of Nylus. in the whiche, the sayd Megabalus held them besieged, one yeare and an half. Durynge whiche tyme, he

Tanagra.

Myronides.

Megabazus.

tourned

tourned the water from one of the sydes of the sayde Iland. In such sorte, that the shyppes of the sayde Athenyans laye on drye lande, and that the Iland was ioyned to the fyrme lande. And thys done Megabasus entred drye footed within the Iland with hys armye, and discomfyted the Athenyans, and by thys meane, that, whiche they had done in the sayde countreye of Egypte in sire peares, was all lost at one instant, togethers wyth the more parte of theyr people. And the reste which was very smal, saued themselues through the cõtrey of Lybye, and came to aryue at Cyrene. And by thys meane, the countreye of Egypte came agayne to the obeysance of the kynge of Mede, except the countrey, that Amyrteus did holde, for that, that it was all maryce and forestes. And moreouer the people of that regyon were all good warryours. But Inarus kynge of Lybyens, that had bene cause of all the rebellyon, was taken by traylone and afterwardes hanged on the gallowes. During thys tyme, fyfty galleys, whiche the Athenyans sente to succoure theyr people in Egypte, arryued at one of the armes or entrynge of Nylus, named Mendesius, not knowynge the dyscomfyture of theyr sayde people, whiche were assauted, on the lande syde, by the people on foote that were there, and on the sea syde, by the galleys of Phenycians. In suche manner, that the greater parte were drowned, and the other saued themselfe with force of oores. Suche ende and yssue toke the great armye and enterpryse of the Athenyans and of theyr allyes in the countreye of Egypte. After the whiche, Orestes sonne of Echratydes, beyng chased from the countrey of Thessale by the kynge of the sayde lande, named Pharsalus, had recours to the sayde Athenyans, and perswaded them in suche wyse, that they enterpryled to set hym agayne into the sayde countreye. And so came with ayde of the Beocyans and Phocyans, to lande in Thessale. And toke that, that was in fyrme lande nyghe the sea, and kepte it so longe, as they helde themself in battayle all togethers, for the horsmen of the kynge, withstoode them to enter any further into the countrey. By occasyon wherof, seyng that they coulde take no stronge towne, nor execute theyr enterpryse, they retourned without doyng any other thynge, but that they caryed Orestes wyth them. Anone after, a thousande Athenyans that were in the place of fountaynes, named Pegase, whiche they helde, entered into theyr shyppes that they had there, and came to aryue in Cytione vnder the conducte of Pozydes, sonne of Xantypus. And beyng landed, they descomfyted an armye of Syconiens, that came to ouertrunne them. This done, they toke the Archers into theyr compaygnye, and passed through Acarnie, for to comme to take the the cytye of Emade, and so assieged it. But seynge that they coulde not take it, they retourned. And thre yeares after, they made truse for fyue yeares with the Peloponesians. During the whiche, albeit that they kepte abstynence of warre in Greece, yet they made an armye of two houndred shippes, aswell of theyrs, as of theyr compaygnyons, whereof Cymon was chyef capytayne, and they wente to aryue at Cypres, being at which place. they were called backe by Amyrteus, king of the maryces and forestes of Egypte, and so they sente to the sayde countreye of Egypte, thre skore of theyr shyppes. The reste remayned at the siege before the cytye of Cytye. But beyng Cymon theyr capytayne there deade, and they in greate necessitie of victuayles, they departed from the sayd siege to haue retourned, and sayllynge forasempste the cytye of Salampne, whiche is in Cypres, they soughte aswell by sea, as by lande, agaynste the Phenycyans, and agaynste the Ciliciens, and had in bothe battayles, bycotye,

Amyrteus.
Inarus
Mendesius.
Orestes
Pharsalus.
Scyconius.
Pozydes.
Citium

and afterwardes, they came againe into theyr countrey. And also the other shippes of theyr bende, whiche were gone into Egypte. After thys, the Lacedemonyans, beganne the warre that was called, consecrated. and hauing taken the temple, that is at Delphos, dyd delyuer it agayne to the people of the towne. But it taryed not longe, that the Athenyans came thyder wyth a mightye armye. whiche toke it agayne and delyuered it, to kepe, vnto the Phocians. Anone after, the bănyshed men, that the Athenyans had chased from the countrey of Beoce, hauyng occupyed Orcomenye, Cheronee, and some other townes of the sayde countreye, the Athenians sente thyder a thousande men of theyrs, with an other nomber of theyr allyes, as they myghte redelye get them, vnder the conducte of Tholmydas, sonne of Tholmee. And so toke agayne Cheronee, and furnished it wyth theyr people. And retournyuge from thence, they were encontred by the sayde bănyshed men, Beotiens, who had assembled the bănyshed of Eubee, the Locres, and some other takyng theyr partye. who descomfyted them. The more parte of them beyng slayne. and the other taken pryseners. By whose meane, & by deliuerng of them, the Athenyans made appointment with the sayde Beotiens, & restored them to theyr lybertie. And by occasyon therof, all the bannyshed and other that were gone from the sayd countrey, retourned thyder incontinẽtly, vnderstandynge to be set agayne into theyr former lybertye. It taryed not longe after, that the Islande of Eubee, rebelled agaynste the Athenyans, and so as Pericles, whome the sayd Athenyans had sente with a greate armye for to brynge them into theyr obeysance, was in hys tourneye for to go thyder, he receyued newes, that they of Megare were lykewyse rebelled, and had slayne the garnysone of Athenyans, that were wythin, excepte a small nomber which saued them self at Nisee. And those had gotten vnto theyr intelligence or confederation from the Corynthians, the Sycionyans and the Epidauryens, and moreouer that the Peloponesians shulde enter, with great puissance, into the lande of Athenes. Understandyng the whiche thynges, he lefte the Journeye of Eubee, and came agayne to Athenes, but before that he arryued, the Peloponesyans were nowe entred into the countreye Attique, that is to say of Athenes, and had fourraged and pylled all the lande, from the cytye of Hellusyne, vntyll the felde named Thrasius. hauyng for theyr Duke and Capitaine, Plistonactes sonne to Pausanias, kynge of Lacedemonyans. And that done without passyng any further, were retourned vnto theyr houses. whiche seing, the Athenyans dyd afresh sende Pericles with the armye into Eubee. who subdued all the Islande by compositiõ, reserued the citie of Hestie, which he toke by force. And for that cause, chased awaye from thence, all the inhabitantes, and inhabyted it with his people. At retourne from that same cõqueste, or very shortly after, the appointment was made for thyrty yeares, betwene the sayd Athenyans on the one partie, and the Lacedemonians & theyr allyes on the other partye. through which, those same Athenyans rendred Pylee les fountaynes. Trezenie and Achaye, whiche was all that, which they dyd holde from Peloponese. It chaunced, that the Sixt yeare after the sayde appointement, great warre was moued agaynste the Samiãs, and the Mylesyans by reasone of the cytye of Pryene. And seinge the Mylesyans, that they were not myghtye or stronge enough for theyr enemyes, they sente to make theyr complaynctes, towardes the Athenyans, by consente and intelligence of some partyculer cytezens of Sampe, that wente aboute to make an alteracyon or chaunge in theyr cytye. At whose persuasyon, the Athenyans wente wyth fourty shyppes agaynste the sayde cytye of Sampe.

Orchomenũ. Cheronea. Tolmida. Pericles. Eleusma. Plistonax. Hestiea. Pylea, in the latin Nysoea. Trezenis. Achaia. Pryene.

and

the sayd cytye of Sampe. And so brought it agayne, to the gouernaūce of the cō-
mone estate. and toke of them, sixty ponge infantes, and sixtye men, delyuered Lēnus.
for hostages, whome they lefte for paūde in the Iſlande of Lemne. Afterwar-
des, hauyng lefte theyr garnysone at Sampe, they retourned. But anone, after
theyr departure, some of the cytezens whiche were not in the cytye, whan the
Athenyans had so oppressed it, but perceyuyng theyr commynge, were withdra-
wen into dyuers places in the mayne lande, by consente and delyberatyon of the
principall of the cytye made allyance with Pisiuthnes, sonne of Hiscaphis, who Pisiuth-
than gouerned the cytye of Sardes. And he sent them seuen houndred men of ne.
warre, with whome, they entred by nyght into the cytye of Sampe, & dyd fyghte Sar-
agaynst the commons that had the gouernaunce. In suche maner, that they des.
had the vpper hande. Afterwardes they wente strayghte waye to Lemne, and
from thence recouered theyr hostages, and fourthwith rebelled agaynste the A-
thenyans, and toke the people, that the Athenyans had lefte there, aswell for the
gouernaunce of the towne, as also for to kepe it. whome they gaue vnto Pisi-
suthnes. And thys done, they rayſed an armye for to go to Myletum. hauyng confe-
deration wyth the Byzantians. who lykewyſe rebelled agaynſte the Athenyās,
who, beinge aduertyſed of the rebellyon of the sayd Sampyans, cauſed incontyn-
nently. ix. shyppes to departe, wherof there wente but. xiiii. to Samie. For the
other were sente, some of them into Carye for to empesche, that the Phenicyens Caria.
shulde not paſſe for to comme to succour the sayde Sampyans, and the other in-
to Chio, for to fatche men. Beyng than the sayde fourty and foure shyppes, wher Chio.
of Pericles was Capytayne wyth nyne other collegues or capytaines, arryued
in the Iſlande of Tragie, they encountred. xx. shyppes with Sampyans, that
came from Myletum: wherof twenty were charged with men of warre. and so they
dyd beate and ouercomme them. And after the victorye, beinge come to theyr
strengthe fourty shippes from Athenes, and from Lesbos, and. xvb. from Chio,
they landed in the Iſlāde of Sampe, and came to alliege the cytye. hauyng furſt
dryuen backe and discomfyted, an bende, whiche was pylled oute of the sayde
towne agaynſte them. And so encloſed it, aswell on the sea syde, as of all the o-
ther, wyth thre walles. Being at whiche alliege Pericles was aduertyſed, how
the Phenicyens came with a greate nombre of shyppes for to succoure the Sa-
mpens. So he toke. ix. of the shyppes that were laſt comme, with the which, he
wente, with asmuche dylygence as he might, agaynſt the countreys of Caune & Cau-
of Carye. Nowe was on the other syde departed from the porte of Sampe, nus.
Stesagoras wyth fyue shyppes for to go to receyue the Phenicians. The Sa- Stesa-
mpyans beynge than aduertyſed of the departure of Pericles, came by sea wyth goras.
all the shyppes, that they coulde assemble, to assayle the camp of the Athenyans,
which was not fortefyed. And at the aryual, drowned the fyghte shippes, that
they founde in the porte. And the galleys that came agaynſte them, they van-
quyſhed in battayle by sea. By meane wherof, they were mayſters of the sea,
and for the space of fourtene dayes, sett in and oute of the cytye, all that they
woulde. But in the ende of the sayde terme, Pericles came agayne wyth the o-
ther shyppes, who dyd cloſe thē vp agayne wythin the towne. And anone after,
arryued great succours for the saīd Athenians, to wit, forty shyppes frō Athenes, Thucl-
wherof were capitains Thucydides, Agnones & Phormion. & twenty other frō dides.
their allyes, wherof were capytaynes, Clemopolus & Anticles. And fro Chio and Phorz-
fro Lesbos, thirty. And albeit that the Sampyās did make certayne small outro- mio.
des & reskarmouches vpon thē durynge the space of. ix. monethes, that the alliege Tlepo-
was before the cytye: yet seynge, that they were not able to reſiſte at lengthe, lemus.

they rendred themſelues vpon ſuche conditions, that they ſhulde rafe downe theyr walles, that they ſhulde delyuer hoſtages and all theyr ſhyppes, and for ȳ erpences of the warre, ſhulde pay a great ſome of money at certayne termes. Alſo they appoincted the Bizantiens to thys condytyon, that they ſhuld obey to the Athenyans, as they dyd before. Anone after, beganne the dyfferences of Corcyre and of Potyde, wherof we haue aboue made mentyon. and all the other, ȳ were occaſyon of the warre, wherof we do wryte at thys preſente. Theſe be in effect the warres, that the Grekes had, aſwell agaynſt ſtraungers, as amonge them ſelfe, after the departure of the kynge Xerres out of Grece, vntyll begynnynge of this warre, wherof we ſpeake. which was aboute fyftye yeares. Duryng which tyme, the Athenyans encreaſed theyr Empyre and theyr puyſſance, greatly. wherin the Lacedemonyens, although they perceyued it well ynough, gaue them no great empeſchement, but lyued the more parte of the tyme, in peace and reſte. For they were not haſty nor lyght to enterpryſe warre, nor alſo wolde not come therunto, but for neceſſytie. Alſo they were ſomewhat empeſched by certayne warres, that they had amongeſt them ſelf, vntyll ſuche tyme, as they ſawe the might of Athenyans ſo to increaſe, and that they daylye outraged theyr allyes. For then they determyned no longer, to endure it. But to enterpryſe warre, with al their power, for to abate theyr puyſſance, yf they coulde. And after that they hadde publyſhed the decree, wherof hath bene ſpoken, by the whiche, they declared the Athenyans, to be infractors of theyr fayth, and of the allyance, and outragieur agaynſt theyr allyes and confederates, they ſente theyr meſſengers to the temple of Delphos, for to inquyre of the God Apollo, what ende the ſame warre ſhulde haue. By the oracle or aunſwere of whome, it was annſwered, as men ſaye, that yf they purſued the warre wyth all theyr power, they ſhulde haue the victorye. & that he wold ayde them, in ſo much as they had called hym therunto. Hauing than concluded the warre in their counſaylle, they cauſed theyr allyes and confederates, to be agayne called into the cytye of Lacedemonie, for to conſulte the matter, and to determyne all together, yf it were expedyent, to begynne the ſayd warre. And after that the Imbaſſadours of the cytyes were aryued, the counſayle was aſſembled. Wherunto the ſame Imbaſſadours were called. And all the chyef of the other, dyd ſpeake, chargyng the Athenyans, and concludynge the warre. And after all, ſpake the Corynthyans, who before had practyſed and prayde all the other, to perſuade the warre fourthwith to be made. Fearynge that in the meane tyme that it ſhulde be deliberated, the Athenyans ſhulde haue taken Potyde.

And fortheyr ſpeakyng was, of this ſubſtance.

The narration and propolition

fo.xxxiw

of the Corinthians to the Counsayle of Lacedemonyans before the assemblye of all the confederates.

The.xiii.Chapter.

IT nedeth not more, Lordes Peloponesiās, to blame nor charge the Lacedemonyans, that they wyll not enterpryse warre agaynste the Athenyans, consyderynge that they haue assembled vs here, for thys cause. Also it is reasonable, that they, ỹ gouerne (as they be preferred to honnours before all the other) that they haue such regarde to thaffayres of particulers in generall, that all may be egally gouerned and entertaygned. But as touchyng vs and other, which lately be departed from the Athenyans, it is no more nedefull, to admonish vs, to beware of them. But onely they must be admonyshed, that dwell in the meane lande farre from the sea portes, where be the fearres & staples of marchandyses. For it is very nedefull that they vnderstande, that yf they geue not ayde and succour to them which dwell in the base countreys nighe the sea, the fatchyng of theyr goodes and of theyr marchādyse shalbe much more difficile, & also the bryngyng agayne of wares, which come vnto thē by sea. Wherfor they ought not now to make ille iudgemēt of this, wherof is questyon, saying that it nothing toucheth them, but they ought to vnderstande, that yf they take no regarde of the inhabitantes of the base countreye, and do suffre them to be lost, the daunger shal afterwardes come vpon thē. And therefor is it, that thys present consultacyon is made, aswell for them, as for the other. For thys cause, they oughte not to be nyece and negligent to enterpryse this warre, for to haue afterwardes peace. For as it is conuenyent, for graue & prudent people, to lyue in peace and reste, whan they be not wronged, and that no violence is done vnto them: Euen so it is conuenient, for vertuous and courageous people, to tourne peace into warre, whan they be oultraged. And after that they haue wel prouyded for theyr affayres, to come agayn to peace & accorde. And nother to be proud for the prosperitie of the victorye, nor also, for couetyse of peace and of reste, to suffre thēselfe to be oultraged. For he, that for to muche loue of reste, is nyce, & not forcinge to reuenge him self, parceyueth hym selfe very lone depryued of the voluptuousnes, that he taketh of the reste. Also that parsone, that hath oftentymes good aduentures in warre, forgetteth hym selfe by vnassured and vnfaythfull fiercenes and crueltie, in suche forte that he thinketh not what he ought to do. For oftentymes, foolyshe enterpryses chaunce well, for that, that the ennemyes dyd conducte theyrs, more folyshly. And also manye enterpryses, that semed, to haue ben well begonne, haue myshappened. For that, that the thynges in suche matter be neuer executed in the forte, that they were purposed vpon. Also men haue alwayes good and certayne hope of thynges to comme, that they do enterpryse. But whan it cometh to execute them, they fayle oftentymes, for feare. Nowe as touchyng vs, who haue bene greatly oultraged by the Athenyans, we purchase and enterpryse warre against them vpon good and iuste quarell, to the intent to lyue alwayes in peace and reste, after, that we shall haue ben reuenged of them. Of the which warre, we oughte to hope to haue the victory for many reasons. The furste for that, ỹ we haue greater nomber of people, and better warryours, than they haue. And the other for that we be all, wyth one wyll, delyberated to do that, which

for he that for-
to muche loue of
reste is nyce

ſhalbe commaunded vs. And for that, that they arne more mighty with ſhippes than we, we woll ſupplye to that, aſwell ſo much of our particuler monney, that we woll furnyſhe euery one for hys rate a portion, as alſo of the Syluer, which is in the tẽple of Delphos, & in ỳ ſame of Olimpus, which we may coigne. And by that meanes, we ſhall eaſely withdrawe & reteigne their maronniers & alſo theyr men of warre, which be more ſtraungers and mercenaries or huyred ſouldyours, than borne in that countrey, which thyng is otherwyſe with vs. For we be more mighty of people, than of monneye. And yf we maye haue the victorye ouer them, it is to beleue, that they ſhalbe diſcomfyted. And alſo, howe much the more longer that they reſiſte, ſo muche the more our people ſhall exercyſe & applye thẽſelf to the ſea. And ſo muche, as they be people of more harte, thã theirs, whan that they ſhall haue ben exercyſed, they ſhalbe alwayes more ſtrong. For ỳ hardynes that ours haue, cometh vnto thẽ of nature, which the other may not acquyre or get, nother by arte nor by learnynge. But we maye well by exercyſe acquyre the induſtrie or trauayle, ỳ they haue, more than we, and alſo we ſhall fynde moneye ynough for to fournyſhe thys affayre. For yf theyr allyes refuſe not to paye them trybute for to be in theyr ſeruytude and ſubiectyon, we ſhall not be ſo wretched, that we refuſe to contrybute with theirs, goodes for to reuẽge vs of oure ennemyes, and to ſaue oure lybertye. For alſo, whan they ſhall haue taken them from vs, they woll intreate vs worſe by cauſe of our goodes. We haue on the other parte many other meanes to make warre agaynſte them. The furſt is, that we woll practyſe theyr allyes and ſubiectes, and woll cauſe them to rebelle agaynſte them, and by thys meane we woll cauſe them to loſe the reuenues, that they haue more than we. Alſo we maye deſtroy theyr countreys and territoryes, whereby monney groweth vnto them, and many other occaſyons & meanes maye happen to vs, wherof we nowe take no aduyſe. For there was neuer warre made holy by the meanes, and accordyng to the preparatiõ that was deuyſed from the begynnynge, but of it ſelf, it cauſeth others to comme to the vnderſtandyng of men, accordynge to the accydentes and chaunces, whiche do occurre and happen. And in that, they, that haue moſt hygh and entier courage, be in greater liuertie, than they which be in ſadnes and in feare. And euery one of vs ought to thincke and imagyne, that yf he had queſtyon of hys lymites or boundes with hys neyghbours, that were as myghtye as he, that he woulde not ſuffre hym ſelfe to be outraged. Now preſently, the Athenyans be myghtye ynough to ſubdue vs altogider, whereby they ſhall more eaſely ſubdue vs particularly, towne for towne. Whiche thynge they woll do, yf that we allye not our ſelues together, and reſiſte them, all with one accorde. And yf they haue the victorye ouer vs (though it be a thynge right heauy and dyſpleaſante to be ſpoken) yet alwayes he that heareth it, ought to vnderſtande, that that ſame victorye, ſhalbe no other thynge but oure bondage, whiche is a thynge abhomynable to be harde named, in Peloponeſe, muche more to ſee by effecte, ſo manye noble cytyes to be ſuppedytated and trauayled by one, onely cytye. Wherin it ſemeth, eyther that we be nyce and neglygent, or for feare to muche pacyent, and by that meane degenerating frome the vertue and glorye of our anceſtres, who haue deliuered all Greece from ſeruytude. And it ſemeth, that we be not ſuffycyente to defende oure lybertye, whan we ſuffre one onely cytye to vſurpe the gouernemente ouer vs, where as whan there is one onely tyraunt in a cytye we demaunde that he maye be chaſed awaye. And we do not conſyder that by indurynge thys, we incurre into thre greate and euyll vyces, to wytt, cowardnes puſillanymytie and improudence. And yt auaileth nothyng to lay for to excuſe

youe

poue of the layd vyces, that poue woll eschue the temeritie and rashnes. whyche hath bene pernycious vnto many people. For this excuse (vnder shadowe wherof many haue bene deceyued) ought rather for feare, to be named, madnes. But it sarueth nothinge to oure purpose to tare or reprehende thinges passed, by longer talke, than the tyme requyreth, but we ought in prouyding and succourynge thinges presente, to trauaile for those, that be to cõme. For you holde, and haue lerned of your ancestres, to acquire vertues by laboures and trauayles. Frome whome ye shulde not degenerate nor swarue. And if that poue were auncyently more ryche & more mightie than they were, somuch it shulde be greater shame to lose in your ryches, that, whyche they wonne in their pouertie. Poue haue moreouer many reasons and occasyons, whyche shulde moue and encourage poue to make warre. The furste is the aunswere of the god Apollo, who hath promysed to ayde poue, poue shall haue more to poure helpe, all the reste of Greece, partly for feare, partly for thair profitt. And poue oughte not to feare furste to breake the peace and the allyance, whyche we haue with the Athenyans, whyche the God, who perswadethe vs to begynne warre, Judgeth to haue bene furste infringed by them. But yt shalbe rather to defende the traicties and confederations which, they haue violated and brokẽne. For they that defende themselues be not infractours of the peace, but they that furst make assaulte wherfore by all reasonne, there can not, but goodnes, happen vnto vs to enterpryse this warre. And in asmuche as poue knowe, by the thynges that we haue shewed poue here in generall assemblie, for to anymate and perswade, howe it is necessary, aswell for the comon welth of all, as for the particuler of euery one amongeste vs: Delaye nomore to defende poure lybertie, and particularly to geue ayde to them of Potyde, whiche be Doziens, and be assieged by the Jonyans. whyche is hole contrary to that, that was wont to be in tymes paste. For that, that if we presently dissemble, we shall suffre one of vs to be destroyed. And whãt shalbe published ẏ we haue made this assemblie for to reuenge vs, but that we dare not, we may vnderstande, that there may be asmuche done to the other. But lordes, allyes, and confederates, knowinge that we be comme into this necessytie, and that we cõsaile you that, which is for the beste, poue ought to determyne and enterprise this warre. And you ought not somuch to be afrayd of soubdaine incomodites & difficulties of the warre, as to thinke of the goodnes, whyche shall come vnto poue, by the longe peace that thereby shall folowe. For peace establisheth itselfe by warre. And also men be not assured to be without daunger whan they be in reste and wythoute warre. And on the othere parte in subduinge by force that cytie of Grece, whiche woll vsurpe the tyrannye or rule ouer all the othere, (wherof it alredy ruleth some, and purposeth to rule the reste) we shall certainely abyde afterwardes in suertie, and shall sett at lybertie those, that be in seruitude and bondage. Thus dyd the Corynthians speake.

How the warre being concluded agaynst the Athenyans, by all the Peloponesians in the cytie of Sparte, the Lacedemonyans, sente thair Amballadours towardes the Athenyans for to commone them of certayne cauſes.

The.xiiii.Chapter.

When the Lacedemonyans had harde all thē of the other cyties ſpeake, whiche were there aſſembled, they cauſed to be geuen ſmall bailles to the Amballadours of euery of them, for to declare by that meanes, whider they willed peace, or warre. So they were all of oppynyon to make warre, whyche was by them concluded and determined. But there was no meane at that tyme to begynne yt, for they were vnprouyded of all thinges. For thys cauſe, it was deuyſed that euery one of the ſayde cyties ſhulde contrybute. And ordayned that it ſhulde be done without tracte or lengthe of tyme, whiche they did in leſſe than one yeare. And in the meane tyme they ſente Amballadours towardes the Athenyans, for to expounde and declare thaire faultes and crymes, wherof they were charged. To thintente to haue better & more iuſte occaſion to make them warre, if they amended them not immediatly. And chiefly demāded thē, that they ſhuld purge the myſdede & offence, wherwith the Goddes were offended, whyche was ſuche. There hadde bene ſometyme a citezeme of the cytie of Athenes, named Cylon, a noble and a mighty man, who had gotten, the pryze at Olympe. This Cilon hadde to wyfe the doughter of Theagenes, who than was ruler of Megare. In makinge whyche mariage, anſwere was geuen to the ſaide Cylone, by the god Apollo of Delphos, that whan the greate feaſte of Jupiter ſhulde be, he ſhulde enioye the fortreſſe of Athenes. who hauinge the conducte of men of warre of Theagenes, hys father in lawe, and aſſemblie of ſome his frendes of the cytie, than, whan the feaſte of Olympus was celebrated in Peloponeſe, toke and occupyed the ſayd fortreſſe of Athenes, to the intente to make himſelfe lorde and ruler. Perſwading him, that, that was the greateſt feaſte of Jupiter, that was made. And for that, that he had at other tymes wonne the pryſe in the ſayd feaſt, yt ſemed to hym the more that, ỳ ſame ſarued to his caſe and prophecie, of the god. For he had not cōſidered, if the anſwere extended to the feaſt that was celebrated at Athens or at other places. Alſo the god had not declaired yt. And yet the Athenyans celebrated a very ſolempne feaſt euery yeare in the honor of Jupiter without the cytie, in the which were ſacrificed many beaſtes, counterfaicted by ſo greate arte, that they ſemed to be lyuinge. But Cylon, who had interpretated the oracle of Apollo to hys owne fantaſie, thinking to do well, enterpriſedde the matter, like as hath bene ſhewed. whan the Athenyans vnderſtode that thair fortreſſe was takenne, all they that were in the feldes aſſembled and came to aſſiege the ſayde Cylone and his men wythin the ſaide fortreſſe. But for that the place was ſtronge, and that it noyed them to be there all occupyed, the more parte wente to thaire affaires, and lefte the charge to tyme of theym with a competente nomber of people to kepe and holde the ſayde place aſſieged. And ſo gaue them full mighte to do all that, whyche ſhulde ſeme vnto them in that affayre, to be for the wealthe of the cyte. Who, durynge the ſayde ſiege, did many thinges apperteignynge vnto the adminiſtratiō of the comō welth. In ỳ meane tyme, Cylō & his brother fond meanes to yſſue ſecretly out of the fortreſſe, & ſaued thē ſelues. But the other that taryed

Cylon

being

beynge constrayned by famyne, after that manye were deade, came to couche themselues, before the great awter, whiche was within the sayde fortresse. Thā they that had the charge of the siege beinge entred within, wolde haue caused theyme to aryse. And seyinge that they dyed, to thintente that the temple should not be polluted and defyled, did drawe them fourth, and afterwardes did kylle them. But there were some that were mourdred in passing by the infernal goddes, and some, at the fote euenne of the aulters. By occasion whereof, they that committed the dede, and all thair discente, were holdenne for cruelle and sacrileges. And also the malefactours, were banmyshed by the Athenyans. And likewise by Cleomenes chased out of Lacedemonye. And afterwardes, beinge come into newe dissention wyth the Athenyans, they that were founde of the sayd lingnaiges, were not onely dryuenne oute of the cytie, but also the bones of the buryed were caste forth fromthence. And yet by succession of tyme, they came thider agayne, and euen at this presente there be certayne housholdes there dwellinge. And that they did, knowynge that Pericles sonne of Xantippus was descended of the same race or strayne by hys mother, hopinge that if we were chased out of the cytie, they might afterwardes more easely come to the ende of thaire warre agaynst the Athenyans. And if that he were not chased fromthence, at the leaste he should cōceyne an great hate towardes the people that had this opynyon, that for beinge mynded to saue them, that same warre was in parte commenced and bigonne against them. Now he was in that same tyme, the Chiefest man of the cytie, and had most authoritie. And also contrayed the enterpryses of the Lacedemonyens. And anymated the Athenyans to defende them by force of armes. To this requeste, the Athenyans than answered the Lacedemonians with the selfe same arte. Sayinge that those Lacedemonyans oughte likewise to purge the sacrilege, wherewith they were infected, by meane of the violence, that they had done in the temple of Neptunus, in the place of Tenare. For at a certayne tyme before passed, at the instigation of Tynarus, they had drawin out of the tēple of Neptunus and slayne certayn fugitiues, that requyred mercy, and by this meane, violated the franchise and lybertie of the temple. By occasion wherof, the people had opynyon, that therupon followed a great earth quake. whyche anone after chaunced in the cytie of Sparte. And furthermore the same Athenyans requyred the Lacedemonyans to purge an othere sacrylege, wherwith they were lykewyse infected by cause of the tēple of Pallas, whyche happened in this manner as folowethe.

Tenarus.

Here thauthor shewith incidently the trahison, that Paulanias mynded to do agaynst the Grekes, and howe he was slayne.

The.xv. Chapter.

After that Paulanias, beinge by the Lacedemonyans exempte frome the charge of thair armye that he had in Hellespont, for to come to answere to charges, that were layd vpon him: was absolued or cleared of the same charges, yet was he restored to this former charge. which parceyuinge, he departed frome the cytie, sayninge to be wyllinge to goo to the sayd countrey of Hellespont, for to serue in the warre, as a symple souldyour. But the truith was, for to appoynete with the kynge of Medes touchinge that same warre, whyche he hymselfe had bigonne. And afterwardes by meane of the sayd kinge

kynge, to vsurpe the rule and principalitie ouer all Greece. For to come to whiche conclusions, he had nowe, diuringe his charge before his accusation, wonne the fauor of the kynge by a singuler plaisir and benefitte, whiche he did him. That is, that hauinge in his retourne fro Cipres, taking the cytie of Bizance, togither wt the people, that the king had left there in garnyson, amõgest whõ, ther were many his parẽtes & domesticals or housholdes, That same Paulsanias sente theym again secretly, wtoute knowlaige of his cõpanions, & collegues or fellowes in commission, sayning þ they were escaped. And this he did by the meane of Congilus, who had charge to kepe thẽ by whõ also he sente letters to the kinge of this substance. Paulsanias Duke of Spartains to the kinge Xerres, gretinge. I sende vnto the thies prisoners, that I haue taken by good warre, for to wynne thy good grace. And also I am desirous to espouse and mary thy doughter, if it please the, & in this doing, to bringe al Greece into thy obeissance, which thing I persuade my selfe that I may easely do, hauing good intelligẽce or confederatiõ wt the. wherfore if the thinge be agreable vnto the, sende alõgest by sea, some right faithful man of thyne, to whom I wil cõmunicate & make priuey the whole matter. Xerres was right ioyful of this Epistle. And so sent incontynently Artabasus, sonne of Pharnaces by sea, vnder coulour of geuinge him charge of the prouince of Scilite, the which Mogabata did holde for the kinge. And he gaue him letters for to sende to Paulsanias who was in Byzãce, whych were sealed wt the kinges seale, & furthermore gaue him charge to trauaile with the said Paulsanias in all that, that he wolde commaunde hym, the beste waye and moste secretely that he coulde, who after that he was arryued in the saide prouince, executed his charge right discretely. And among other thinges, sent the said letters vnto Paulsanias, which were of this tenour. The king Xerres vnto Paulsanias, greting. I thanke the for þ plaisir & benefit that thou haste done for me, by sending vnto me againe, the prisonners, which thou diddest take at Bizãce. which thing shal neuer by me nor by myne be put in obliuie, & also I take in good parte that, which thou hast done me to vnderstand. Therfore I pray that thou wilt trauaile day & night for to execute that, whiche thou hast promysed me. For I will not spare golde nor siluer, nor also army, wher it shalbe required. Of which matter thou maist suerly treate & trauaile with Artabasus, whom I sende vnto the expressly, for this matter. For he is a man discrete, and veray faithfull. In doing whiche thinges myne affaires & thyne shall procede right well to our honnour & prouffitt. After that Paulsanias had receyued the said lettres, notwithstanding that he was in great reuerence wt all the Grekes, for the charge & authoritie that he had, he toke much more great hart & greater audacytie. In such sort, þ he was not cõtent to liue after the mãer accustomed of þ Grekes, but went fourth of Bizance apparailled after þ facyõ of Medes, & in going through the coũtrey of Thrace, he had souldiars, Medes & Egyptiãs in his cõpaigny. And also caused himselfe to be serued at the table plẽtefully after the maner of Medes. And for effect, he could not cõceyle his hart nor enterprises, but gaue to vnderstãd by þ, that he did, that which in his courage he cõspired to do. He was also daũgerous to geue audyẽce, & was easely angred with euery mã. In such sort, that ther was not he, that feared not to aborde him. which was the principall cause, for which the cõfederates of Greece, departed from the Lacedemonyens, & did allye thẽselfe with the Athenyãs. By occasyon wherof, the Lacedemoniẽs reuoked him from his charge, as it hath bene shewed. Afterwards being departed by þ sea of Hartmond wtout licẽce of the lordeship, it was suspected þ he wold resume the authorite, for reasõ wherof, being arryued at Bizance, where the Athenyans kepte the alliege, he was chased away by

Congylus.

The tenor of þ letters of Paulsanias sente to to þ king Xerres.

Artabasus.

The tenor of Xerres letters to Paulsanias.

by the Lacedemonyens, and after he came not againe to Sparte, but withdrew himselfe into certayne villages of Troade. And being there, it was signefied vnto the Lacedemonyens that he treated wt the Barbarous or strangers, some euille matter, so they thought it good no more to dissymule. And sent a sargeant with his mace from one of the Tribuns of the people, whome they calle Ephores. whoe gaue hym in commaundemente that he shulde incontynently come to Sparte as faste, as he, and not to departe from his company, vpon payne to be reputed rebelle & ennemy of the cytie. And mynding not to make himselfe more suspected, hopinge also by monney to iustefye and purge him from crymes, that were layde vpon him, wente to Sparte with the sayde sargeaunte. But fourthwith as he was arryued, he was putt in prysone by ordenance of the sayd Ephores. Who haue auctorytie to cause to be brought thider, the kinge hymselfe. Yet he came fourth incontynently by meane of certayne, whome he had corrupted by monney, & came to present himselfe to the counsell, ready to make aunswere vnto them, that wolde charge him. Nowe neither the Citezeins nor his ennemys had no apparant wytnes or accusation for to condēpne nor punishe him. Specially beinge a man of the lignage of kynges, and also of greate dygnite and reputacion. For he had bene tutor of Plistarcus, sonne of kinge Leonydes, and in hys name had, as tutor, the admynistration of his roialme. Howebeit the insolēcie and fiercenes of his lyfe, and that he folowed in many thynges, the maners of strangers, made him muche suspected to haue intelligence with them, & to Imagine some thinge to rule amonge them, that were hys. And considerynge many thinges that he had done against the lawes and customes of the cyte, they made yt a great matter amongeste other, for that, that beinge in the temple of Delphos, through a maruaillous audacite & arrogancye, he wrott in a table of brasse, whyche the Grekes hadde there offredde of the spoille of the Medes, certayne verses of this substance. After that the Duke of the Grekes, had descomfited the army of Medes, Paulanias gaue this offeringe to Phebus. which verses, the Lacedemonyens caused incontynently to be taken awaye, and to be defaced. And caused to be put in place of that, that Paulanyas attributed only thys glory vnto hymselfe, the name of all the cytes confederated, whiche had bene at the battaile against the strangers. And furthermore, he was charged and accused of an other matter, which sarued better to the present accusation. That is, that he had as some sayde, made greate secrete treaties and conturations with the prisonners of the cytie, promysinge to geue them lyberte, and to make them Citezeins, if they wolde ryse in armure wyth hym, and wolde do that, whyche he wolde commaunde them. which was a true matter. But yet it was not lawfull to iudge agaynste him by accusation of prysonners, accordinge to the lawes. By whiche it was prohybited to procede to any execution diffinitiue agaynste any Cytezeine of Sparte, without vndoubtfull and certayne wytnes and accusation. So it chaunced in thies procedinges, as it is sayde, that one his domesticall seruante of the cytie of Argille, whom he had abused carnally in his youth whyche was that same, that had charge to tary to Artabasus the laste lettres, that that same Paulanias had wryttone to the kynge Xerres, came to discouer the case vnto the Ephores. And the occasion, wherfore he did it, was for a suspitiō that he had, because that he had sene none of ꝯ other messengers, that the same Paulanias had sente vnto the sayd Artabasus, retourne agayne. Wherfore fearynge that it shulde myschaunce him, he caused to counterfeate the seale, wherwith the letters were sealed, that he might seale them agayne after that he hadde redde them, if he founde therin nothynge of that, whyche he had fantased, and to

Plistarchus.

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the intent allo that the layd Artabalus shulde not parceyue that they had bene opened. Haunge than opened and redde theym, he founde amõgest other thinges that, wherof he doubted. That is, that by the same, Paulanias did write to Artabalus, that he shulde slaye him. whiche he incontynẽtly brought to the said Ephores. wherby they were greatly instructed accordinge to their imagination, that they hadde agaynste the layd Paulanias. But yet the better to knowe the trouthe, they wolde gladly vnderstãde it by his mouthe, and so did ble this cautele. They founde meane, that the layd seruant came to render himselfe within the temple or place of Tenarus, as one man, that hath offended his maistre. And putteth him into franchise or sanctuary. And did him to vnderstande, that he came thider to speake with him. whiche thing he did. And on the other syde two of the Ephores were hidde within a very secrett place, so that they might heare and vnderstande all that, whiche Paulanias and his seruant laide togither, with out beinge perceyued. Paulanias beinge than come to his man, and haunge demanded him what was the cause, for whyche he had putt him into franchise, he declared to hym that he had opened the letters, and shewed him all the tenour, lamentinge hymselfe for that, that by the same, his layd maistre had commaunded hym to be slayne, notwithstandinge that in all the treaties that he had hadde with the kinge, wherin he trusted in hym, he neuer founde in hym faulte, wherefore he thought it vnreasonable that he had ordeyned that he shulde be slayne. As the other messengers had bene, whome he had sent thider before, which were but commune people. Wherunto Paulanias answered, confessinge the whole to be true, and yet went about to appayse and kepe him, that he shulde not take it angrely, sweryng to hym by the temple, where he was, that he wolde neuer do hym harme. And prayinge hym that he wolde with all diligence goo towardes the layd Artabalus, to the intente that ỹ matter were not empesched. All which thynges the layde Ephores, haunge well vnderstanded, and by this meane, holdinge the cale to be very true and well wytnessed, did ordeyne that the said Paulanias shulde be apprehended within the cytie. But as the two Ephores came alongest the strete agaynste hym, he perceyued by the countenance of the one, and by the token, that the other, that was hys frend, made vnto him, that they came to take hym. And so he ranne awaye for to gett the temple of Pallas, before that they might take him. But before that he came to the layd temple, withdrawing himselfe into a litle houle whiche was therunto adioignge, for to haue repooled himself a litle, he was ouertaken by them, that folowed hym. Who descouered the toppe of the same houle, and sett keepers to the gates, in suche sorte, that he coulde not comme fourth. But he was kepte there so longe, that he dyed for hunger. But before that he gaue vp the ghoste, they, that kepte hym, seinge that he dyed, dyd drawe hym oute of that place whyche was halowed, euen so beinge in a traunse, as he was. Who incontynently dyed bitwene thair handes. And after his deathe, the Ephores were of opynõ to caste him into a great caue, wherin were caste all the carionges of them, that were putt to deth by iustice. Yet afterwardes they changed thair opynyon, and caused hym to be buryed in a pytte there nyghe vnto it. But a certayne tyme after, by reuelation and answere of the god Apollo of Delphos, they were commaunded that they shulde take hym out of the layd pytte and shulde bury hym in the place where he yelded vp the ghoste. whiche thinge they did. And yet at this present day, the sepulcre may be sene before the temple, lyke as appeareth by the letters that be grauen in the stone of the sepulture. And moreouer they were commaunded by the oracle of the god, that, for to purge the sacrilege that they had committed by violating of

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the tẽple of the goddesse, that they shuld in stede of one hys body, rẽdre twayne. whyche they dydde. And in the stede of Paulanias, whome they had taken, they offred him, two images and statures of copper. By this meane nowe the Athenyans, for to aunswere to the Lacedemonyans, touchynge the sacrilege, wherewith they charged them, rendred them the contrary. Sayinge that it was requysitt also, that they shuld pourge this cryme and outrage, whyche they had done to the goddesse Pallas, whiche, by the god Apollo, was iudged sacrilege.

¶. Howe Themistocles duke of Athenyans, beinge persecuted alwell by them, as by the Lacedemonyans, withdrewe himselfe towardes the kynge Artaxerxes, and there ended hys life.

☞ The.xbi. Chapter.

When the Lacedemonyans had vnderstande the aunswere of the Athenyans, they sente vnto them againe thair messengers, signyfying thẽ, howe that Themistocles had bene consentynge and partetaker of the selfe conspiracy, that Paulanias had done, like as they sayd to appere by his proces, whiche they kepte within the temple. Requirynge the Athenyans, that they shuld lykewise punyshe the sayd Themistocles. The whiche thing the sayd Athenyans lightly did beleue. And all with one accorde sente alwell from Sparte as fro Athenes, people, for to take the sayd Themistocles. Who in that same time beinge banniſhed from Athenes, kepte himselfe in the cytie of Argos, the more part of ẏ time, but oftymes he wẽt through the countrey of Peloponese. Being than aduertised of that same deliberation, he departed from Peloponese, & went from thence by ses to Corcyre, knowing that the people of that same cytie loued him, for many plaisirs and benefites that he had done them. But they shewed him that if they receiued him, they shuld cause the Spartaynes and the Athenyans to be thair ennemys. And so they sett him a land in the coaste of the Islande nerte vnto them. And after perceyuinge that he was stille pursued, he Themistocles. Admetus. shewed himself towards Admetus king of Molosses, although he knewe him not, to be his frende. And not finding that same king in his cytie, for that he was than absent, he came to render himself to the quene his wife, who bad him to take their son by ẏ hand & to tary in thair house vntil the coming of the king, who taried not long before he retourned. And whã he was arriued, Themistocles came to present himself & shewed him. That albeit in the tyme ẏ he was duke of Athenes, & that, whã ẏ same king was at thair mercy, he had spokẽ against him in certaine thinges: yet were it not reasonable ẏ he shuld take vẽgeance of him at that houre, ẏ he was cõme to rẽder himself to his mercy, in comuch as ẏ things were not like, for he was thã in much more poore estate, thã the kinge was, whan the said Themistocles iniuried him. And yt appertayned not to a noble courage to take vẽgeance, but against his egalls. And on thoder part whan the said Themistocles was against him, ẏ said king trauailed onely to do his profit for goods, & not to saue his life, as the said Themistocles presently did. For if ẏ he restored him vnto thẽ that pursued him, he were cause of his death. After ẏ Themistocles had made thies declarations, being set vpõ the ground vo the same son of the said Admetus (which is a facõ to require ẏ most effectuously ẏ might be) ẏ same king caused him to arise & promised not to restore him to ẏ Lacedemonias & Athenias

whiche thinge he perfourmed, notwithstanding that sone after thair messengers came to hym and made many great declarations for to perswade him to restore hym. But understandinge that he wolde goo to the kinge Xerres, he cauled him to be accompanied by lande vnto the cytie of Pydut. whiche is situated vpon the shore of ỹ other sea, appertaigning vnto Alexãder. In which place he entred into a shipp, which was willinge to go into Ioni. But by fortune of sea he came to lande for anempste the cytie of Naxe, whiche the Athenias did holde allieged. wherof the sayd Themistocles was greatly astonyed, & yet discouered not himselfe to the patrone of ỹ shippe, who knewe not bifore what he was, nor for what cause that he fledde, but sayde vnto him in this manner. If thou sauest me not & kepe me secret, I wol say to the Athenyans that thou hast taken monney of me for to saue me. But if thou doist saue me, I woll recompense the habundantly or liberally. And the remedy is that thou suffre not any of them that be in the shipp to go fourth, but kepe them here at ancre vntill we haue wunde for to departe. whiche thinge the patrone graunted him, and laye at ancre a daye and a nyghte. Afterwardes hauinge recouered the wynde he halled vp the saile for to goo towardes Ephalus. Beinge arryued at whiche place, Themistocles parfourmed that, whych he had promysed. And gaue him a good some of monney. For anone after, it was largely brought to hym, aswell from Athens, as also from Argos. From thens Themistocles toke his iourney by mayne lande with one marõner, beinge a Perssyan. And so wrotte letters to Artaxerres, who than newely succeded Xerres, his father, in the roiaulme of Mede and of Perse, whiche were of the tenour that folowith. I come vnto the kynge Artaxerres, I Themistocles, that haue done many dõmayges to thy house, more than any other Greke, by that I was constrayned to resyste thy father, who assayled me. But I dyd him much more saruyce afterwardes, whan yt was laufull for me to do yt. For he was beholden vnto me for his retourne, which was right daungerous. And this said he, for that, that after that Xerres had lost the battaille by sea at Salamyne, that same Themistocles wrott vnto him that he shulde haste to retourne, sayninge that it was enterprised to breake the bridges where he shulde retourne, and that he had empesched it. After folowethe the reste of the Epistle. And nowe that the Grekes do parsecute me, as thy frende, I comme hither to do the muche saruyce. But I am determyned to soiourne here one yeare, and afterwardes to shewe the causes, for whiche I am comme. The king hauyng red his letters, marualled at his wytt, and graunted him that, whiche he demaunded, to tary there one yeare wher he was, bifore to come vnto him. within which tyme, he lerned all that was possible, both of the language, and also of the mãners of the Perssiens. Afterwardes he came vnto the kinge, and had more authoryte about him, than any of the Grekes, that euer came thider, aswell for the dignite and great reputacyon that he had had bifore, as also for that, that he purposed and shewed him meanes, to subdue all Grece, and specially, for that he gaue them to vnderstande by experyence, that he was a man of knowlaige and diligente. For he coulde well shewe, the force and lyuelynes of his nature and of his wytt, and in this, he was marualllous and excellent aboue all other. He was moreouer of his nature diligente and ready without hauinge at any time euer lerned any studys or sciences, than, nor after. And to geue prouision to all soubdayne cases, his counsaille was very ready and singulier. And of the thinges whiche he conducted, he had a great iudgement what wolde followe. And ordred them very quietly and discretely, & also he had good parceuerance in thinges, wherof he had not the administratiõ. But aboue all, in ambiguous matters, wherin it was harde to iudge what were the

Pydna

The tenoure of Themistocles letters to kinge Artaxerres.

or the beste, he had a maruaillous prouidence. And besides this, he was wythout feare aboue all men lyuinge in all thinges, whereof he did speake, aswell for the goodnes of his nature, as also for the redynes of his wit. He declared to the king what was to be done for ỹ enterprise of Greece, but bifore it was time to execute it, he dyed of a diseas, though it pleaseth some to say, that he killed himself with poysonne, perceyuynge that he coulde not execute that, whiche he had promysed to the kynge. He was buryed in the cytie of Magneste in the countrey of Asia, and there is yet sene his sepulcre vpon the market place. Of the whych cytie, the king had geuen hym the gouernance and the reuenue. whiche amoũted to fyue houndred talentes euery yeare. For to fournisshe it wyth breade. And for to fournisshe yt with wyne, Lamplaque was geuen hym, for that, that place was estemed to be most habundante with wyne of all Asia. And for his pytance, Mynute was geuen to hym. It ys said, that his parentes by hys commaundemente, caryed away hys bones, and buryed them in the countrey of Athenes, without knowlaige of the Athenyans, for somuch as it was not laufull by the lawes of the coũtrey, to bury the body of a man, that was iudged a traytor and rebelle. Suche yllue, had Paulanyas the Lacedemonyan. And Themistocles the Athenyã. who were both, in thair countrey, right noble.

Magnesia.

Lamsacus.

Mynutus.

Howe after many goinges and commynges, the Athenyans dyd put it into deliberation whither they shulde rather accepte the warre, or obey to the requestes of the Lacedemonyans. Cap. xbii.

After that the Lacedemonyans had requyred and summoned the Athenyans, and also that the Lacedemonyans were by them requyred and summoned to purge thair offences of the goddes, and the sacrileges of the one parte and on the othere, those Lacedemonyans sente againe to the Athenians to warne them that they shuld restore and set the Potydyans againe into libertie. And suffre the Egynyans, to lyue accordyng to their lawes. But chiefly they declared, that they wold not commẽce the warre against them, if they wolde reuoke the decree whyche they hadde made agaynste the Megarens. By whyche they were forbydden, to aryue in the poortes of the Athenyans, and to come to thair marketes, and also to vse marchandise with them. To all whiche requestes, and specyally, touchinge the reuocatiõ of the said decree, the Athenyans determyned not to obey. Alleaging agaynst them of Megare, that they occupied the holly and indeuided place, and that they receiued the fruites of Athens. Fynally, yet after all thies aunsweres, thre Imbassadours of the Lacedemonyans came agayne vnto them, to wytt, Raphius, Malesippus & Agesandrus, who without makynge any mention of any of the othere matters, wherof had bene spokenne bifore, saide vnto them this wordes onely in substãce The Lacedemonyans arne mynded to haue peace with youe, the whyche youe maye haue, if youe suffer the Grekes in thair lybertie. Upon whyche propositiõ, the Athenyans, then cauled the cõsaille of the cytie to assemble, for to determyne one tyme for all, of the aunswere, whych they had to make. Upon which matter after that many had shewed thair opynyons, the one that the warre shulde be accepted, the other that the decre against them of Megare shuld be reuoked, rather than by occasyon therof to haue warre, fynally Pericles the sonne of Xantippus, who was at that tyme the chefest man of the cytie, and most renommed, aswell in woorde, as in dede, stode vp and spake in this manner.

Ramphius.

Malesippus.

Agesandrus.

Pericles

¶ The ſpeaking and oppynyon of Pericles to the counſayle of the Athenyans, accordynge wherunto, the aunſwere was made vnto the Lacedemonyans.

The.xviii.Chapter.

THough that I knowe, lordes Athenyans, that men make not warre with that ſame ardor & deſire, that they enterpriſe yt, but accordynge to the cales that happenne, do change thair wylle: yet I contynue ſtil in my oppynyon, not to geue place to the Peloponeſians. For I do ſee this, wherof we muſt preſently determyne, like & approchinge vnto that, wherof I haue had oppynyon bifore this tyme. wherfore I thinke it a thinge reaſonable, that they amonge youe, that ſhalbe of my aduyſe, if there chaūce herafter any myſchance againſt the comon oppynyō of the people, that they ought than to excuſe it. And if it happen well (as we do hope) not to iudge it thair prudence for ỳ it is ſo chaunced. For it is commonly ſene, that the chaunſe of thinges to comme, be as vncertayne, as thoughtes of men, which ys the reaſon, wherby if any thyng, vnlooked for, do chaunſe vs, we accuſe fortune. Nowe to come to the cale wherof ys queſtyō, yt is very certayne, that the Lacedemonyās haue alwaies heretofore imagyned againſte vs, & yet preſently do imagyne. For though yt be ſpoken by our couenātes & treaties, that if there be any controuerſie bitwene any amōg vs for any thynge, they ought to ſtande vnto the knowlaige or iudgemēt of other and in the meane tyme to continue in the eſtate and poſſeſſion, that they be found in: yet they haue not demaunded that we ſhulde putt the cauſes, wherof the quarelle ys made, into iudgement & knolaige. But whā that we haue offred it them, they would not accepte it. For that, that they loue better that quarels be auoyded by warre, than by wordes. And though yt ſeme that they come by manner of requeſte, yet ys it by cōmandment. For they cōmande vs to departe frō Potyde, ỳ we ſuffre the Egynyans in thair lybertie, & that we reuoke the decree, that we haue made againſt the Megarians. And they whych be laſt come, do cōmaunde vs that we ſuffre the Greekes to lyue accordīg to thair lawes. And to the intēt, that any among you do not thinke that the queſtiō ys of a ſmal matter, to witt to reuoke the ſayd decre, wherupō they arreſt moſt ſtifly, ſaying that in that doinge, we ſhall not haue warre, & likewiſe that it ſhuld be a great fault to enter into ſuche a warre for one ſo ſmal a matter, I aduertiſe you, that this ſmal affaire, conteigneth the conſequence & the eſtablyſhment of all the other thinges, where vpon my oppiniō is groūded. For if you graūt thē this, they woll cōmaunde you incontinētly ſome other thing, more great, ſeing ỳ, for fear, you ſhal haue obeyde them in that. But if that youe refuſe them & ſpeake againſt them ſharpely with a good blowe, they ſhall knowe, that they ought not to cōme by authoritie towardes you, but by amitie. as from like to like. wherfore I thinke that you muſt determyne aithere to obeye them bifore you haue receyued any inconuenience of warre, or els (whyche I repute to be the beſte) to take the aduēture of the warre, rather thā to obey thē in any thing ſmall or great. And to poſſes by thys meane that, whyche we holde alwaym feare. For into as great bondage & ſubiection a man putteth himſelfe by obeyinge to the comaundement of his Egalls & neyghbours without any iudgement, in a ſmall matter, as in a great. And if yt be forced that we come to warre ỳ one againſt the other, euery vō all his power, there ys great apparance for him that woll naroly conſider all thinges, that we ſhuld not haue the woorſe. For furſt the Peloponeſyās be the more parte, handy craft

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men & labourers, who haue no monney in general & veray litle in particuler. And also they haue not experyence of longe warres, & specially of those, that be made by sea. And euen whan they haue any warre amōg thēselfe, they may not cōtinue it long, by cause of thair pouertie. And if there be question to send to the sea, they haue no meane to repleniche thair shippes with men, nor yet to lende out a puis-sante armye by lande. For that, that by that meane they shulde eloigne or absent themselfe fro thair domesticall affayres and shulde lose thair exercise and mānet of lyuinge. And furthermore youe knowe that warre ys more susteigned by ry-ches and ready monney, than by violent exactions. Nowe if we occupye or kepe the sea, they woll be more ready, being hādy craft people & labourers, to sarue vō thair bodies, than with mōney. Hoping that they may alwayes saue thair bodies fro dangers of the warre, where they cannot excuse thēselfe to contribute to ỳ ex-pēces of it, whā it shall be bigon vntil ỳ time that it shalbe acheued & ended. And for to speke of thinges passed, the Peloponesians haue bene egall to ỳ other Gre kes in one onely battayle, but throughly to contynue warre, they haue not bene like vnto thē ỳ wer better prouided, thā they. For that they vse not one only coū-saille, but many. By occasyon whereof, that, whyche they haue to do, they do yt soubdaynely. And though they be much different of faculties, of power and of all other thynges, yet euery one man hath his opynyon, aswell the one, as the othere, and euery man tendereth his particuler prouffytte, whereby it comethe not comonly, that any thynge ys done, that auayletbe. For if some be lasly inclyned to fyght wyth any, and to ronne hym ouer, the other feare greatly to spende thair particuler good. And furthermore, for somuche as they come euyll willingly to thair comon assembles, they determyne in a momente of tyme of thair generall affayres, and employe the more parte of tyme, to thair pryuate busynes. For e-uery one of them thynkethe that the comon wealthe shall not be endommaged by his absence, & ỳ they shall haue some ther, that shal do somuch for him, as if he were there. And by thys meane hauynge euery man thys opynyon towardes hymselfe, they parceyue not, that the common wealthe perishethe by them all togyders. And if at any tyme they delyberate to attende thereunto diligentely and at lengthe, they cannot for lacke of monney. And yet the affayres of warre nede no longe deliberations. And we must not feare thair edifices nor thair ar-mye by sea. For as touchinge the edifices or buyldinges, though that they were in peace, yet shulde yt be very harde for them to make a towne so stronge, as thys here, and therfore they shal make yt much lesse in time of warre. And spe-cyally there, where we shall make oure rampares and munytyons to the contra-rie. And whan nowe they shall make agaynste vs a towne firmed or closed with walles, and that they shall streugthe yt with people, yt ys true that they maye endomage vs aswell in makynge courses and pillage in some places of our land, as in drawing to thair party some of our subiectes, yet by thair buildinges they shall not defende, that we go not into thair lande by sea, wherin we arne moste stronge. And also we haue by our contynuel exercise in the sea, more experience in the warre that ys made by lande, than they haue by vsage of the lande warre, in the fight or battayle by sea. To the whiche they cannot easely appoynete nor frame themselues to be experte. For we ourselfe that haue contynuelly vsed this crafte, sens the warre of the Medes, be not therin parfaictly instructed. How shal they than do it, that were accustomed to labour the lande, and not to trauaile the sea. And on the other parte, by haunge contynually a great nōber of shippes, laying watche for them, we shal kepe thē well frō accustomyng thēselues to that busines, & fro doing any thing of impor tāce. And where as, not seing against thē,

but a smal nōber of shippes, they may (trusting to the great nōber of thaire people) take the aduenture to come to fight vpō the sea, whā they shall se that there shalbe a greate nomber on all sides, they woll saue thēselfe or eschue it. And by this meane, kepyng holy the vse of sailinge, they shall therin haue euery daye lesse knowlaige, & also shall bicome more ydle. For in [illegible] arte of the sea, lyke as in all other, it is not sufficient to exercise himself wha[illegible] he hath no nother busynes, but it is required (for to knowe it wel) to do no othere exercyse, but that same there. And if it be sayde that by meane of the monney that they shall take in Olympus or in Delphos, that they may reteigne the huyred marouners that we haue, geuing them greater sould or wages: truely I saye that this shulde be a greuous thynge for vs, if we shuld not abide so strong of our people, namely which shuld be within our shippes, as they of thaire oune people, but we shall be as mightye, And that whiche more is, we haue patrones & other ministres by sea in greater nomber, than all the rēmenant of Greece hath. And also there is not he of the mercenaries or huyred marouners that wol beside the daunger wherin he shuld put himselfe, be banniſhed from our lande, haunge specially lesse esperance and hope to profitt on thaire syde, than of ours. Insomuche as though happely they do geue them greater wages, yt shall not be but for a veray short tyme. Thies thinges and other lyke, yt semeth to me mete, to shewe and reherce of the Peloponesians. I woll nowe shewe of vs that, which I understande and parceyue. we be for trouth exempted from the thinges that we obiecte against them. And also we haue many notable thynges that they haue not. For if they enter into our countrey by lande, we woll enter into thaires by sea, and so the dammage, that they shal do vnto vs, shal not be like vnto that same, that we shal do vnto them, for that that we woll destroy a great parte of Peloponese, and they cannot destroye but all the land of Athenes, for that that they haue no other countrey where as we may not make warre at our wille. where as we haue muche other landes, aswell in Iſlandes as in mayne lande. whiche they cannot warre vpon, by cause of thempire and of the puiſſance that we haue by sea, whiche ys a greate aduauntage. For it is to co[illegible]sider, that if we were in any Iſlande of the sea, we shulde be impregnable. Nowe ys it in our power (if we woll) to do as if we were Iſlanders, that ys to wytt, to habandone and to holde for loſte, all our townes and houses that we haue in the feldes in this lande of Athenes, and to kepe onely and to defende this cytie and the sea. And if the Peloponesians whiche be more people than we, do come to burne and destroy our howses & our landes, we shulde not, through anger and furye, ronne vpon them, nor fight agaynſt them. For though that we shall haue defeated or ouercomme them at one tyme, they woll yet come againe in as greate nomber as before, for to destroye vs. And if one iourney mishappened vs, we shulde loſe the ayde of all oure subiectes and allyes. For whan they vnderstande that we shall not be mightie for to go to assayle them by sea with a greate armye, they woll not paſſe muche for youe. And though peraduenture we shulde loſe our townes and our landes for to saue our bodyes, we shuld not therfore lamente. For poſſeſſions do not gett men, but men acquire poſſeſſions. And if I thought, that youe wolde bileue me, I woulde counſaille that you yourselues shuld go to destroy thē, for to cauſe knowlaige to be geuē to the Peloponesians, that youe arne not suche, as wollobey them, for sauing of them. I haue moreouer many other thynges by whiche you maye hope victorie, if youe wille. But youe muſt not, vntill that you shalbe in the defence, thinke to increase your seignyory, nor adde volūtary parills to the necessary, that you shal haue. For certaynly I feare not somuch the enterpriſes of our ennemys, as the faultes of our

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ounepeople. Of ẏ which thinges I will not speake at this present. But I reserue it to speake whā we shalbe in affayre or busines. And to make an ende of my purpose, I thinke ẏ we shuld for this tyme sende our ambassadours to ẏ Lacedemonyans, and by them, to make aunswer, that we be content not to prohibite nor forbid vnto ẏ Megarens our portes & markets. Prouyded ẏ those Lacedemoniās do not prohibit the vse of theyr cite to estraūgers no more, than vnto vs & our allyes. For that, which we do, is no more to ẏ derogatyō of our treaties and alliāces, thā ẏ, which they do. And touching the other demaūde which they haue made, to suffre the cytyes of Greece in lybertie, we be therin content, yf they were therin, from the tyme of the sayde treaties, & yf they be contente to restore theyr cytyes into suche lybertye, that they lyue accordynge to theyr particular lawes, as they woll, wythout that, that they be constrayned to kepe the lawes and ordenaunces of Lacedemonie, touchyng the gouernaunce of theyr commone affayres. And furthermore that we be content for all causes to stande to ryght and iudgement accordyng to the tenour of our allyances, wythout mouyng any warre. But yf we be assaulted, we woll take payne to defende vs. This aūswere semeth to me reasonable, yea and honorable, for to conserue the auctoryte and reputacion of our cytye. By whiche doyng, we must vnderstande of necessitie to enter into warre. the whiche yf we wyllyngly do accept, the enemys wol not be so sharp agaynst vs. And so much as we shall eskape the greater daungers, we shall acquyre both more glorye, and more proffyt, aswell in common as in particular. For youe do all knowe, howe that oure auncestres, whan they ysued from hence for to go agaynste the Medes, they had not so greate Empyre, as we, nother so muche goodes. And yet that, which they hadde, they wyllingly dyd habandone and forsake, and by dysynge rather of counsayle, than of fortune, and of vertue and hardynes, more than of force, they chased away the Barbarous or straūgers. And sence, they haue amplesyed and encreased thys our empyre, euen vntyl the estate, wherin you nowe see it. To whom we ought not to be vnsey pouus, but vertuously and valyantly, to resiste our enemyes and to take payne not to suffre thys empyre to be lessened nor weakened otherwyse, thā we founde it. Thus spake Pericles. And the Athenyans reputynge hys counsayle to be good, enstynge the same, caused a decre to be made. By whiche they appointed Ambassadours for to go towardes the Lacedemonyans, to make them aunswere holy suche, as he had deuysed, whiche was in somme, to do nothynge of that, whiche they had commaunded, but to be well wyllynge to aunswere in a neutrall and indyfferent Judgemente, touchyng the thynges wherewyth they were charged. Thus the aunswere was made. And afterwardes they sente no Ambassade, the one to the other. Howebeit the causes of the dyfference that was betwene them before the warre, was the begynnynge of the thynges that had bene done in Epydanne and in Corcyre. Although that by reason therof, they ceased not theyr marchaundyse nor to haunte the one wyth the other wythoute sauffconducte and wythoute barraultes, but yet not wythout suspectyon, for also that whiche was done, was the disturbance and breache of the treatyes and confederations, and the occasyon of the warre.

Here endeth the furst boke of Thucydides, and begynneth the Seconde boke.

The Seconde boke of

Howe the Beotians before the warre was begonne, toke soubdainly the cytye of Platee, whiche helde parte wyth the Athenyans. And howe they were reiected, and the more parte that were entred within the cytye, were slayne.

The fyrst Chapter.

By the meanes and occasions. wherof we haue spokē before, the warre begynneth betwene the Athenyans & Peloponesians, and also the allies and confederates on both sydes. Which wēt forwarde cōtynually after that it was begōne, wythout ẏ they had any cōmunication of marchaundyse together, but by saufconducte & by herault. Of the whiche warre we woll speake & reherse by order all ẏ was done in the same, aswell in tyme of sommer, as in tyme of wynter. It begane the .xb. yeare after thappoinctment and treatye, that they had made for .xxx. yeares, thā as they conquered Eubee. And it was the .xlviii. yeare of the prieslhode of Chrysis in the cytye of Argos. In the whiche Eneslus was Ephore in Sparte, and Pythodorus gouerned than at Athenes for one moneth. Sire monethes after the battayle, which was made at Potyde, in the begynnyng of the furst spring tyde. At whiche tyme certayne Thebayns, to the nomber of thre houndred vnder conducte of two the chefest men of the countreye of Beoce, to wyt, Pythangelus, sonne of Phylide, and Dyemporus sonne of Onetorydes, entred secretely by nyght, after the furst sleepe, into the cytye of Platee, whiche is in the countrey of Beoce, but than it was confederated wyth the Athenyans by meane and intelligence of some of the cytye, that opened for them the gates, to wytt, Nauclides and hys accomplices, who wolde haue delyuered the sayde cytye vnto the Thebayns. hoppinge by that meane, to destroye some of the cytezeins theyr ennemys, and moreouer to make theyr partycular profitt. the which had treated that practique, by the meane of Eurymachus, sonne of Leontiades, that was the princypall and rychest man of Thebes. Also the Thebains who well perceyued that in all euentes, warre shulde be begonne agaynst the Athenyans, wolde gladlye, before that it were declared, haue taken that towne, which alwayes had bene theyr ennempe. For by that meane the thyng was more ealy to doo. Also they entred without ẏ any parsone parceyued it, for that there was nayther watche nor warde in the cytye, and they came wythoute makynge any noyce vpon the market place of the cytye. Beyng in whiche place, they were not of opynyon to execute that, whiche they had graunted to them of the towne that had brought them in, to wytt, to go to sourrage the houses of theyr ennemys, but they deuyled to cause to be proclaymed through the towne wyth sounde of trompet, that they that wolde be allyes of the Beotiens, and lyue accordinge to theyr lawes, shulde cōme thyder & bringe their harnoies, trustinge by this meane to reduce thē without any difficultie, ẏ were citezeins, to their intente. who vnderstāding ẏ the Thebaynes were in their citie, & thinking ẏ they had ben in greater nōber for that, that they dyd not see thē by reason of the nyght: they accepted their party, & came to parlamēt wt them, & seyng that they wold mouate no thing wt thē, they retourned into their houses in good agremēt. But incontynently after, parceyuinge

The yeare whā ẏ warre dyd begynne.

perceyuinge that they were so fewe people, they deuyſed, that they might eaſelye defeate and ouercome them, yf they ſet vpon them. So they determined to aſſay it. For they departed agaynſte theyr wyll from the allyance of the Athenyans. And to thintent that theyr banquett ſhulde not be parceyued by theyr aſſemblye in the ſtretes, they perſed incontynently the walles, whiche parted theyr houſes, and paſſynge from the one to the other wythin a ſhorte tyme they were all togeders. Afterwardes they tourned theyr charettes ouerthwart the ſtretes, for to ſerue them for rampartes, and made all other prouyſyons, ſuche as they thought reaſonable and conuenyent accordinge to the tyme. And after that they had ordeyned theyr caſe, accordyng as they had hadde leaſure, and made moreouer watche all that nyght, aboutes one houre before daye, they yſſued oute of theyr houſes, and came to ſett vpon the Thebayns. altogeders that yet were in the ſayde market. Fearyng that yf they aſſayled them in the day, that they wold haue defended themſelf better and more hardly, than they wolde do in ỳ nyght, beyng in a place, wherof they had not well the practyſe, lyke as it happened. For ſeyng that they were deceyued of theyr thoughte, and that they were aſſaulted, they dyd furſte ioygne themſelf all together. and parforced ones or twies themſelues all with one ſtrength for to paſſe through ſome ſtrete, but they were alwayes dryuen backe. And than parceyuing the bruyte that men made vpō thē, aſwell they that aſſayled them, as alſo the women, the chyldren and other people bnmete to fyghte, who caſted ſtones and tyles from the houſes vpon them: they were ſo aſtonyed (together with that, that it rained very ſharply that night) that they fledde through the ſtretes, ſo as they coulde wythout knowynge the more parte, whyder they wente, aſwell by meane of the nyght, as alſo that they had not practyſe of the towne. And ſo they were empeſched for to ſaue them, by thoſe, that purſued them, whereby many were ſlayne. By this chiefly, that one of the citezens came to the gate wherein they were entred, whiche onely was open and dyd ſhut it, caſtynge the ſhafte of a dart ouerthwarte the locke in ſtede of a barre. So that they coulde not paſſe fourth that waye, and ſo, ſome mounted vpon the walles, and threwe themſelfe from a hyghe, downe to the grounde, the more parte of whome dyed. Some other came to haue paſſed at an other gate, wherat there was no warde, and with a hatchet that a woman deliuered them, brake the locke and yſſued fourthe. But there coulde not paſſe any greate nōber, for that, that the thynge was incontynently knowen. The other were beaten downe in the ſtretes. But the greater parte and chyefly thoſe, that were ioygned togeders, came to ruſhe into a greate edifyce or houſe which was ioignyng to ỳ walles of the towne, wherof they founde, by chaunce of aduenture, the doze opē. Thynkyng that it was one of the gates of the towne, and that they myght ſaue themſelf by the ſame. And than the cytezeins, ſeing that they al were cloſed with in, were in dyfference, whyther they ſhulde ſet it in fyer for to burne them all together, or that they ſhulde cauſe them to dye of an other ſorte. But fynally they there, and all the other that were yet wythin the towne, rendred themſelf wyth theyr armure to the wille of the cytezeins. During that theſe thynges were done in the cytye of Platee, the other Thebayns, that ſhulde with a greate bende haue folowed all the nyght, thoſe, that were furſte entred, for to ſuccour them, yf it were nede, had in theyr waye newes, how they were aſſayled. So they haſted them, the moſt that they myght, for to cōme to theyr ſuccoure. But they coulde not aryue ſone ynough. For there is frome Thebes to Platee. lxx. ſtades, and the great rayne that was fallen that nyght, had greately kepte them backe. For the ryuer of Aſopus, which they muſt paſſe, was by cauſe of the ſayd rayne not eaſy The ryuer of Aſopus

to be

to be gaged. In suche sorte, that whan they were passed, they were aduertysed, howe theyr people that taryed within, were all deade or taken. So they deuysed amonge them to take the paysans of Platee, that were without the cytie (wherof there was a great nomber) together with a great quantyte of beastes and of moueables, for that, that there were yet no newes of warre, to thintent to buy agayne (by meane of those there that they shulde take) them of theyr people, that were yet within the towne, and that were lyuynge. And they beyng in thys deliberation, the Plateans which greatly doubted the feate thynge, sente with dylygence a herault vnto them. Shewynge that they had done nought, to go aboute durynge the peace, soubdaynely to take theyr cytye. And neuertheles to shewe & denounce vnto them, that yf they dyd any euyll to theyr citezeins that were in the feldes, they wolde slaye all them that they had prysonners in the towne, but yf they departed oute of theyr lande wythout doynge anye harme, they wolde render them vnto them in lyke. and therupon they made theyr othe, as the Thebayns dyd saye. But the Plateans saye, that they promysed them not symplye for to render them the sayde prysonners incontynently, but onely, yf they agrede with them, after that they had spokenne together, and that wythoute makynge any othe. But howe so euer it was, the Thebayns dyd retourne into theyr cytye, without doyng any euyll in the terrytory of ỹ Plateens. And yet those Platees dyd incontynently wdrawe the persones, & the goodes that they hadde in the feldes. And after cansed the prysonners that they hadde to dye, which were about nyne skoore. Among whom was Eurymachus, who admynystred the practyse of the trahyson. And thys done, they rendred vnto the Thebayns, theyr deade men, and fournyshed theyr cytye wyth that, that they thought necessarye for the tyme. The Athenyans, whan they had harde what was done at Platee, gaue order to cause to be taken all the Beotians that were founde in the countreye of Athenes. And fourthwyth sente towardes the Plateens a trompet to defend or commaunde them that they shulde do no euyll nor dysplesure to them that they had prysonners, vntyl suche tyme, as it were deuysed, what shulde therỹpõ be done. For they were not yet aduertised that they were slayne, for that, that the furst messenger, that came vnto them, departed frome Platee at the begynning, as the Thebayns were entred, the seconde after that they were vanquyshed and taken, and than they sente theyr trompett. Who whan he was arryued, founde that the prysonners were all slayne. Anone after, the Athenyans came thyder with theyr armye or hoste, and brought corne for to victuayle the towne. And vnto that, leste there a good garnysone of men of warre, and ledde away with them, women, chyldren, and other people vnmete for the defence.

¶ The great preparation that was made aswell on the behalfe of the Athenyans, as of that came of the Peloponesyans, and the Cities, that toke parte with the one syde, and wyth the other.

The.ii. Chapter.

THese thynges thus done at Platee, as we haue sayde, the Athenians, seynge manyfestly that the treuse was brokenne, prepared thẽselfe, to make warre. And the Lacedemonyans and theyr allyes, dyd the lyke, & so they determyned, aswell on the one syde, as of ỹ other, to sende

to sende towardes the kynge of Mede. And the other straungers, of whom they hoped to haue any succoure, and also to the cytyes, that were oute of theyr obeysance for to drawe them to theyr allyance. And chiefly the Lacedemonians gaue charge vnto the cytyes of Italy, and of Sycille that toke theyr parte, to make shyppes accordynge to theyr possibilytye (besydes those, that they hadde) to the nomber of fyue honndred in all. And moreouer that they shulde fournyshe a certayne some of monneye, without declaring to them, the other matters, but that they shulde not receyue into theyr portes more than one shyppe of Athenes at a tyme, vntyll that all the apparayle were ready. Lykewyse the Athenyans on theyr syde sente Ambassadours furste, to all the cytyes, that were of theyr obeysance. And afterwardes to the other, that were nygbe to Peloponese, to wytte, to Corcyre, to Cephanalie, to Acarnanye and to Zacynthe. For they parceyued well, that yf the sayde cytyes were in good amytie with them, they myght more easely rome by sea rounde aboute Peloponese. And in effecte they thoughte not of one thyng, of the one syde nor of the other, which was not wayghtye. And also they enterprysed not the warre of any other sorte, nor more coldelye, than was conuenyent for people of suche renomme. For also at begynnynge, all people be most hotte to defende them selues. whereby it happened that many ponge men, aswell of Athens, as of Peloponese, were not greatly dysspleased with the warre, for that, that they had not experymented nor proued it. And also all the other cities of Grece were anymated to warre, seynge that the princypall were therunto enclyned. Moreouer there were made dyuers pronostications. And the aunsweres and oracles of the Goddes, were reaported in dyuers sortes, not onely in cities that were tangled with this same warre, but also in the other. And it chaūced amonge other thynges, that the temple of Delos trembled, whiche thynge was neuer sene, to the remembraunce of the Grekes, and by the newe or strange thynges that were parceyued, men iudged of thynges, that were to comme. By meane whereof, all those fantasyes were curyously searched and inquyred of. But so muche was it, that the people generally had more affection to the Lacedemonyans, than vnto the Athenyans. For that chiefly, that they sayde, ỳ they wolde restore all Grece into lybertye. By reason whereof, they aduaunced them selfe all, aswel in common, as in particuler to ayde them, with suche affection, as it semed to euery one, that yf he were not there, the thynge shulde be empesched through hys faulte. And many there were, that were dysspleased, and not well contented wyth the Athenyans. Some for that theyr empyre was taken from them, and the other fearynge to come into theyr subiectyon. In thys manner they prepared themself, both with harte and apparayle aswell on the one syde, as on the other. And the cytyes that toke partye, wyth the Lacedemonyans, were all the Peloponesyans that arne wythin the distrayte, excepte the Argiues, and the Achayans, who were frendes aswell of the one, as of the other. And there were not of the sayde Achayans at begynnynge, but the Pellians, that toke part with the Peloponesians. But afterwardes all the other dyd take it. And oute of Peloponese were of thys partye, the Megarens, the Phocyens, the Locryās, the Beotiens, the Ambrotiates, the Lewcadyans and the Anactoryans. Of whō the Corinthians, the Megarens, the Sycyonyans, the Pellyans, the Hellyans, the Lewcadyans and the Ambracyens fournyshed shyppes, the Beotians, Phocyans and the Locryens, horsmen, and the other fote men. And this is concernyng the Peloponesyans. On the partye of the Athenyans, were they of Chio, of Lesbos, of Platee, and the Messenyans, that be in Naupactus, manye of the Acarnanyens, the Corcyryans, the Zacynthians, and the other that were their tributours, Zacynthus. Naupactus.

tributours,amonge whome were the Carians,whiche be farre beyonde sea,and Dorians,that be ioyning vnto them,the countrey of Ionii and that same of Hellespont,many places of Thrace,and all the yllandes,that be out of Peloponese and of Crete on the parties of,le soleil leuant which be called Ciclades,reserued Melo and There. Of whome the Lesbyans and the Corcyryans fournyshed shyppes,and the other footemen. These were the allyes and consequentes, and also the preparations of the one partye,and of the other. The Lacedemonyans, after that they vnderstode the chaunce that was happened at Platee,commaunded all theyr allyes,that they shuld kepe theyr people ready,with apparayl that were necessarye for to yssue vnto the felde at a daye named , and to enter into the countrey of Athenes. And after that thys was done,two partes of all the cyties mett at one tyme,in ỳ destraict of Peloponese, that is called Isthmos,and sone after, all the other arryued there. who beyng there all assembled, Archidamus kynge of the Lacedemonyans,who was generall or chief of the armye,called vnto hym all the officers and pryncipallest of all the cytyes, and spake vnto them in thys manner.

The narration of Archidamus kynge of Lacedemonians.

The thyrde Chapter.

LOrdes Peloponesyans, and yone other oure allyes, oure auncestres haue had manye warres, and made manye armyes,as well wythin the countreye of Peloponese,as wythout,and those amonge vs that be aged, haue some experyence. Yet we neuer yssued to the felde so puyssant,nor with so greate apparayle for warre,as at thys present. Also we go agaynste a ryght myghtye cytye,where there is lykewyse a great nõber of good warryours. wherfore we must shewe vs suche,that we destayne not the glorye and renome of oure elders, and of oure selues. For all Greece is moued for thys warre,and the more parte,do long loke for our victorye,for the hatred that they haue to the Athenyãs. neuertheles we must not(for that we be in right great nomber,& go agaynst our ennemyes in great hope, ỳ they dare not yssue agaynst vs) leaue nor ompt any thynge of oure apparayle, but it is necessarye, that euery one of vs as well cappytayne as conductor and souldyer be alwayes in feare to fall into any danger throughe hys faulte. For the feate of warre is alwayes doubtfull. And men fyght ryght oftentyme for a small matter and for dysdayne. And many tymes the smaller nomber, for the feare that it had , hath vanquyshed the greater,that contempnynge the ennemyes , kepte not hys order. wherfore it is conuenyent,whan we shall enter into the lande of oure ennemys,to be ready and hardy,but whan it shall comme to the dede,men must prepare themselues in feare.which doyng, we shalbe more ready for to assayle our ennemys,and more assured to fyght. And also we muste thinke. that we go not agaynst a cytye weake and vnprouyded,so that it cannot reuenge him selfe,but agaynst the cytye of Athenes,which is prouyded of all thynges. And that they be people for to yssue agaynst vs. But at begynnynge,as we shal enter into their lande,by all meanes,as to theyr syghte,we woll ennemylike bourne & pyllage it. For al people,that soubdaynely parceyue any thyng not accustomed,to be done

to theyr

theyr dommage, be moued to wrath and anger. And those, that do not theyr thynges by reasone, ryght oftentymes do ouerthrowe themselues in the affaire, as holy furious and madde. And it is to beleue, that the Athenyans do it more, than other people, for that that they thinke, that it apperteigneth thē, to gouerne other, and to destroye the lande of other men, rather, than they shuld come to destroye theyrs. Wherfore you must followe them, that shall conducte youe in thys enterpryse, in great esperance of victorye, aswel for the vertue and reputacyon of our auncestres, as also for ours. And nevertheles haupnge regarde that youe go agaynste a ryght puyssant cytye, youe holde youe alwayes affected and prouyded for all chaunces, that might comme. And moreouer haue alwayes in remembraunce to be appoincted as apperteigneth euery man for himself, and furthermore to kepe youe well, and to execute redely that, that youe shalbe commaunded. For it is a fayer thynge and of a greate suertie for a greate bende, where ther e is great nomber of people, to see theim al appoincted with one obedyence. After that Archidamus had this spoken and that the counsayle was resolued, he sente again Melesippus, sonne of Diacrytus of Sparte, to Athenes, for to vnderstande, yf they wolde not speake more humbly, perceyuynge the enemies ready to enter into theyr lande. But they wolde not admyt the sayde Melesyppus into theyr senate, nor yet into theyr cytye. But sente hym from thence agayne wythoute hearynge, for that, that the oppynyon of Pericles was greatest, by whiche it was sayde, that herauldе nor Ambassadoure shulde be receyued frō the enemyes, sence that they were yssued in armes agaynste them. And also they caused to be commaūded to the sayde Melesyppus, to departe theyr lande within a daye, and to saye to them that had sente hym thyder, that they shulde not sende agayne vnto them, any parsone, excepte furste that they were retourned into theyr countrey. And moreouer gaue hym people for to conducte him backe through theyr countreye, and to kepe hym, that he spake to no man. Who beyng comme to the borders of theyr countreye so, as they that conducted hym, wolde lycence hym, he spake vnto them, these wordes wythoute more. Thys iourney shalbe begynnyng of many greate euyls in Greece. And after that he was come agayne to the campe, Archidamus, vnderstandynge that the Athenyans had nothynge asswaged of theyr hygh courayge, cauled hys armye to dislodge and entred into the lande of Athenyans. And on the other syde, the Beotiens into the lande of Platee, & pyllaged it wyth an other bende. For the Lacedemonyans had departed to the Peloponesyans one parte of the hoste, and thys was done before, that the other were all assembled in the destrait of Peloponese. And this much to shew howe they assembled, to enter into the lande of Athenes.

Melesippus.

Howe after the perſwation and erhortacyon of Pericles to the warre, the Athenyans that dwelled in the feldes, wythdrewe them ſelfe and theyr goodes into the cytye, and dyſpoſed them ſelfe vnto the aſſayres of the warre.

☞ The.iiii. Chapter.

When Pericles ſonne of Xantyppus, the tenth Duke of Athenyans, vnderſtode that the ennemyes were entred into the fayde lande, doubtyng hym ſelfe for that, that Archidamus had bene lodged in hys houſe, ꝑ he wolde defende to hys people that they ſhulde do no damage to the landes and houſes, that he had without, eyther for curteſye and of hym ſelfe, or elles by commaundement of the Lacedemonyans, for to put that ſame Pericles into ſuſpycion of the people, as they were lately minded to do, demaundyng that he ſhulde be dryuen oute of the cytye for to pourge the ſacrilege wherof hath bene ſpoken, he aduaunced hym ſelfe therof to ſpeake to the aſſemblye of the cytye, Declaryng vnto them, though Archidamus had ben hys geſte, yet that ſhulde not redounde to the dommage of the cytye. And that yf it chaunced that the houſes and poſſeſſyons of other cytezeins were burned, & ꝑ hys were ꝑſarued, he wolde geue them vnto the cõmunaltye. to the entente that no ſuſpycyon ſhulde be conceyued agaynſt hym for that matter. And ſo he erhorted more ouer the people, as he had done before, to be ready and apparayled for the warre, to bryng all theyr moueable goodes into the cytye, to prepare theyr ſhyppes and other munytyons by ſea, wherof they were moſt puyſſante, & to entertayne into theyr amytie, theyr allyes and confederates, from whom they had monney, for that, that the victorye chiefly cometh in feate of warre, by force of monney, and by good conducte and admynyſtration. Shewynge them furder more that they ſhulde haue greate confydence in the reuenue that they leuyed yerely by fourme of tribute vpon theyr ſubiectes and confederates, which amoũted to ſix houndred talentes, ouer and aboue the other reuenues, that they had in generall. And lykewyſe they ſhulde truſte to the ready monney whiche they preſently hadde in theyr Caſtelle to the ſomme of fyue thouſande talentes. For although that they hadde had for the moſt, tenne thouſande, three leſſe, yet the reſte was ſpente at the erectyng of the caſtell of Propilee, and for other buyldynges, and alſo for the warre of Potidee. And alſo they hadde beſyde thys, greate quantyte of golde and ſyluer not coigned in dyuers kyndes, aſwell in generall, as in particular, beſydes the halowed veſſels and other ornamentes of temples, and that, which was deputed to the pompe of playes, and beſyde that, that they hadde wonne of the ſpoyle of the Medes, and many lyke thynges, whiche amoũted vnto no leſſe than fyue houndred talentes. And beſydes all that, there were many greate ſommes of money in the temples, wherewith they might helpe themſelfe in neceſſitie, and in extremytie. whan the reſte ſhulde fayle, they might take the golde, wherwith the great Goddeſſe Dyana was couered, which amoũteth, as it is ſayde to fourty pounde wayght of talentes all fyne golde & maſſis. which, it ſhulde be laufull to take, for conſeruatyon of the comon wealthe, in rendryng it alwayes entierly, after the warre. In ſuche manner he erhorted them to haue good hope, that monney ſhulde not fayle them. And concernynge the force of people, he ſhewed them, that they hadde thyrtene thouſande warryours, beſydes thoſe that were deputed to the keppynge of places, and of walles and fortereſſes, whiche amounte vnto. xvi. thouſande. For ſo many there were that kepte watche

(The ſubſtance of the erhortacyon of Pericles to the Athenyans.

the great goddeſſe Dyana was couered with golde

watche and warde in the sayde places, from begynnynge, that the enemyes came into theyr lande, comprehended the olde and the yonge, and also the straungers, that dwelled in the towne, all bearynge armure. Also they had to kepe the walle, whiche is called Phalerius, whiche extendeth it selfe frome the walles of ꝧ towne vntyll the sea, conteignyng.xxxb. houndred stades, of lengthe. And the walles in that, which was warded, conteigne. xlii. of cyrcuyte. For ꝧ (which was betwene the sayde walle Phalerie and the other, that is called the great walle, whiche lykewyse extendeth it selfe vntyll the sea, conteignynge fourty stades in lengthe) was not subiecte to warde, the sayde two walles beynge well kepte, ꝧ were without the cytye. And moreouer there was to warde the forteresse of the gate, that is called Pyreus, which comprehendynge the other adioyninge, that is called Munychie, conteigneth three skore stades in circuyte, the moytie wherof was watched holy by footemen. And for thys they had.xii. houndred men at armes, and sixtene houndred arbalestrers, all horsemen. Suche was thapparaile of the Athenyans for trouthe without anye thynge therevnto added, whan the Peloponesyans entred into theyr lande. Pericles made vnto them many other remonstraunces and declarations, suche, as he had accustomed, for to geue them to vnderstande, that they shulde haue the better of that same warre. After whiche persuasyons, they wente all for to fatche theyr goodes into the cytye. And afterwardes sent by sea, theyr wyues, theyr chyldren, theyr moueables, theyr vtensyles and instrumentes, the woode of the buyldynges, that they had beaten downe, and theyr cattell into Eubee, and into other yslandes nerte adioynynge. Whiche thynge was odible vnto them, for that a longe tyme, a greate parte of them inhabyted the feldes, where they kepte their housholde. For suche was alwayes the custome of the Athenyans, more, than of other people from the furst begynnyng of the citie. And from the time specyally of Cecrops and of other furst kynges, vntyll Theseus, the countreye of Athenes was inhabyted by byllages ⁊ boroughs, and euery byllage had hys courte and hys officers. For that, that lyuing in quiertie ⁊ without warre, they neded not to come to theyr kynges for to cõsulte vpõ cõmon affayres, no, though there were some, ꝧ made warre amõge thẽ, as the Eleusins, after that Eiolphus ioyned him selfe with Erechthus. But after ꝧ Theseus came to the kingdom, who was a man puyssaunte ⁊ wytty, besydes ꝧ, that he reduced and reformed through ciuilitie ⁊ pollecy many other thynges in the said countrey, he abolyshed all his small officers, ⁊ the courtes of the villages ⁊ bouroughes, and caused the people to drawe into the cytye, which at thys presente, be all vnder one counsaille, ⁊ vnder one courte. And constrayned thẽ al, laboryng their landes, as before, to chose ⁊ haue theyr ordinary house, in ꝧ same citie generally. which citie hauyng in his time made great ⁊ well ordered, he left it by succession vnto them that came after, from hande to hande. Whereby for remembraunce of the same goodnes, at suche daye, as that same assemblye and vnyon of the cytye was made, the Athenians do yet at this present celebrate a solempne feast yearly in the honour of the goddesse. For before that, the citie conteigned not but ꝧ same, which is now the castel, ⁊ that, that is aboue on the south syde, lyke as the tẽples of the other gods do wytnes, which be within the sayde castell, and the other that be wout of the south syde, as ꝧ same of Iupiter, Olimpyã of Pythe, of Tellus ⁊ of Bacchus. Vnto whom was yearely celebrated the feast Bacchanal the tenth day of the moneth Antesterion, lyke as the Ionyans, who be descẽded of ꝧ Athenias, do yet at this presẽt holde it for trouth. And many other aũcient tẽples there be in ꝧ same place, wherin also is the fountayne ꝧ is called now, sence the rulers haue appointed it, the newe cõductes. which auncyently was called Callirroe. And men vsed it for that, that it was nyghe the place

Eleusinii.
Emmolpus.
Erechtheus.
Antesterion.
Callirroe

I.ii. in all,

in all great thynges. Whereby yet at thys presente, the oppynyon of the people is, that it shulde be vsed in sacrifices, specyally in those, that be made for maryages. And that parte of the cytye, that is aboue the castell in the hyghest parte of the towne, is yet at thys daye by the Athenyans called the cytye, for memory of the antiquite. For to retourne than to oure purpose, the Athenyans, that at begynnynge dwelled in the feldes at theyr playsyr, though that afterwardes they were reduced and brought to the cytye, yet for the custome that they hadde for to dwelle in the feldes, contynued there the more parte wyth theyr housholde, aswell of the auncyentes, as of the newe citezens vntyll thys present warre. By reasone wherof, it was very greuous and not easye for them to drawe into the towne. And so muche the more, that after the warre of the Medes, they had brought thyder all theyr moueables. And on the other parte, it greaued thē greatly and was molestuous, that they shuld leaue theyr temples and theyr particular Goddes, whiche they hadde in the vyllages and bouroughs. whiche for the auncyent vsage that they hadde to sacrifyce there, they reputed them to be theyr parte. And also it was mete for them to leue and chaunge all theyr manner of lyuynge. Whereby in effecte it semed vnto euerye of them by departynge from theyr vyllages, that they habandoned theyr citie. And after that they were come wythin the cytye, there were veray fewe that had houses. Afterwardes, some of them wente vnto theyr parentes and frendes, the other and the more parte lodged themselues in places of the cytye not inhabited, & in all the temples, reserued those, that were in the hygh cytye of Eleusine. and some other, whiche were surelyer shutt and kept. And also there were that lodged themself wythin the tēple named Pelasgeque, which was all aboue the olde cytie, though that it were not laufull to dwell there, lyke as it was contεygned in the ende of a verse of an aunswere of Apollo Delphicque. whiche sayde in thys manner. The temple Pellasgeque shall kepe most comodyously the reste. But to my iudgement that same aunswere came to the contrarye of that, that men vnderstode by it. For the calamytie chaunced not to the cytye, for that, that the temple was prophane by the habitacyon of the people, as some woll vnderstande it, but to the contrarye the necessytye to dwell there, came through the calamyte of the warre. For the oracle of the Godde, forseynge the warre that shulde comme, shewed before, that whan men shulde inhabyt there, it shulde not be for any goodnes. Manye also lodged them selfe wythin the towers of the walles. And for conclusyon, euery one lodged hymselfe there, where he myght. For the cytye made them no empeschement, seynge so greate a nomber of people to be comme oute of the feldes. But afterwardes, they were lodged vpon the longe walle, and in a greate parte of Pyreus. After that the people and the goodes were wythdrawē into the cytye, they were all geuen and attentyue to prouyde for thynges, appertεynynge to warre. Specyally to cause the succours of the townes subiected and confederated, to assemble, to make ready and tacle an houndred shyppes. which they wolde sende to Peloponese. In thys manner the Athenyans were busyed in the feate of warre.

Howe the Peloponesians entred furste into the lande of Athenes, and the pyllages that there were made. And howe the Athenyans by the wyledome of Pericles, were empesched to ysshe forth, reserued the horsemen, whiche were repoulsed and dryuen backe agayne.

The.b.Chapter.

The hoste of the Peloponesyans comming into the lande of Athenes, they mynded to lodge furste in the towne of Enoe, whiche is vpon ỹ borders, betwene Athenes, and Beoce. And for that, that the towne was strongely walled, into the whiche the Athenyans retyred in tyme of warre, the Peloponesians determined to take it by batterye. For thys cause, they made engyns to be sett vp for batterie: but for that, ỹ it was longe tyme in doing, they had great sulpytyō agaynst Archidamus, that he was fauourable to the Athenyās. For also they thought that he hadde ben eneglygent in causyng the confederates to assemble, and that he had coldly encouraged the armye. And after that it was assembled, that he tarryed longe in the destraicte of Peloponese, before he departed, and more, that after hys departure, that he came very softly. but aboue all, they complayned of that, that he hadde bene so longe before Enoe. And they thought, that yf he had vsed dylygence, they hadde (entrynge readely into the lande of Athenes) pyllaged all the goodes, that the Athenyans had brought into the cytye. In suche sulpytyon was Archidamus at the alliege of Enoe, who as men saye, caused it to be protracted at length, hoppynge that the Athenyans, before that theyr lande shulde be begonne to be wasted and destroied, wolde come fourthe, rather, than to see it destroyed before theyr eyes. But after that the Peloponesyans had done all theyr beste for to take Enoe, seyng that there was no hope to do it, and also that the Athenyans had not sente anye herauldе nor message vnto them, they departed fromthence about fourscore daies after that, which had bene done by the Thebayns at Platee. and entredde into the countreye of Athenes in the tyme of sommer, the corne beyng rype in the feldes, vnder the conducte of Archidamus kynge of Sparte. And vanquyshed all the sayde lande, begynnynge in the quarter of Eleusine and of Triasie. and also dyd repoulse and dryue backe the horsemen of the Athenyans, that were come fourthe vpon them, into a place that is called Rithie. Afterwardes, they passed more further, hauyng on the ryght hande the mountaygne of Egaleon, ouerthwart the regyon called Cecropie, and came vntyll Acarne, whiche is the greatest towne that is in all the regyon of Athenes, before the which they layde theyr alliege, and there they were long, pyllagynge and destroying the countrey. It is said that Archidamus kept hym selfe abowtes the towne wyth all the armye in battayle, as for to fyght, and wolde not descende into the playne, fearyng that ỹ Athenyans, who had so great nōbre of yonge people, more encouraged to warre, na. than euer they had before, wolde come to ouerrunne them, and coulde not endure to see theyr lāde, so wasted & pillaged. And whan he yet did see, that they were not come fourth, the ennempes, beinge in Eleusine and after in Trasie he mynded to assaye, yf they durst comme to rayse the siege from before Acarne, considerynge also that the place was very propyce and mete for to lodge & sojourne hys campe. Also he thought, that they of the towne, that were well the thyrde parte of Athenes (for there were thre thousande all men of warre) wolde not suffer them wylfyngly to waste theyr terrytorye, & for that cause, all together wolde comme fourth, aswell from Athenes, as from Acarne for to geue them battayle.

Oenoe.

The mountaygne of Egaleon.

Icharia.

And yf they came not fourthe, that than men might, fromthence forwardes vo
lesse feare, waste and burne all the territory of Athens. And comme to the walles
of the towne. For whan the Acarnes shulde haue sene all theyr lande wasted and
theyr goodes lost, they shulde not be so determyned nor so ready to put theselfe
in daunger for to kepe the landes and the goodes of other. And by thys meane
they shulde be of dyuers opynyons. Suche was the fantasye of Archidamus,
beynge before Acarne. But the Athenyans, whyles the ennemys were aboutes
Eleusine and in the lande of Triase, they hadde some opynyon that they wolde
passe no further. For that, that they remembred that. xiiii. yeares before ỳ warre,
Plistonactus, sonne of Paulanias kynge of Lacedemonyans, beynge entred in-
to the lande of Athenes wyth the hoste of Peloponesyans, whan he was come
to the sayde countreys of Eleusyne and of Triase, passed no further, but retour-
ned. Through occasyon wherof after hys retourne, he was reiected and banny-
shed from the cytye of Sparte, for that, that it was suspected, that he had taken
monneye for to retourne. But whan the Athenyans vnderstoode that the hoste
of ennemys was before Acarne, whiche was not distant, but. lx. stades from the
cytye, and that they sawe before theyr yes theyr terrytorye wasted, which thyng
neuer mã of the towne, ponge nor olde had sene, but at the warre of Medes, they
thought it a thynge to muche intollerable and not to be suffred. And so they were
determyned, specyally the ponge people, no longer to indure it, but to yssue forth
vpon the ennemyes. Wherupon the people beynge assembled vpon the market,
there was amonge them a great altercation. For some wolde that they shulde
yssue fourth wyth all theyr force, the other wolde not suffre it, the dyuynours
also vnto whome men repayred on all sydes for to knowe theyr opynyon, rea-
ported dyuers Judgementes and dyuers dyuynations. On thoder syde, the A-
carnanyans, seynge that theyr lande was wasted, laboured greatly the Athenyans to sett fourthe, and they thoughte that they ought to do it, for to succoure
theyr people, that were wythin Acarne in greate nombre. In thys manner the
cytye was in greate tumulte and dyssentyon of all sydes. and were angry against
Pericles, and spake vnto hym many iniurious wordes, for that, that he wolde
not leade them fourthe beynge theyr duke, saying that he was cause of all theyr
euylle. wythoute remembrynge that, whiche he had counsayled and shewed the,
before the warre, But he, seyng that they were astonyed for the hurtes that they
dyd seem theyr lande, and that they had euyll opynyon, in wille to go fourthe a-
gaynst raysone, he wolde not assemble them, nor make declaration as he was ac-
customed to do. Fearynge that they wolde make some determynation, more
throughe anger, than by reason, but gaue order to kepe the towne, and to holde
it quyet, the moste that myght be. And neuertheles, he caused the horsmen to ys-
sue fourthe for to defende, that those that came fromme the campe of the ennemies
for to runne before the cytye, myght not cary away the goodes, that were aboutes it. And there was a small conflict in the quarter, that is called, Phrigie, bet-
wene a bende of the sayd horsmen Athenyans, the Thessalyans ioyned wyth
them, and those of the Beotyens. Wherein the sayde Athenyans and Thes-
salyens had not the worste, vntyll that the fotemen Beotiens came to the suc-
cour of theyr horsmen. For than they put them to slight. And there were some
of the deade men that were caryed awaye into the cytye, the selfe same daye
wythoute demaundynge them of the ennemyes. And the morowe after, the
Peloponesyans erected and sett vp a trophee vpon the place in token of the vic-
torye. Nowe the Thessalyans were auncyent allyes of the Athenyans, and
than they had sente them succoure of the sayde horsemen, to wytt they ... f

Plistonax.

Larisse,

Larisse, they of Pharsale, they of Parrhasie, they of Cranonie, they of Piralie, they of Cyrtonie, and they of Ferere. Of the whiche succours, the Cappytaynes were, Polymedes and Aristanus for Larisse, Menō for Pharsale, and other for euery one of the sayd cyties. Whan the Peloponesians did se, that the Athenyans came not fourth to battaile againste them, they did breake vp from bifore Acarne, and came to pyllaige & ouerronne certain other villages that were betwene Parneth and the mountaygne of Brilesse. Polymedes. Ariston. Menon

¶ Of many exploictes of warre that the Athenyans dyd, aswelle by sea, as by lande, the sommer that the warre bigaune and the wynter followynge, togidres with certayne allyaunces and newe amyties, that they made in Thrace and in Macedonie, and fynally, of the publique ereques or obyt that they celebrated at Athenes for thē that were dead in that same warre.

¶ The.b. Chaptre.

During the tyme that the Peloponesyans fourraged and wasted the countrey of Athenes, the Athenyans caused to departe frō thair porte the hondred shippes, that they had apparailled, wherin were a thousande men armed and foure houndred Archers vnder the conducte of Carcynus, sonne of Xenotymus, of Protheas, sonne of Epicles and of Socrates, sonne of Antigenus, for to go to ouerronne rounde aboutes Peloponese. Who, beinge departed from the porte with greate preparation, cōmytted thē selfe vnto the sayle. As concernynge the Peloponesyans, they abodde in the land of Athenes, so longe as they had victuailes. And whan they begaune to faile thē, they retourned through the countrey of Beotyās, without doing ther any harme. But in passing through the countrey of Dropes, who were subiectes of the Athenyans, they pyllaged one quarter named Pyrace, & that done, retourned euery man into Peloponese and so into his house. After they were departed, the Athenyans dyd ordeyne their wardes, aswell by sea, as by lande, for all the tyme, that the warre shulde endure. And by comon decree, kepte a thousande talentes of thē that were in the fortresse of the olde cytie, and dyd ordeyne that no man shulde touche yt. but of the remanant, men might take that, that shulde be nedefull for the feate of warre. And they did defende vpon payne of lyfe, that no man shulde propone nor put into deliberation to take of the sayd thousande talentes, except it were of necessitie, for to resiste the ennemys, in case that they came to assayle the cytie by sea. With that same monney, they made an houndred galleys besyde the ordynary, ryght sayer and gorgyouse. And euery peare they therunto appoynted newe patrones and Cappytaynes. Whiche galleys might not be employed to any other vse, but, in ỹ case aboue said, men might take of the said somme of a thousande talentes. As touchinge those that were departed in the othere houndred shippes againste the countrey of Peloponese, they ioyned themselues with fifty other shippes, that the Corcyrens had sente them for succoure, and altogether compassinge aboutes the sayde countrey, besides many greate hurtes that they there dyd, they landed and came to assiege the cytie of Metoune, whyche ys in the countrey of Laconie. whiche was than pyll repayred with walles, & vnprouyded Carcynus. Prothenas. Socrates. Methona.

of people. But by fortune, Brasidas, sonne of Telydas Spartayne, was in the same quarter, very nighe vnto yt, with a smal nomber of men of warre. Who vnderstandinge the compnge of the ennemys, came with a houndred armed men, onely, for to succour the towne, and passed through the myddes of the campe of the ennemys, that were dispersed & skatered abroade. And they made to ỹ walle so diligently and mankully, that with a very small losse of his people, that were slayne in passinge through, he entred into the towne, and saued yt. By reasone of whyche hardynes, he was praised by the Spartaynes aboue all those, that were in that same warre. At departure from thens, the Athenyans wente to lande in the coutrey of Elede, wherin they toke the towne of Phee, where they soiourned two dates, pillaging al that coũtrey, and also they defeated and discomfited three houndred good men of the valleys of the said countrey of Elyde, with a certaine other nõbre of the coũtrey adioining ỹ were come downe for to succour the said towne of Phee. And afterwards, a great wynde & tẽpest arising in ỹ sea, by meane wher of, thair shippes might no longar tary there, for that, that it was a place vñ out porte: one part of thẽ embarqued thẽselfe. And passing bifore a rokky place, called Ithis, they came to aborde in the porte of Phile. To which place, the Messenyens & the other, that could not be embarqued at departure from Phee, were come by lande, and had taken the towne by force. Whiche vnderstandinge, that there were nowe assembled a great bende of people of the countre of Elyde, for to come to ouerronne thẽ, habandoned the cytie & embarqued themselues with the other, & departed altogither keping that same sea, enuirõninge the places, nighe about it. In the same selfe tyme, the Athenyans sente thirty othere shippes for to go against ỹ quarter of Locride, & for to kepe ỹ Iland of Eubee, & they cõmitted the cõducte of the same shipps vnto Cleopõpus, son of Clynias, who, being there landed, wasted many coũtrees along by ỹ sea, & toke the towne of Thronе, & caused the same to delyuer hostages. Afterwardes, certaine Locryãs being come to repulse & chase him away, as he was bifore Alope, he defeated & ouercame thẽ in battaile. In that same sõmer, ỹ Athenyans chased all the inhabitantes out of Egyne, vñ thair wiues & childrẽ, reprochinge thẽ, that they were cause of all ỹ warre. And also they thought yt much more sure to inhabytt vñ their people that same cytie, which was affectioned to the Peloponesyãs. which thing they did anone after. But the Peloponesiãs, alwel for hate of the Athenyãs, as also for ỹ, that the Egynes had done thẽ many plaisirs, both in ỹ tyme, whã the earthquake was in thair coũtrey, & also in ỹ warre that they had against the Helotes, they gaue thẽ the cytie of Thyree for their habytaciõ, vñ all the territory thereof vnto the sea, for to labour. which territory departeth the coũtrey of Argiues, from that same of Laconie. And one parte of ỹ sayd Egynes, did inhabitt thẽselfe ther, & the other wẽt dispacled through the coũtrey of Greece. In ỹ selfe same sõmer, the furst day of the moneth in the chasige of the mone, at which might only chaise the eclips, As it was bileued: the lumne was darkened about noone or mydday. In such sort, ỹ there was sene many starres in heauẽ, & anone after came againe to his clerenes. At which time, ỹ Athenias made appointemẽt vñ Nymphodorus Abderite, who was bifore thair ennemy, for that, that he had greate authoritie with Sitalces, sonne of Thereus kinge of Thrace, whoe hadde elpoused his suster hopinge by his meane, to withdrawe the sayde Sitalces vnto thaire allyaunce. For that same Thereus hadde furst in his lyuinge made the royalme of Odriles, whiche he enioyed, most great of all the coũtrey of Thrace, whiche lyeth, in cõparison of the reste, in lybertie. This same Thereus was not he, that hadde Progne doughter of Pandion, kinge of Athenes to wyfe, but they ruled in dyuers countrees of Thrace, for he, ỹ elpouled Progne, holdeth ỹ coũtrey of Daulie, which is

Cleopõpus.
Thronium.
Alopa.
Thyrea
Nymphodorus.
Sitalces.
Thereus.
Progne
Pandiõ
Daulia.

nowe

nowe called the lande of Phocyde, that was than inhabyted with Thracyens, in whose time, that same Progne and Philomene her suster dyd that greuous of- Philo-
fence, in the place of Itys. By reasone wherof many poetes makinge mention of mena.
Philomene, whiche is called the nightingale, named yt the byrde of Daulie. And Itys.
it is good, to beleue that Pandyon, kinge of Athenes, made that allyance with the same Thereus king, that helde the countrey of Daulie, for that, that it was very nighe to Athenes for to haue succour & seruyce, rather, than wyth the othere Thereus, that helde ỹ coũtrey of Odryses, which was greatly distant fromthẽce. That same than, of whome we speake, beinge a man of none estymation nor renõme, gott the roiaulme of Odryses, and lefte yt vnto Sitalces his sonne, with whome the Athenyans made allyance, aswell for to haue places, frendes and fauourers in Thrace, as also to destroye by hys meane, Perdycas kynge of Mace- Perdic-
donie. And Nymphodorus came vnto Athenes with full power of the sayd Si- cas.
talces, to conclude thappoinctmente, whiche thinge he didde. And moreouer he causled his sonne, named Sadocus, to be made Citezeine of Athenes. And he toke Sado-
charge to practise with Sitalces that he shulde ceasle & forbeare the warre, that cus.
he made in Thrace, for to sende to the Athenyans horsmen and footemen lightly armed, all Thracyens. He moreouer made appoinctement bitwene the Athenyans and Perdicas by meane of the cytie of Therme, whiche they rendered him at Ther-
perswation of the same Nephodorus. By meane of whiche appoynctment, Per- ma.
dicas ioyned with Thathenyans and with Phormeon, biganne warre against them of Chalcyde. In this manner the Athenians had Sitalces kinge of Thra Chalci-
cyans and Perdicas kinge of Macedonyans in thair allyance. And durynge this dienses.
tyme, their people that were gone into Peloponese with the houdred furst shippes, toke the towne of Solyon, bilonginge to the Corynthyans. And after that Solyõ.
they hadde vtterly pillaged yt, they gaue it with all the territory vnto them of Palere, whyche be in the countrey of Acharnanie. And after that, they toke the Palicẽ-
towne of Astacte by force, whiche they reduced to theire allyaunce, hauynge cha- les.
sed frome thence Euarchus, that helde yt by tyranny. And this done, they Euar-
toke saile for to come to the Isle of Chephalanie, which was situated for anẽpste chus.
the countreis of Acharnanie, and of Lewcade, and there were four cyties, to wit, Cepha-
Pale, Cranie, Samee, and Pronnee. So without any resistence they toke al the lenia.
Isle. And sone after departed frõthence about the ende of somer for to retourne Pales
to Athenes. But they, beinge arryued at Egyne, vnderstode howe Pericles was Cranii
come fourth with a great bende of men of Athenes, and was entred into the ter- Sauri-
ritory of Megare. So they toke their way for to retyre straight into that partie, us.
& there landed, and ioygned themselfe with the other. Which was one of the grea Pron-
test assembles of men of warre, that had bene yet sene togither, of Athenyans neus.
alonely. For also the cytie was than in his flower, and hadde not suffred any cala
mitie. And it is sayde that they were ten thousand men armed all of Athens, be-
sides thre thousand that were at Potyde, and the inhabytãtes of the feldes, that
were retyred into the cytie, which were issued with thẽ to the nõber of thre thou-
sand all well armed. And beside those, there was a great nõber of othere lightly
armed, whyche altogether hauinge pillaged and wasted the more parte of the
territory of Megare, retourned fromthence vnto Athens. And the same Athenyans ceased not yearely to come to ouerronne the sayde countrey of Megare. Sõ-
tyme wyth horsemen, and sometyme with fotemen, vntill that they toke the cy-
tie of Nysee. But that furste yeare whereof we speake, they forteyed wyth walles the cytie of Atalẽte. And neuerthelas whã it came vnto the ende of ỹ somer Atalãta
they habandõned & destroyed yt. For that, that yt was nighe the Locryans & the

Opuntiens

Opuntyens, to the intent that the Corinthyens shulde not haue the commodyte to withdrawe themselfe thider, for to come to ouerronne the countrey of Eubee. All the whyche thinges were done that selfe same sommer, chiefly, after that the Peloponesians were departed from the lande of Athens. At begynnyng of winter, Euarchus Acarnanyan, myndinge to retourne into the cytie of Astacte, required the Corinthians to delyuer hym fifty shippes, and a thoulande fyue houdredde men armed. By whole ayde, togither with some that he shulde finde on hys syde, he mighte recouer the sayde cytie. whiche thinge they did. And committed the charge of the said armye to Euphampydes, sonne of Aristompnus to Tymorenus, sonne of Tymocrates, and to Eumachus, sonne of Chrilis. who beinge come by sea to the sayd cytie, sett the same Euarchus within yt. And parforced and aduaunced themselfe in that voyage, to subdue certayne townes of Acharnanie, whiche were alongest the sea. But parceyuynge that they couldenot do yt, they retourned fromthence, & passinge by, before the Isle, they landed nigh to the cytie of Cranye, thinking to take yt by composition. But they of the towne fayninge to intreate with them, came to assayle them, beinge vnpurouyded, and dyd slay one parte of them, and the other were constrayned to retyre into theire barques, and to retourne into thair countrey. That selfe same wynter, the Athenyans, followynge the auncyent vsage of the cytie, made thair publique or opene obsites or obsequies for them, that were deade in that same warre. And they were made in this manner. Thre dayes before, there was made a greate tabernacle, within the whiche, was putt the boones of them, that were dead, and their parentes & frendes might laye vpon thē, what they thought good. Afterwards, euery lignage of the towne or trybe, had a great coffer of Cypres. Into whiche they did putt the boanes of them, that were dead of that trybe, and they dyd carry that same cofer vpō a charrett. And after all the cofres, was caryed vpon an other charrett, a great bedde ready made, beinge hooly voyde, whyche represented them that were dead, whole bodyes coulde not be founde. And the sayd Charyottes were cōducted and accōpanyd by all sortes of people, Citezens or other, (thole, that wold cōme) vntill the sepulcre, wherat were the wyues and parentes of the deade, makinge greate weapinges and Lamentacyons. And afterwardes they dyd putt all the sayde cofres in a publique graue or monument made for that purpose in the fayrest suburbe of the cytie, ỳ same sepulcre or graue is called Ceramicō, wherin was accustomed to be buryed all they, that were dead in thair warres, reserued thē, that were slayn in Marathone. To whō, for remēbrance of their singuler vertue, they wylled to make a particuler sepulcre vpō the self place. And after that the corpses were buryedde, the custome was, that some notable personage of the cytie, a man of knowlaige and honnorable, accordyng to the qualitie of the deade, shulde make before the people a preachinge or declaration in thair prayse. And afterwardes, euery man departed. In this manner, the Athenyans buryed them, that dyed in theire warres, so often, as the chaunce happened. And that tyme, Pericles sonne of Xantippus, was deputed and chosen for to reherce and propone the prayse of them, that were the furst slayne in that warre. Who, after the solempnyte of the sepulture or buryall achefued and ended, mounted or stode vp in a highe chaire, in manner, that all the people might vnderstande hym well, and dyd speake in this manner.

Euphamydas Timorenus. Eumachus.

The forme of ỳ generall & publique exequies in Athenes

¶ The funerall declaration of Pericles. Fo.liiii.

☞ The.vii. Chapter.

MAny of them, that haue herebifore declared in this place, greatly haue prayled this custome to reasonne and speake bifore all the people in the praise of them, that were dead. But it semeth to me, to be ynough, to declare by deedes, the honnours and the prayses of theym, that by high actes haue meryted them, as youe haue sene, that hathe bene done in this present solempnyte of publique funeralls. And that men shulde not commyt to the discretion of one only man, the vertues and prayse of so many valyant people, nother yet bileue that, whiche he therin sayde, were yt good or euyll. For it is a thinge very harde and difficile, to kepe the meane and reasone in speakinge of suche thinges, wherof skarcely may be hadde a certayn opynyon, of the trouthe. For it that he, that heareth it spokē, hath knowlaige of the dede, and loueth him, of whome is spokenne, he thinketh alwayes that there is lesse spoken, than ought to be. And that he willed not. And by the cōtrary, vnto him, that hath no knowlaige, it semeth for enuie that he hath, that all that, whiche is spoken of an other more further, than his owne strengthe, and vertue can atteigne to, ys without trouthe. For that, that euery man thinketh that none shulde prayse nor esteme an other more, than himselfe, and if a man passe further, he is enuied and in nothinge bileued. But sithens it hath bene approued and allowed of a longe tyme, that it ought to be this done, it becommeth me, obeynge to the lawe, to accommodate & apply my speking to the opynyō & wille of euery one of you, the most ỳ I maye, beggynnyng to prayse our auncesters and progenitours, for that, that it is a thinge raisonnable and honneste to render in this place, this honnour, for the memory and recordation of them, that furst inhabited and peopled this region. And from hande to hande, by thair vertue, haue lefte & delyuered yt, vnto thaire dissent, franke and free, vntill this present daye. And if they herefore be worthy of prayse, our fathers whiche came after, be yet more worthy, who aboue that, that thair auncyentes hadde lefte vnto them, haue acquyred and added, by thaire labours and vertues, all the empire and seignyory, that we presently do holde. And yet, aboue them, there in we that be lyuynge, specyally in competente aage, haue increased and amplefyed it, and also haue prouyded and fournished our cytie with all thinges, that be necessary aswell for peace, as also for warre. And yet I intende not to reherce the great prowesse and valyauntnes, that we and our ancesters haue vsed, in defending vs, aswell agaynst the straungers, as against the Grekes that haue warred vpon vs. By meanes wherof, we haue acquired & gotten to me all our landes and lordeshipps. For I wil not be prolixe in those thinges, whiche youe do all knowe. But after that I shall haue declayred, by what witt, by what industry and laboure, and by what arte, our empyre hath bene establisshed and augmented, I wyll come to the prayse of thē heare, of whome, we haue to speke. For that, that it semeth to me, not to be without purpose, to remember at this present, thies thinges, and that yt shall not be vnprofytable to all them, that be here present, be they originall cytezeins or inhabitantes. For we haue the rule of a publique weale, whiche folowith not the lawes of cyties nighe vnto it, but we geue rather lawe and exemple vnto other, the whiche we followe not. Also our gouernment ys called Democrotie, whiche ys not conuenīt for a fewe people, but for many. By reasonne wherof, euery of vs, of what qualitie that he be,

(prouyded

(prouyded that he haue some qualitie of vertue) hathe almuche righte to come to honnors of the cytie, as the other. And it is not regarded of what house, nother of what parte of Citezeins, he is, but onely what vertue he hath. for what poore man it may be, or of what rase or distente, howe vyle or vnknowen that it be, so that he maye proffytte the common wealthe, he is not impesched to haue charge and publique office. We procede furthermore, franquely and symply to the feates of the comon wealthe, and to thaffayres and ymagynations, that we haue euery daye wyth oure neyghbours without mounge ourselfe, or beinge angry, if any of them reioyse of any violence, that they haue done vs. And there as they reioyse, we kepe an irreprehensible seuerite, dissimulinge oure heynes. And neuerthelas we loyefully comunycate our particuler goodes. And touchinge them, that appertaigne to the comon wealthe, we do not myslise them, aswell for feare of the officers, as of the lawes. And chiefly of thē, that be made or arne to make, to helpe them, that haue bene deceyued, whyche bringe a manyfeste inlampe vnto them that deceyue. Of the other parte we haue many things for to refreshe and recreate the sprittes, that be trauailed by labours, to wytt, the playes and holly exercises, and the yearely sacrifices, whiche be made with an honest and plaisant apparaile, through delectation wherof, the heynes and malencoly of the people ys abolished and lessened. Furthermore men do bringe hither for the greatenes of the cytie, from all landes and countreys, all sortes of thinges, so that we vse not, more of the goodes that increas and growe in our land, than of them, that be growen in other countreys. And as touching the mylitary or warly exercises, that be done in the cytie, we be different from our ennemys. For somuche as we make and suffer our cytie comon to all people. And for bydde not any persone, be he cytezeine or straunger, to take yt or to beholde that, which he thinketh good. For our thinges be not hyd or kept secrett, though that they might proffitt the ennemys, whan they see them. Also we haue not somuch affyance in our apparaile for warre, nor in our subteltes and cawtels, as in the highnes of our hartes, which we may alwayes shewe in all affaires. And though that we lyue more at our ease, than many other, which frō beginning of their yougth exercise themselfe in learninges incessantly vntill they be made men, yet we be not for that, lesse hardy and ready for to experymente all daungers, whan it is nedefull. And that may wel be knowin by thys, that the Lacedemonyans alone, durst not enter into our land without they were accōpaignied wt all their allyes. And yet we, wythoute ayde of other, be entred into the lande of our neighbours, and also haue right often, without great difficultie subdewed them, that defended themselfe very well in thair howses. And yet neuer none of the ennemys durste aduenture themself to reliste oure force, whan we haue bene altogiders. Aswell for the experyence and exercise, that we haue in the sea, as for the men of warre that we holde in dyuers places. And if our ennemys haue any tyme the victory againste any bende of our people in one of the sayd countreis, they auaunte themselfe that they haue vainquished vs all. And lykewyse if they be defeated by any of the said bēdes, they say yt, that was done by vs all. And in infect, we loue more reste, whan we be not constrayned by any necessitie vnto trauaile: than to be, in contynuall labours. And to exercise vs in good manners and comon wealthes, rather than to lyue alwayes in feare of lawes. For also it is beste, not to serche the myseries and myschaunces, vntill that they happenne, and whan it is tyme to enter therin, to shewe, that we go therunto, as bolde, as those, that be alwayes in the busynes. Yet may this cytie be had in admyration, in one thinge, aswell as in all the other, that is, that we vse with our allyes, an honneste & meane societie

and

and kellichypp. And on the othere parte, we play the Philosopher, that is to saye, that we indure pouertie, without lokinge the harte to gett goodes: and ble riches, moze foz the commodyte, whan it is tyme: than foz Pompe and foz glozy. And there is noone, that holdeth it foz shame, to confesse his pouertie, but wel rather, not to parfozce himselfe, foz to eschue it. Further, there is none, that hath not care aswell foz the comon affaires, as foz his owne particuler. In suche manner, that those, which be occupyed in their pzyuate busynes, haue not therfoze lesse knowlaige of the estate of the comon wealthe. Foz we haue that foz synguler, that he, whyche hath no knowlaige of the comon wealthe, we repute him not onely to be slouthfull and necligent, but also we take him not, foz a cytezein. we also alone, iudge the causes, whan we conceyue them, accozdinge to reasone. Foz we repute noz thinke that raysoning and declarynge, noyeth oz is hurtfull in causes, but rather that it hurteth, not to learne & to be informed by sage sentences and declarations of the manner, that they shuld be done, bifoze they be executed. And ther of it cometh, that we vse in all thinges that we haue to do, moze of audacyte and hardynes and of reasonne, than any other. Foz the other sometyme haue through ignozance, moze confydence, than reasone willeth, and sometyme foz to gronde themselfe tomuch in reasons, be slacke to execute their affaires. And yet, he ought to be reputed to haue reasonable and vertuous iudgemēt, that knowith redely and clerely, the harde and noysome thinges, aswell as the pleasaunt. And by this meane, not to withdzawe himself from daungers, whan they happen. we vse fur thermoze the offices of vertue, by contrary reasone and manner, that the othere people do. Foz that, that we attempte and goo aboute to gette frendes, moze by doinge them some plaisire and benefytt, than in receyuinge it, of them. Also in kepinge the amytie and benyuolence, he that receyueth the plaisir and benefytt, is in woze condition, than he that doth it. Foz, foz him that doth it, it is ynough to conserue it by benyuolence. But he that hath receyued it, vnderstandeth this that in rendzinge the like, he gratefieth not, but rather dothe render the plaisir, whyche he hath receyued. Also we alone do gratefie nobly and liberally our frendes, moze foz to pzoffitt them, than foz to shewe, that we vse our liberalitie towardes them. And foz to speake all at one woozde, I thinke that this cytie, is the myzroure and the doctryne of all Grece, and one body mete and suffycient to be made mynistre of hys membzes and supposites in all manner of thynges wyth good grace and honneste. All the whyche thynges be not shewed and declared by woozdes noz by declaratiōs: but by the apparance of the trouth, as may be sene & knowin by the puissāce of this cytie, which hath bene established by this meane in suche reputacion, as it is sene by experyence, that this same our cytie is renōmed through all the woozld, moze thā any other. And it is that cytie alone, that geueth not occasion to hys pzopze ennemys, to runne vpon it: foz to hate it, though that they receyued thereby shame and damage, cōsidering of what people they receyued it: nothere is it blamed of his subiects, as vnwozthy to gouerne. And also it cannot be sayd, that, that our puyssance sheweth not itself but by tokens and signes, foz there be sene so greate experiences, that bothe those that be present, & also those that shall come after, shal hold them foz myzacles. And we nede not to couett to haue an Homere, noz other poete of thē ỳ be ynunge, foz to exaulte oz extolle our feates by poetical coulours: foz ỳ trouth of thinges effaceth & blotteth out the opynion therof, foz that, that we haue by our audacyte & magnanimytie oz noblenes of mind, made all the lande, & all the sea passable, leuinge euery wher, a memozial of ỳ goodnes oz of the euils, that we haue there seperatly done. Now foz this cytie than, thies, whose exequies we celebzate, died in fighting

vertuously, for that, that they thought it a thinge tomuche harde to be depryued from it. whiche oppynyon and wyll, we other, that be suruyuing, ought alwayes to haue. whiche hath bene cause, wherfore I haue more playnly and largely spoken of thys cytie, aswell to shewe, that we syght not for a thinge like vnto othere, but for that same, vnto whome none othere is like: as also to thintent that the praisinges of them, of whome we speake, shulde be more manifested and opened. Of whiche thinges, we haue nowe sayde the pryncipal parte. For the prays of the excellency, and of the greatnes of this cytie, wherof I haue bifore spokenne, ys dewe vnto them here and vnto thair like. whiche thinge, very fewe of the other people of Grece may reasonably say, of thair feates. And I thinke that the chiefest iudge of vertue in a man, is the vertuous lyfe: and the last confirmator, is the honnorable deathe, as that same of thies here hath bene. For it is a thing iuste and reasonable, that they, that cannot do othere ayde nor othere seruice to the common wealthe: that they shewe themselfe couragious to defende yt in feate of warre. For that, that this doinge, they acquyte themselues right well in suche comon affaire towardes the cytie, where they had euill acquited bifore tyme, by attendynge to thair particuler busynes. And by this meane recōpense that same fault, by this seruice. And there hath not bene he, of thies here, that withdrewe himself or retyred for his goodes or ryches, desiringe more the enioyinge therof for the tyme to come, than the goodnes of the partie, nor also, ỳ spared himself frō dangers for pouertie, hopinge to become ryche: but rather semed, that they had lesser care for theire welth, than for the same, of their ennemyes. And in effect, they were willing, in auenging themselues of ennemys, to come to this, whervnto they be come. For that, that yt was the most sayer experyence that they coulde make of thair vertue, in hope, to acquire and gett the glory, whiche they had neuer sene. For the which, it semed to them, by that, ỳ they had sene of other, that they ought well to aduenture their lyues. And that yt were better to indure death, in defendinge themselues valyātly, than to eskape by recuilling or drawing backe. wher vpon not for to incurre this dishonnour ⁊ this shame, they haue suffred in theire bodyes, and in a right small space of tyme, haue for a right greate glory, willed rather to indure fortune, than to obey vnto feare. In whiche doinge, they haue shewed themselues towardes the partie, to be suche, as they ought to be. And as touchinge the other that be suruiuinge, they ought well to couett to haue their intente lett lelle vnto daunger, but not to haue lesse of harte, for to reliste the ennemys. And consyder, that the profitt and the vtilitie cōsisteth not onely somuch in that as I haue shewed youe: for there be many amonge youe that vnderstande ⁊ knowe yt, which may more amply expounde ⁊ declare what goodnes folloeth by repouilsing of ennemys. But it consisteth more, and yone shall knowe it better, if that biholding alwayes the greatnes of ỳ cytie, by his workes, ye take daily more and more loue vnit. And somuch that it shall seme more greate vnto youe, ye maye thinke, that there haue bene noble people. who, knowinge reason and honestie, haue gottone by thair vertuous workes all thies thinges. And whansoeuer that the affaires came otherwyle, thā they desired, they were not mynded to defraude the cytie of thair vertue, but rather they haue offred and geuen vnto it, the fayrest trybute or stipēde that they might pay, that is to wyt, their bodies. wherby they haue particulerly acquired for thēselfe eternall glory, and also right honorable buryall, not onely to be therein ingraued: but that theire vertue and their glory, bee in the same celebrated and magnefyed for euermore, whan tyme shall require to speake of thair feates, or for to ymitate and followe them. For to men illustrious, and renōmed, euery lande ys the sepulcre or graue. The me-

mory

mozy of whome, is not conſarued by the Epitaphies and wrytinges of their do-
meſticall ſepulcres. But by the renomme that is yſſued and dyuulged in ſtrange
nations. who conſydered in thair vnderſtanding moze ỳ greatenes and highnes
of thair couraige, than that, whych ys chaunced vnto thē. Such people we haue
here lozdes, brought fourth, that be worthy to be ymitated & followed, to thin-
tent, that knowinge, ỳ felecytie ys lybertie, & that lybertie is gentlenes, you ſhuld
not forſake the daungers of warre, & that the vnhappy & myſerable, that haue
no hope of goodnes, ſhulde not be reputed to do moze wyſely, to countergarde
oz ſafe thair lyue, than they, that be of an other condition, that is better. whyche
put it in hazarte. Foz truly, cowardenes accompaigned wyth ſhame, is to a noble
and gentle harte, moze greuous ad diſpleaſante, than death. whyche maketh vs
without feling and inſenſible, chaūſing by his proweſſe with hope of the comon
glozy. Conſiderynge the whyche thynges, youe other, that were fathers of them
that be deade, oughte rathere to comfozte youreſelues and to reioyſe, than to
bewayle them. Foz if youe regarded the dyuers daungers of deathe, whereunto
the infantes be ſubiectes, ſo longe as they be nouriſhed: thoſe arne mooſte happy,
vnto whome the moze honnozable happenethe, as thies here haue bene. And
youe likewyſe coulde not mourne moze glozyous, thoughe that I knowe very
well, that it is ryght harde to perſwade youe, that youe ſhulde not feele the he-
vynes and dyſplaſſir, alwayes, as youe ſhall remember them, by the proſperytie
that youe ſhall ſee of othere, of whome, in tymes paſte, ye reioyſed in lyke cale.
And whan youe ſhall conſyder, that they be depzyued, not onely frome hope of
goodes, whyche they ſhuld paraduenture neuer haue enioyed, but of thoſe ſame,
that they had longe enioyed, youe muſt alwayes patientely indure yt. And com-
fozte youreſelfe wyth hope that youe haue, to haue moze chyldzenne, youe that
are in age foz to haue them. Foz that, that by the moze chyldzene, that they ſhal
haue hereafter, youe ſhalbe cauſed to forgette the mournynge of them here that
be deade. and ſhalle ſarue the commone wealthe in twoo maners. that ys, that
they ſhall not leaue yt deſolate, and alſo ſhall kepe yt in ſuertie. Foz ſomuch as
they, that putte fourthe theire chyldzenne to daungers foz the common wealth,
(as thoſe haue done that haue loſt thairs in this warre) maye geue better coun-
ſaylle and moze raysonnable, than they that haue not done yt. And as touchinge
the othere amonge youe, that be ſo aged, that they haue no moze hope to haue
chyldzenne, ſomuche the moze they oughte to be contente and to comfozte them-
ſelfe to haue had this aduauntaige aboue the othere, as to haue lyued ſo longe
in proſperitie, and that they ſhal palſe the remenant of thaire lyfe (whych could
not be longe) yet moze ſwetely, foz the glozy of them here. Foz the deſyze of hon-
noure ys the onely thynge, that bzynge the not age. And as ſome ſaye, there ys no-
thynge that the people deſyze ſomuche in thair age, as to be honnozed. Concer-
ninge them amonge youe that be childzene, and bzotherne of them, that be here
deade, I ſee youe to be conuyued vnto a tourney, whyche ys ryghte harde. Foz
there is no man, that praiſethe not with woozdes, the vertue of theym that be
deade. In foozte, that youe that remayne, foz any valyauntnes that ys in youe,
ſhalbe ſkarcely iudged egall vnto theym, but rathere ſhalbe iudged to be infe-
ryours, foz that, that amonge the lyuynge, there be alwayes enmytyes. Butt
after that a man ys deade, euery man wyth one acco[illegible] frendly prayſethe hys
vertue. And thoughe it be nedefull, that I nowe ſpeake ſome thynge of the ver-
tue the of women that preſently remayne wydowes, I wolle conclude the
whole by a very ſhozte exhoztatyon. That ys that youe oughte to holde foz
great glozye nott to be moze frayle, than the ſucceſſe impozteth, nothere ſuche

as men ought opēly to make one onely mētyō of your vertue or of your blame. Now haue I in this my preaching & oratiō, that hath bene enioyned me, by vertue and authorite of our lawes, sayde & reherled, all the things, that haue semed to me to be vtile & profitable. And they ẏ haue bene here buryed, haue bene honored with dede, more than with wordes. whose children, the cytie shal nourish, if they be yonge and within the age of puberte or orphanite: for to geue and set fourth a prays and a profytable reward, both to them, whych be dead, for their faithful seruice: & also to other, ẏ shall hereafter dye for like quarel. For euery man forceth hym selfe willingly and with good harte, to acquyre that, that is ordonned and iudged by comon decree, as a suffycient remuneratiō and reward of the vertue. It resteth, sithens that euery one of youe hath sufficiently bewayled and honnored in mournynge his neighbours, parentes, allyes and frendes: that youe retire and withdrawe youe all into your houses. In this manner and solempnitie, the exequies and funeralls were celebrated at Athens, the winter, whiche was the ende of the first yeare of the warre.

¶ Of the pestilence, that was in the cytie and lande of Athenyans, wyth the exploictes of warre, that were done of the one syde and of the other. And of the despayer, wher in the Athenyans were fallen.

☞ The. viii. Chapter

THe sommer folowinge, the Peloponesyans and their allyes entred agayne into the lande of Athenes by two partes, so as they had done ẏ sommer preceding, vnder the conduct of Archidamus king of Lacedemonyens. And haunge planted their campe, pillaiged and wasted all the countrey. And anone after that they were therin entred, ther soudainely came vpon the Athenyans a pestilence, which first had bene (as men saye) in the cytie of Lemne & in many other places. But there was neuer sene in place of ẏ world, so greate contagyousnes, nor wherof, so many people dyed. And the phisicyans could not therin ministre remedy, nother from the begynnynge knewe nothinge therin, so that many among thē therof dyed, chiefly those, that went to visitt the sicke. Also in lyke manner, men founde no remedy by vowes, by diuinations nor by any suche meanes, as they vsed. For in effecte all did nothing sarue or auaile. By meane whereof, whan the people were attaincted or infected, they lefte al the said remedies. And the same pestilence biganne, as it is sayde, in the countrey of Ethiope, that is aboue Egypte. Afterwardes it deseēded into Egipt & into Libie, and extended yt self greatly, into the landes & seignyories of the kyng of Perse. And from thence, yt came incontynently to Athenes and biganne in Pyreus By meane wherof, they of the towne thought at begynnynge, that the Peloponesiās had impoysonned their countrey for that, that they yet had not any fountaynes. Sone after, it passed into the hedde cytie. From thens, it spred marualously ouer all. whereof I am right willinge here to speake, to thintente, that euery one, that hath skille of phisicke, or that knowith nothinge therof, declare, if it be possible to vnderstande, wherof the same might chaunce, and what mighte be the causes behement ynough, for to produce and bringe fourth so soudaynely, one so greate mutation and change. As touchinge my selfe, I woll well shewe, howe it happened. And woll declare the thing of the sort, that euery one, that shal se that, which I wryte (if any suche chaunce, chaunced an other tyme) maybe aduertised & shall not be ignorante. For I speake as haunge knowlaige. insomuche as I my selfe haue

Here the Author descryuethe a meruelous pestylence

haue had this sickenes, and sene them, that hadde yt. And it is to be knowin, that the same yeare, preceding and gonge bifore, was aboue all other exempted frō all other maladies. And to them, that were infected with other sickenes, yt tourned into this selfe same. And those, that were in full helth, founde thē soubdainly taken, without that, there was any cause preceding, that might be knowin. And furste they felte a great heate in the hedde, whereby their eyes became redde and inflamed. And withinfourthe, their tongue and their throte, became all redde, & their breath became stinkynge and harshe. Whereupon, there ensued a continual neysinge, and therof their voice became hoerse. Anone after that, yt descended into the stomacke, whyche causeth a greate coughe, that did righte sharpely payne them, and after that the matter came to the partes of the harte, it prouokedde them to a vomyte. By meane whereof, wyth a peyne yet more vehemente, they auoyded by the mouthe, stynkinge and bitter humors. And wyth that, some dyd fall into a yeskynge, whereupon they came incontynently into a palsey, whyche passed passed from some sourthwyth, and with othere endured longer. And although, that, to touche and se them wythoute, and throughe the bodyes: they were not exceadinge hotte nor pale, but that their skynne was, as redde colour adusted, full of a lytle thynne blaynes: yet they feeled winfourthe so marualous a heate, that they might not indure, one onely clothe of lynnen vpon their flesshe, but they must of necessytie be all bare. And the greateste plaisir that they couide haue, was to caste them within a very colde caue, so that many of thē that were not kepte, casted themselfe wythin the pyttes, by force of the heate and of the drought, though that it were all one to drynke lytle or much. With all this, they hadde no reste in all their membres, by meanes wherof, they couide neuer slepe. And yet though the euyll engendredde or wared more, yet the bodyes were not thereby muche weakened, but they resisted the sickenes more than wouide haue bene thought, in suche manner, that some, that dyed of that great heate that burned their entrailes, within seuen dayes and some wyth in nyne, they hadde yet some strengthe. And if they eskaped thys terme, the maladye yet descended to the belly, whyche caused a lare wyth contynuall paynes, whereby manye died of weakenes. And for effecte, thys same pestylence and infectyon dydde gather togyther and engendred furst in ỳ hedde and afterwardes ouerronned through all the vpper and exteryoure partes of the bodye. The vehemencye and violence whereof, shewed ytselfe to them, that recouereddе, in the extreme parties of theire bodyes. For yt descended to the secrete membres and to the extremytes of the fete and of the handes, and in suche sorte, that some that were recouered thereof, loste them, the othere loste the eyes, some othere, whan the maladye lefte them, hadde loste knowlaige and memory of all thynges, and of themselues. And for conclusyon thys sickenes touched all partes of a man, and was more greate, than couide be expressed, and more sharpe and vehemente than mans force canne tollerate and suffre. And in thys it declareddе ytselfe welle to be more greate, than all those, that hadde bene accustomed to be sene for all the fowles and the beastes, that hadde accustomed to seasonne on mens carpongns, dydde not than approche theym, thoughe a greate nomber remayned vpon the earthe wythoute burgall, aythere elles they that seasonned, dyed there, and by thys, the infectyon was welle knowen for the fowles were not sene, nothere vpon the corpses, nor elselwhere throughe oute, where that same pestylence hadde course. And aboue all othere beastes, the dogges gaue mooste knowlayge of thys infectyonne for that, that they mooste accustomedde to haunte the people. Butt for to leaue manye othere sooztes of

calamytes and of myseries of that same pestelence that chaunced dyuerslye to particulers, vnto some more sharply, than vnto othere, it cõprehended al othere maladies, and dyd not ronne into any other. wherof some dyed for lacke of good lokynge vnto, and the other for tomuche. And also there couide no medecyne be founde, that men might truste to be propice and good against yt, for that, which profited one, dyd hurt an other. It left neuerthelas the bodies in thair entiernes, without that ther might be parceiued any difference of strẽgth nor debilitie. And there was nother good complexion, nor regyment or gouernaunce, howe good that yt was, that might be exempted. But the woorste that was in this, was that men loste their harte, & hope incontynently, as they feeled themself attaincted. In suche sort, that many, for despaire, holdinge themselues for dead, habandoned & forsoke thẽself, & made no prouisyon nor reuistence against the sickenes. And an other great euill was, that the malady was so cõtagious, that those, that went for to visitt the sicke, were taken and infected, lyke as the shepe be, one after an other. By occasyon wherof, many dyed for lacke of succours. whereby it happened that many howses stoode voyde, and they that went to se theym, dyed also. And specially the most honneste & honorable people, whiche toke it for shame, not to go to se nor succour their parentes and their frendes. And loued better to putt and sett fourth themselfe to manyfest danger, than to faile them at thair necessitie. Yet synally they forsoke all, and were ouercome by the vehemency of the pestelence. Seinge the multitude of them, that dyed, in wepinge and lamentinge. But aboue all, they that were eskaped, did se the parte and the myserye of othere, for ỳ, that they had experymẽted yt in thẽself. And also they were oute of daungers. For yt neuer toke them againe that had had it, at the least so, ỳ they were in doubte of lyse. By meanes wherof, they were reputed to be righte happy. And they themselfe for the iope that they had of thair present helthe: had a foolishe and vayne presumption to eskape afterwardes, from all other sickenes. Besides this pestilence, the citezens were molested & anoyed by the great quantyte and dyuersyte of grosse moueables, whyche those that were retyred into the cytie had brought thider. For that, that the lodginge beinge small and yet occupyed with suche moueables & necessaries, they knewe not, where to tourne themself, and specyally at that same tyme of sommer, and by this meane, they dyed, cowched, where as they might, wythout any honnestie, some tyme the one vpon the other. And many were sene half dead in the stretes (chiefly aboutes the fountaynes) which wallowed on the earth, for the desire that they had of water. And the same temples where they had holden theire lodginges and abydinge, were full of dead corpses. For through the violence of the sickenes, they knewe not what they dydde, and hadde loste the knowlaige and reuerence of religion of the hollynes of places. And the righte of the graues, whiche they vsed in tyme paste, were all troubled and cõfused. For euery man buryed his, there, as he might. So that many housholdes, there graues beinge filled by the multitude of them, that were deade of their lignaige & familye, were constrayned, to caste the bodies of the other that dyed, into fylthy and dishonneste graues. For some, seing a butcher to be prepared & ready to burne some other body, casted ỳ same of thair parties aboue, & did put fyer vnder. The other did caste it nowe after that the fyer was there made, and the other bodye aboue, that burned. And after departed. And besides all the euills & dommaiges, that this pestilẽce caused, by occasyon therof, bigõne one euille custome in our cytie, which afterwards ertẽded vnto many other thinges, more great. For that, that men had presently thãne shame to do thinges openly, whiche in tymes paste were wylled not to be done in secret. By this, that

they

they were kepte and restrayned from wantonnes & voluptuousnes. For seinge than one so greate and so soubdayne mutation and change of fortune, and that they that dyed soubdaynely, were verye happy, in regarde of them, that languyshed, and were longe in payne: The poore people to whome the goodes or ryches came, cared not, but for to spende it shortely in all thynges of pleasure and voluptuousnes, and they thought that they could not do better. hauing no hope to enioye it longe, but rather attendynge and lokyng to leue them shortly, togeders wyth theyr lyfe. And there was none, that for honestye (though he knewe and understode it) that wolde regarde to be wyllynge to enterpryse any honeste thynge, wherin there was any care or trauayle, haupnge no hope that he shulde lyue so longe, as to see it acheued and fynyshed. But all that, which for the time, they founde playsant and delectable for mans appetyte, they reputed profytable and honneste, wythoute any feare of Goddes or of lawes. For that, that they thought it to be all one to do yll, or good, consydered ye aswell dyed the good, as the euyll, and also they hoped not to lyue so longe, that punyshment might be taken on them for their mysdedes by iustice, but they wayted a greater punishment by the sentence of Goddes, which was nowe geuen, to wytt, to dye of that same pestilence. Wherupon, sythens it was so, they thought that it was beste, to employ the small tyme that they had to lyue, in makyng good chere and at their pleasure. In this calamyte than were the Athenyans, that dyed within the cityе of the same pestylence, and withoute, the enemyes put all to fyer and blonde. Herewpon they brought many pronostications vnto theyr memory and also aunsweres of the Goddes, that had bene made before. Whiche they adapted and cõpared vnto thys chaunce. But amonge other a verse, that the auncyentes sayde, to haue harde song in theyr pought, which had bene pronounced by an aunswer or oracle of the goddes in thys substaunce. There shall cõme into Dorye, warre wyth the lymon, whereof was altercation, before that thys chaunce happened. For some sayde, that by thys worde lymon, famyne shulde be vnderstanded, the other sayde, that it wolde signifye pestylence, but after that the chaunce was chaunced of the pestylence, euery one applyed the worde of the oracle vnto that, And in my fantasye, yf there yet came any other warre in the countreye of Dorye wyth famyne, men wolde applye it, aswell to the same there, as they dyd vnto thys here. They set fourth lykewyse the aunswere, that had bene made by the oracle of Apollo to the interrogacyon of the Lacedemonyans, touchyng that same warre. For hauynge demaunded who shulde haue therin the victory, the aũswere of the God had bene, that those that shulde make the warre with all their strengthe, and that he wolde be theyr ayde. And vpon that same aunswere, they made lykewyse theyr iudgementes and interpretations. For that same pestilence beganne fourthwith, as the Peloponesyans were entred that same yeare, into the lande of Athenyans. And also it dyd no euyll to the sayde Peloponesyans, at the leaste, whereby it shulde be caused to be estemed. And furst it toke in the citie of Athens, and after spredde to other townes of the countreye, as the same were peopled. And this is as touchynge the thynges that happened by the saide pestilence. But as concernyng the warre the Peloponesyans, after that they hadde all burned and wasted the playne countreye, they came into the lande, that is called Parolos, that is to saye, vpghe vnto the sea. and wasted it lykewyse, vnto the mounte Laurus, where there be mynes of syluer. and furste they wasted the regyon, which is on the coste of Peloponese, and after that same, that is on ye cost of Eubee and of Andre. And yet Pericles persseuered styll in the opynyon, wherof he had bene the yeare peredynge. that no man shulde go fourthe agaynst the Laurus mõs

ennemys. But after that they were entred into the lande of Athenes, he cauſed to prepare a houndred ſhyppes for to pillage and waſte lykewyſe in theyr coſtrey. Into which he cauſed to be putt foure thouſande footemen, and vpon other ſhyppes for to cary horſes, he cauſed to be ſet thre houndred warryours horſemen with theyr horſes. which ſhyppes were than furſt made at Athens of wood of olde ſhyppes, and in theyr compaignye wente thoſe of Chio and of Leſbos vō fyfty other ſhyppes. And Pericles departed from Athens wyth the ſayde armye by ſea than, whan the Peloponeſyans were in the region nyghe the ſea of Athenes. So they came furſt to deſcende into the lande of Epydaure, which is in Peloponeſe, the whiche they pyllaged ouer all, and aſſieged the cytye, in hope to take it. But ſeynge that they loſte tyme, they departed from thence, and wente into ỹ regyons of Troizenide, of Halyde ⁊ Hermyonide, in the whiche, they dyd the like as they had done in that ſame of Epydaure. All whiche places be in the countrey of Peloponeſe on the ſea coaſte. From thence, they wente to deſcende in the countrey of Prazie, whiche is in the regyon, nyghe to the ſea, in the countrey of Laconye. which countrey they pyllaged togedres with the towne, which they toke by force. And that done they retourned into theyr countrey of Athenes, frō whence, the Peloponeſyans were than departed for feare of the peſtylēce, whiche had alwayes contynued in the cytye, and wythoute, ouer the Athenyās, ſo long, as they were in the ſea, and that the Pelyponeſyans were in theyr lande. Whervpō, thoſe ſame Peloponeſyans, vnderſtandynge by the pryſonners the infectyon ⁊ daunger of the ſame peſtilence, and perceiuing alſo the burying of the deade, departed haſtely from the ſayd lande, after that they had taryed there, fourty dayes. Duryng whiche tyme, they waſted all the ſame countrey. In the ſame ſommer, Agnon, ſonne of Nycias, and Cleopompus, ſonne of Clynyas, that were Collegues and compaygnions of Pericles in the leadyng or gouernaunce of the armye, departed by ſea with that ſelfe ſame hooſte, that Pericles had caryed fourthe, and brought agayne for to go againſt the Chalcydes, that be in Thrace. And finding in their way the cytie of Potydee, yet aſſieged with their people, they cauſed the ingynes of Artillerie to approche to the walles. So they battered thē, ⁊ dyd all their beſte to take it. But all that newe ſuccoure, ⁊ the other armye ỹ was there before, coulde do nothing, becauſe of the peſtilence, ỹ was entred amonge them. The which, they that came vō Agnon, had brought. For ỹ other had not before perceiued, nor felte it. which Agnon, vnderſtandynge that Phormyon that was vōm Chalcyde vō a thouſande ⁊ fyue houndred men, was departed frōthence, left thē, that he had foūde at the ſiege of Potydee, ⁊ retourned vnto Athenes, hauing loſt a thouſande ⁊ fourty footemen of the foure thouſande, that he had charged at Athenes. All deade of the peſtilence. The ſelf ſame ſōmer, the Peloponeſyans came agayne yet an other time into the coūtrey of Athenes. And atteigned to waſte ỹ, which was abyding there of the furſt voyage. Whervpon, the Athenians ſeing thēſelues ſo oppreſſed, vtout by warre, ⁊ vtōm by peſtylence, begamne to chaūge opynyon, ⁊ to ſklaunder ⁊ ſpeake euill of Pericles, ſaying ỹ he had bene author of ỹ warre, ⁊ that he was cauſe of al theyr myſcheſes. So they bente thēſelf ⁊ agreed to requyre peace of the Lacedemonians, but after ỹ there were many meſſengers ſente of ỹ one ſyde ⁊ of thother, they coulde not take any reſolution. By occaſyon wherof, not knowing what more to do in their caſe, they yet agayn charged more ſoore, Pericles, who perceiuing ỹ they were aſtonied of ỹ eſtate, wherein their affayres were (for ỹ time very euill) ⁊ that they dyd all ỹ, whiche he had forſeene frō beginning, being yet in his office of Capitayne ⁊ prētor or chief of the armye, cauſed them all to aſſemble, ⁊ erhorted them to hope better, parforcing him ſelf to reduce their anger vnto cōtentacyon, and theyr feare vnto confydence. So he ſpeaketh vnto them, in this manner.

Troezenis.

Agnon Cleopōpus.

Phormio.

The narration and proposition of Pericles to the people of Athenes, for to appayse and to exhorte them, to pursue and followe the warre, and to endure the presente incommodyties.

☞ The nynth Chapter.

THe anger and displaysir that youe haue agaynste me at thys present, is not otherwise chaunced, thā I haue thought before. For I do well understande the causes, whereof it proceadeth. And therfore I am well wyllyng to cause youe here to assemble, for to reduce some thinges to youre remembraunce, and also to complayne of youe, yf youe (wrongefully and wythoute cause) be angry against me, or yf you do leese your hartes and courage in aduersites. And as concernyng my selfe, I esteme and iudge that the cytezeins be better in particuler, whan all the cytye is in good estate: than whan, all the citezeins particulerly be well, and the common welthe is lost. For that, that whan the common estate is destroyed, he that is well in hys particular, is no lesse destroyed, than the other. And by the contrary, yf he haue any euil in hys particularite, he saueth hymself with the common prosperite. And for so muche (as whan it happeneth) that the publique welthe may suffer thaduersytes of particulers, but the particulers can not remedye them of the commonaltie: Is it not more reasonable al together to helpe it, than to habandone and leue it by sayenge of harte, and by impacyence in particular aduersites, lyke as youe presently do? And yf youe blame me, sayenge that I gaue you counsayle to enter into thys warre: that doinge, youe blame lykewyse yourself, that haue followed my counsayle. Be not therfore angry agayne one, suche a man as I am. before whome in my conceite, youe ought not to preferre any other. Be it for to knowe that, which is nedefull, or for to execute it, nor also that hath more loue vnto the cytie, and that can be lesse corrupte wyth monney. All whiche thynges, be requisite for a good cytezeine. For he, that vnderstandeth thinges, and doth them not, that is asmuche, as yf he dyd not vnderstande them. And though that he haue bothe, yet yf he be not affectioned to the common welthe, he shall say nothynge, that generally maye profyte. And be it that he haue the thyrde, yet yf he wol be corrupte, there is nothyng that he selleth not. Wherfore my Lordes, yf you, knowynge all these thynges to be meanely in my parsone, haue trusted in me before all other for thys warre: you blame me nowe wrongfullye. For as it is folly to desyre warre when men be in prosperytye: euen lykewyse, whan they be forced ayther to subiecte themselues incontinently to theyr neyghbours, or to do that, that they cōmaunde them, or ells to take the hazarte of warre for to kepe theyr lybertye, in hoppynge the victory: they that in thys case, lose theyr courage & vertue, be muche more to be blaymedde. And as touchynge my self, I am alwayes of the opynyon, that I haue bene, and I wyll not change it. And though that you do wauer, yet it is full certayne, that at beginning ye were all of my aduyse. But sythens the euyls be come vpon you, ye do repent. And measurynge and iudging my reasone after your imbecilite and weakenes, ye synde it nowe euyl. For that, that hytherto euery one hath feeled the troubles and incōmodites of ỹ warre, and that the common vtilite is not yet apparaunte. By occasyon whereof, youe arne so greately chaunged, for thynges of small importaunce, that youre harte nowe begynneth to shrinke and to fayle you. And youe haue not vertue and power, to indure the thynges, that you haue determyned to indure. Also that chas-

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ceth commonly, that the thynges, which happen sodainly & vnthought on, do abate mens courage. Lyke as it hath chaunced vs in oure aduersities, & specially as touchyng the pestilence. And yet neuertheles, hauinge one so great & so noble citie, in the which we haue bene so well nourished and indoctryned, we oughte not to leese our courage for incommodites that might happen, howe great soeuer they were, nother yet lose, our reputacion and renomme. For lyke as men do hate the man, that affecteth or purchaseth by ambition and presumption the honoure and glory that appertaygneth not vnto him: ryght so, they blame hym þ loseth the honnour and the glorye that he hadde. Wherfore Lordes we oughte, forgettynge the particuler dolours and passyons, to defende the generall lybertye. And notwythstandyng thys, that I haue oftentymes before declared vnto you, that they, whiche feare, that thys warre shulde be longe and daungerous, & that we shuld haue the woorse at the ende, be in errour: yet I woll gladly at this present declare vnto you a thynge, of the whiche, me thinketh, youe haue neuer thought, although þ you haue it. I meane, touchynge the greatenes of your empyre and seignyory, wherof I haue not bene wyllynge to speake in my former proposytions and narrations, nother I wolde haue spoken it now, for that, that it semeth to conteigne some spyce or kynde of boastyng, yf that I hadde not sene you astonyed agaynst reasone. It is that you thynke that youre empyre & seygniory, doth not extende it selfe, but ouer youre allyes. But I aduertyse youe, that of two partes of the lande and of the sea that be in the vse of men, youe haue fully the halfe in youre power. I meane, so farre as youe arme willyng to vse it. And yf you wolde enterpryse further, youe shulde haue it at youre pleasure. For there is not at thys daye kyng nor natyon vpon the earthe, that can empesche and let youre nauygatyon, into what parte youe woll, haunynge the armye by sea, suche as youe haue. Lykewyse knowing that youre puissance doth not shewe it self in the vsage of houses and of landes, whiche you make a great matter to haue lost, as though it were a greate thynge, it is not comely and sittinge for youe to take sorowe, for that they are marred, but iudgyng and reputyng, that it is but a small gardeyne ouertourned, and a small ornament of goodes loste to the valewe of thys greate puyssance, wherof I do speake, to esteme it, nothynge at all. And furthermore to knowe, that by meane of youre lybertye, yf that youe holye and intierly kepe it, youe shall recouer easely, all these thynges. But yf that we cõme into seruitude & bõdage of other people, we shal both leese al þ, which we dyd holde in tymes past, and also we shall shew our selues, people of lesse harte, than oure fathers haue bene. who haue not had them of theyr auncestres, but haue gotonne and kepte them with theyr labours, and afterwardes, lefte them vnto vs. For it is muche greater shame to a man to suffre a thynge to be taken from hym, whiche he holdeth, than to fayle to gett that, whiche he coueteth. Wherefore, Lordes, it is mete for vs to go agaynste our ennemyes, not onelye in good hope and confydence: but also in despysynge them. For that, that the confydence, which cõmeth oftentymes by a prosperitie, vnthought on, more than by good prouydence, may chaunce vnto a man, that were not very wyse. But he, that by good raysone hath esperance & hope to vaynquish hys enemyes, lyke as youe haue, hath not onely confydence to do it, but moreouer he contempneth and despyseth theyme. And also whan that fortune and puyssance are egall, the dylygence and industrye that comme of a courageous harte, maketh a man more assured in hys audacyte. For that, that he groundeth not hym self so much vpon hope of the vertue, whiche sheweth hym self in necessite,

as vpon

as vpon the prouysyon and habundaunce of thynges that he sayth, by whiche, men knowe the better the prouydence. Also it is conuenyent for all wyth one accorde, to prouyde for the suertye of hys estate & seignyorye, which is very playsante to all, withoute refusynge of any labour or trauayle, except ye nowe woll lykewyse refuse the honnours. And knowe, that there is not question onely to lose the generall lybertye, but also to lose all youre sygnyory and to be in daunger to lose and to haue to suffre throughe euyll wylles and grudges, whiche youe haue incurred in establysshynge and conseruynge it. By meane wherof, those amonge youe, whiche for feare of thynges presente, vnder coulour of vertue and prouydence make theyr reconing to lyue in reste, wythout medlynge wyth the common affayres, do abuse themselues verye greatlye. For we be not the more sure of our owne, by departyng of our selues, for that, that we haue already vsed oure empyre and seignyory in forme of tyrannye, whiche semeth a vyolēt thing, and iniurious euen from the begynnynge, whan it is furste takenne. But there is greate daunger to forsake and leue it. And those manner of people, that for feare of the warre, do perswade to ceasse it: by so doyng they shulde lose both the cytye and themselues, and also shulde leue those in lybertye, ouer whome they do rule. For withoute any fayle, reste cannot geue suertye, yf it be not moderated and tempred by trauayle. And also it is not conuenyent for a cytye that wol rule and gouerne. Wherfore Lordes Athenyans, youe shulde not suffre youre selues to be seduced by suche manner of people, nother be angry agaynste me y haue enterprysed the warre by youre consente. And though the armye of ennemyes hath done that, that was to be beleued that they wolde do to youe, not wyllynge to consente and obeye vnto them: and also thoughe thys pestylence is moreouer comme vpon you, whiche is the onely thynge that we least loked for, and for the whiche, I am the more hated by the moste parte of youe, truly it is a greate vnryght, that youe shulde wyll me euill, except, that at all tymes, whā any prosperyte shall happene, whiche youe shall not haue thought on, that you wolde lyke wyse attribute it vnto me. For of necessitie, those thynges must be endured, that chaunce by the wylle of Goddes: and those that come by ennemys, by vertue. And sence that it is the auncyent custome of thys cytye so to do, take hede, that it fayle not in youe, chiefly vnderstandyng that thys oure cytye hath a very great renōme amonge al people, for that, that it abasshyth not at aduersites, but hath indured great labours and trauayles and losse of many good citezeins in warre. By meane wherof, it hath acquyred and conserued vntyll thys present day, this great puyssance and seignyory. From whiche, yf we nowe do habandone vs, cōsydered, that by the course of nature all thynges discreace, the memorye shalbe for euer losste, towardes them, that shal comme hereafter, not of Athenes alonely, but of the Empyre of Grekes. For that, that we be those amonge the other Grekes, that haue had greatest Empyre, and sustayned more of warres, not onlye agaynste thother in particuler, but also agaynst all them togethers, and that haue had the rychest and most peopled citie of al Greece. yet neuertheles I know that they, that be fearful and faynte harted, woll despraise and blame thys, that I do saye. But they that haue good wylle and desyre to do vertuous thynges, shall fynde it good. And yf those, that shall not be capable and vnderstande my raysons and declarations, conceyue hate and enuye agaynste me, that shalbe no newe thynge. For that is alwayes happened to all them that arne reputed worthye to presyde, gouerne, and to commaunde other. But he that endureth suche enuye and euyll wylle in greate affayres, is that same that prouydeth wel therfore, and in contempnynge the hatred, acquyreth honnour and reputacyon in tyme

in tyme present,and perpetual glory for tyme to comme. The which two thinges,to wytt,the present reputacyon and the glory to comme, haue wille, Lordes Athenyans, Joyfully to embrase,and not to sende any more, herault nor messenger towardes the enemys,nother to lose your courage for the present dāmages. For they that least trouble themself, and haue the better courage in aduersites,and that resisteth ther against most in effect,beyng in common or partylar affayres,be those,that be reputed most vertuous and most honest people.

¶ Of the vertues and laudable conditions of Pericles.

☞ The tenth Chapter.

BY suche talke and wordes, Pericles enforced hymself to appayse the anger of ꝑ Athenyans, and to cause thē to forgett the euyls and dōmages,that they had. And for effecte,they all in generall agrede vnto hym. In such sorte,that afterwardes they sente none Imballadours towardes the Lacedemonyans,but despoled themselfe to the warre. Neuertheles in particuler,they were sore agreued to indure all the dyffycultyes. to wytt, the common people,for that, that the litle goodes whiche they had,was consumed by the warre:and the ryche and noble men, for that they had loste the fayre possellyons and the sumptuous houses , that they had in the feldes. And this was the most grief:that they had warre,in stede of peace. By reasone of whiche thynges, they remytted not the hatred that they had agaynste Pericles,but cōdempned hym in a somme of monney. And neuertheles,wythin a smal tyme after(lyke as is the custome of the people to be varyable)dyd chose hym agayne to be their Duke,and gaue hym full puissance and auctorite in all thynges. For although that they were nowe weakened by the euyls and dammages that they had suffred in particuler: yet in thynges , that concerned the weale and gouernement of the common wealthe, they knewe that they had nede of hym, and that he was the most suffycyent man,that they had. Also for trouthe, so longe as he had the gouernaunce,durynge the peace,he admynystred moderately and defended it intierly,and also augmented and amplefyed it greately. And afterwardes, whan there was questyon of the warre,he knewe and vnderstoode ryghte well the strength and puissance of the cytye, lyke as it appereth by that,which therin hath be done. But sithens hys death,which was two yeares and a halfe after the warre begonne,men knowe muche more hys prudence and prouidence. For he had alwayes shewed them ,that they shulde haue the victory of that warre , yf they kepte themselfe from fayghtynge agaynste the enemyes on lande,and dyd execute their feate by sea. wythout alwayes to searche to gette a newe seignyory, and wythoute puttynge the cytye in daunger. wherin,after hys deathe,they dyd the whole contrarye. And moreouer,touchynge the other thynges,that concerned not the warre:they, whiche had the administratyon,dyd euery one after hys ambition and particular couetice, bothe to the greate preiudyce of the common welthe,and also of themselfe. For their enterpryses were suche,that whanit thā came to their intente,it redounded to the honnoure and profite of particulers, more than of the commone. But chaunsynge to the contrarye,it was the perdition and losse of the common welthe. And the cause of thys disorder, was for that,

that,that durynge the tyme,that the same Pericles was in auctoryte,he had the reputacyon,the myndes and affectyons,and assured fealtie and truste.Also with out all doubte,he was ryght wyse, and wolde not be corrupte. For thys cause he easely refrayned and appayled the people.For that also he shewed hymselfe to wardes them,rather a compaignyon,than a duke and gouernour.Furthermore he got not the auctoryte by vnlaufull meanes,nother dyd speake any thynge for to please,but in kepyng hys grauitie , whan men proponed and sett fourth anye thing inutile and vnprofytable,he spake frankely agaynst it,though that,in that doing,he incurred the indignatyon of the people.And so often, as he vnderstode, that they Imagyned to do any thynge before that it were tyme, or by cruelte, rather, than by reasone:he reprehended and refrayned them by hys graue speakyng,and by hys auctoryte.And also, whan he sawe them afrayde for any inconuenyent,he put them agayne in courage.In such sorte,that in apparance the gouernaunce of the towne was in the name of the people,but in effecte,al the auctorytie was in hym.Wherethroughe , after that he was deade,it chaunced ỳ those whiche succeded in hys place,beinge equalle in auctoryte,dyd searche euerye one of them to obteigne the yrincipalite,ouer the other.And to bringe that to passe, they enforced them selues,for to please the will of the people.Which doing,they commytted very many great faultes,lyke as it chaũceth in suche cases in a great cytye,whiche hath empyre and seignyory,but amonge other, the greatest was, that they made a nauigation into Sycile.For they offended , not onely agaynste them,whome they wente to outrage(begynnyng to warre,vpon them whiche thinge they shulde not haue done)but also againste them,whome they had sent thyder,for that,that they prouided not wel in theyr case by meanes of the troubles and questyons that happened in the cytye,by occasion of thadministration, & of the auctoryte,for the which,the yrincypall dyd stryue and debate,through iniurye and through accusatyons.And by that meane,the sayd armye was defeated in Sycile.And also afterwardes,was loste a greate parte of the armye by sea wyth the apparayle which they had set fourth agayne.And notwtstandynge the sayde losse,and that they were trauayled in the cytye by cyuile seditions and questyons,and that they had gotten the Syciliens for enemyes beside the other,and also that the more parte of the allyes had habandoned and forsakē thē, & fynally ỳ Cyrus sone of the kyng of Perse was allyed with the Peloponesiās, and had geuen them money for to make an armye by sea:yet dyd they resist three yeares,and coulde not be vainquysshed.vntyl suche tyme,as they being oppressed & troubled by their cyuyle dissentyons,were constrayned to render thēself.wherefore it is clerely apparaūt,ỳ whan Pericles sayled them,they had yet suche puissance,ỳ w̄ his conducte,they might easely haue had the victory of ỳ same warre.

Of some other exploictes of warre, that wree done that same sommer alwell on the one parte as on the other, and howe the cytye of Potyde was rendred by composition vnto the Athenyans. The.xi.Chapter.

AND for to retourne to the narration of the sayd warre of the Lacedemonians and theyr allyes, that self same sommer, they rayled by an armye by sea, w̄ an hundred shyppes,whiche they sente vnder the cōduct of Cnemus Spartiā,into ỳ Isle of Zeacynthe,which was right Cnemus. agaynst

agaynſt Elyde, and was inhabyted by the Achayans, that be in Peloponeſe, but it toke partie wyth the Athenyans, and there pyllaged it all ouer, and wente aboute to take the cytie, but ſeynge that they couilde not, they retourned. In that ſelfe ſame ſommer, Ariſteus of Cozinthe and Polys Argyan in theyr particuler name, and Interiſtes, Nicolaus, Pzatodemus, and Tymagozas, as Amballadours of Lacedemonyens wente into Aſia, towardes the kyng Artarerres, foz to induce hym to be of theyz allyance in that ſame warre. and to lende them money to rayſe an armye by ſea. But befoze their goinge thider, they came into Thzace towardes Sitalces, ſonne of Terreus, foz to perſwade hym yf it were pollyble to leaue the allyance of the Athenyans, and to take theyrs. and in that doyng to leade and conducte hys hozſemen with their ſotemen, foz to rayſe theyz liege the Athenyans dyd holde befoze Potyde. And ſo as they were entred into ỹ royalme of Sytalces foz to go to paſſe the ſea into Helleſponte, wyllinge to go to fynde Pharnaces, ſonne of Pharnabaſus, whiche ſhulde bzynge them vnto the kynge, they founde vñ Sytalces, Learchus, ſonne of Callymachus & Ameniedes ſonne of Philemon, Amballadours frõ the Athenyans. who perſwaded Sadocus, ſonne of Sitalces, who had bene made cytezein of Athens, ỹ he ought to take the ſayd Amballadours & other aboue named, & to rendze them vnto thẽ, foz ỹ, that they wente to the kynge, foz to treate ſomethyng againſt the ſayd citie. At whoſe perſualyon, the ſayd Sadocus dyd lende hys men after them. Who fouide them at the ſea ſyde where they were willing to embarque themſelf from thẽce, & toke them. Afterwardes, they bzought them backe to the ſaid Sadocus, who delyuered thẽ vnto the Amballadours of Athenes, and they caryed thẽ vnto Athens. And ſone after the Athenians, fearing that Ariſteus, who had bene cauſe & auctour of all the affaires that they had hadde at Potyde & in Thzace, ſhulde yet ymagine mozeouer ſome thynge againſt them, yf he eſkaped, they cauſed him & all the other to dye the ſame day vñout any pzoces, & without hearing ỹ thing, which they wolde declare. And afterwardes, dyd caſt thẽ frome the height of the walles downe into the dyches. Foz by that meane they thought vñ good cauſe ỹ they did vengeaunce foz their citezeins & other their allyes marchantes, whiche the Lacedemonyans had taken vpon the ſea, & after that they had cauſed them to dye, had lykewyſe caſte theim into their dytches. Foz from the begynnyng of the warre, thoſe Lacedemonians dyd holde foz ennemys all thoſe, that they did take vpon the ſea, whyder they helde the partye of Athenians, oz that they were newter. & cauſed them to dye without remiſſyon. Aboute the ende of that ſame ſomer, the Ambzaciens hauinge taken vñ them one good bende of ſtraungers, wente agaynſt the Argyens, which be in the countrey of Amphilochie, & againſte all the ſaid countrey, foz a queſtyon, which they had newly had with thẽ. And by thys occaſyon Amphilochus ſonne of Amphiarus, who was of the cytye of Argos in Grete, at his retourne from the warre of Troye wolde not retourne into hys countrey foz the trouible & ſozowe that he had there, & ſo wente to the goulphe of Ambzacie, whiche is in the countrey of Epyze, & there made a citie, whiche he named Argos, in remembzaunce of the ſame, wherof he was, and he added vñ to it foz ſurname, Amphilotique, & he named the whole countreye Amphilochie, which was right puyſſant of people amonge all the other cities of the countrey of Ambzacie. But by ſucceſſion of tyme, hauing many queſtyons with theyr boſtins & neighbours they were conſtrayned to retyze and take the Ambzacyans theyz neighbours into their citie, & compaignye. Which bzought them thã furſt, the Greciſhe language. In ſuche ſozte, that they all dyd ſpeake that ſame language. Foz aloze, they were ſtraungers as the other Amphylocyens yet be, the

Ariſteus.
Polis.
Interiſtus.
Nicolaus.
Pzatodemus.
Tymagozas.

Amphilochiẽ.
Amphilocus.

cytye

cytye excepted. Afterwarde by succesyon of tyme the Ambraciens chased the Argyues oute of the cytye, & kepte it alone. who beyng expulsed wente towardes the Acarnanyans, and gaue them selfe vnto them, and altogether, to wytt, the Acarnanians and the Amphilochiens came to demaunde ayde of the Athenians, for to recouer the sayd cytye, who sente them Phormio with .xxx. shyppes, which toke the cytye, and pyllaged it, and after lefte it to the Acarnanyans and to the Amphilochiens togethers. By occasyon wherof, the allyance dyd than furste begynne betwene the Athenyans and the Acarnanyans, and the questyon and enemytye betwene the Ambracyens and the Amphilochiens of Argos, for that, that the same Amphilochiens reteigned at that tyme many tyrsoners of the sayde Ambraciens. who in tyme of thys warre, whereof we speake, assembled a greate armye, aswell of theyr owne people, as also of Chaonyens and of other straūgers theyr neyghbours, and wente thyder to defende before the cytye. And they pyllaged all the territorye therof. But they coulde not take it, and so retourned into theyr houses. These thynges were done that same sommer. At begynnynge of wynter, the Athenyans sente twenty shyppes into the countreye of Peloponese, vnder the conducte of Phormio, who departing frō the porte of Naupacte, watched, that no shyppe myght passe nor enter, nor also departe fro Corinthe nor from Crisee. other tyme they sente vnder conducte of Melesander into Carie and into Lycie, for to recouer moneye of them. and to defende, that the marchātes shyppes of the sayde Athenyans shulde not be spoyled and outraged, by thē of Olaselide and of Phenice. Melesander, nowe beyng landed in the countrey of Lycie, he was by this enemyes vainquished and slayne, togedres wyth one part of hys people. In the selfe same sommer, the Potydyens seyng that they coulde no longer holde and kepe theyr towne agaynst the Athenyans that had so long kepte it allieged, for the necessyte of darthe & famyne wherin they were, whiche was so extreme, that amonge other fylthy and abhominable thynges that they dyd eate, there were that dyd eate the one the other, and seynge also that for all ỳ warre that was made agaynste the sayde Athenyans, that they dyd not retyre from the sayde siege: they came to speake wyth the Cappytaynes of the said siege, for the Athenians. which were Xenophon, sonne of Eurypedes, Eristiodus, sonne of Aristocles, and Phynomachus sonne of Callymachus, and rendred themself vpon these conditions. that they of the sayde towne, togethers with theyr men of warre straungers shulde departe and comme fourth, euerye of the men wyth one garment and the women wyth twayne, and moreouer. euery one hadde a certayne somme of moneye to go fromthence. the whiche compolyton, the said cappytaynes dyd accepte, consyderynge the incommoditie wherin theyr hoste was, by reasone of the wynter, and also the greate some of monney whiche that same siege had nowe coste, whiche amounted to more, than two thousande talentes. Thus the Potydyēs departed from thence vnder saulue conducte into the countrey of Chalcyde, euery one the best that he myght. wherwyth the Athenians were ryght euyll contented, saying that they myght haue had it at theyr wylle, and yf they wolde. And yet neuertheles, they sente thyder of theyr citezeyns for to people and inhabyte it. All whiche thynges were done in that same wynter, whiche was the ende of the seconde yeare of that warre which Thucidides hath wrytten.

Phormio.

Melesander.

Xenophon. Hestrodorus. Phenomachus.

Howe the citie of Platee was by the Peloponesians assieged battred and assayed, and by the cytezeins declared.

☞ The.xii. Chapter.

THe sommer ensuynge, the Lacedemonyans and theyr allyes came agayne, no more into Attique, but they wente before the citie of Platee, vnder the conduct of Archidamus king of Lacedemonians. And they, hauyng nowe planted their siege before the towne, and willing for to pyllage and waste the countrey, the citezeins sente their ambassadors vnto them, which dyd speake in thys manner. Archidamus, and you other Lacedemonyans, youe do euill and against your honnour, and the honnour of your fathers, to come enemyske into oure lande, and to assiege our citye. For Pausanyas Lacedemonyan, sonne of Cleombrotus, who deliuered Grece from the domynation of the Medes, with the Grekes that toke the aduenture of the batalle in our lande, hauynge made hys sacrifyce in the myddest of oure marquet place to the God Iuppyter the deliuerer, in the presence of all the hoste, gaue to the Plateans theyr cytye and theyr territorye: to the ende that they might lyue in theyr lybertie accordynge vnto theyr lawes, and that no man shulde make warre nor do them violence vniustly, through couetyce to rule them. And he conuired and swore all the allyes and confederates that were there, to defende the with their power agaynst all men, that wolde attempte the contrary. This is the gwerdōme and rewarde that youre fathers gaue vs, for the vertue, which we shewed in that daunger. But you do holy the contrary, that comme hyther with the Thedayns, oure capitall enemyes for to subdewe and brynge vs into seruytude and bondage. Wherfore, we call to wytnes, them amonge youe that were present at that acte, and also oure domestycall Goddes, and yours agaynst youe, yf you do any harme in oure lande. and also yf commyng agaynst youre othe, you suffre vs not to lyue in oure lybertye, so as Pausanias ordeyned. and more they sayd not.

The oratiō of the Plateans.

Wherunto Archidamus aunswered in thys manner. Youe saye tyght well Plateans, yf the dedes were lyke vnto the wordes. For as Pausanyas than graūted youe, that youe shulde lyue in youre lybertye, and after youre lawes, euen so you shulde haue ayded your selues with your power, to haue kepte & set agayne into the self lybertie, the other Grekes, that were presente at the acte, whereof youe speake, and partakers of the daūgers of the warre, alwel as you. who haue bene subdued and brought into seruytude, by the Athenyans. By occasyon wherof all thys armye is assembled, and this warre begonne. Wherfore so much the better youe shall kepe youre othe, as youe shall the more ayde to restore them vnto lybertye. And yf you woll not do it, at the least e, lyue as youe haue lyued, heretofore. And laboure youre lande in peace without takinge parte with the one nor with the other. But receyue them all as frendes, and helpe not to the warre of one, more than of the other. wyth this aunswere the Ambassadours retourned into the citie, and made theyr reporte before all the people. By whose ordinaūce, they came agayne vnto Archidamus, and sayde vnto hym, that, that which he had demaunded of them was impossyble for them to do wythoute consente of the Athenyans, for that, that they had theyr wyues and chyldren with the Athenyans, and on the other parte, that they feared to put the cytye in great daunger. & after ẏ the hoste shuld be departed fromthence the Athenians, not content wyth

The answer of Archidamus.

that,

that, that had bene done, shulde come vpon them. And also that the Thebayns, who had not bene cõprysed in the othe, vnder coulour, ỹ the citie ought to receiue thẽ vnto their partie, & the other, wolde at an other tyme subdewe thẽ. Whereunto Archidamus aunswered thẽ, that they shulde haue good hope, and for to eschue all daungers, they shulde put their houses, and all the cytye wyth hys territorye into their kepinge, & geue them by accompt al the trees that were there, & all the other thynges, that myght be nombred togethers wyth the lymyttes of their sayde terrytorye by declaration. And they with their wyues and children to go to dwelle, where they shulde thinke good duringe the warre. And lycence vs sayth he, to holde them in depoſet in your name, and incontynent after the warre ended, we promys to render them intierly vnto youe, and neuertheles thys duryng, to labour youre landes, and to geue you of the fruictes that, which shalbe necessary for youre lyuyng. vpon thys demaunde the Imbassadours retourned into the cytye, and there proponed & declared it vnto the people, who for resolution, made aunswere, that they so farre, as laye in them, accepted the offre, yf the Athenyans were therwyth contented. But wythout furst cõmoning wyth thẽ, they wolde in no wyse do nor agre vnto it. And so they demaunded a certayne terme, for to sende vnto Athenes, and that in the meane time there shuld no dõmage be done in their lande. whiche thynge was accorded and parformed vnto them. But whan the Imbassadours, which they sente to Athenes, were comme agayne, they made reaporte vnto the people, of the resolution that the Athenãs had made vnto thẽ, after all the declarations and raysons of the one syde & of ỹ other, whiche was of thys substaunce. The Athenyans do declare vnto you, that sence that they haue made allyance with youe, they haue not suffred youe to be oultraged nor wronged, and they admonyshe youe, that ye ought to haue remẽbraunce of the othe, that youre fathers made vnto them. For they arne not minded nowe to forsake youe, but woll ayde youe wyth their power, and therfore requyre you, to be faythfull vnto them. For as for theym, they intende not to innouate nor charge youe wyth any newe impost. whiche aunswere beyng vnderstande by the Plateans, they determyned not to habandone nor forsake the Athenyans, but to resyste the ennemyes, although they shulde see them bourne and waste before their eyes, all the goodes, that they hadde in the countreye, and shulde suffre all the other euyls, that myght be done vnto them. And therfore they wolde no more sende agayne their messengers towardes the Peloponesyans, but from the walles made their aunswere, that it was not possyble for them to do that, whiche they hadde requyred of them. Than Archidamus came before the walle, and protested agaynst them in thys manner. Youe Goddes and sayncts, that kepe the citie & lande of Plateans, I call youe to wytnes, that these here, be they, that furst breake their othe, & that the oultrage commeth, not by our faulte, yf we cõme ennemilike into their lãde, in the which our auncesters hauing made their vowes & sacrifyces, had the victorye agaynst the Medes, by youre helpe & fauoure. And that thys, that shalbe frombencefourth done against thẽ, it shalbe through their wronge & not through ours. For that, ỹ whatsoeuer declarations & exhortacions that we coulde reasonabye make vnto them, we coulde not prouffyt in any thynge, nor allure them with raysone. Wherfore vouchesauff that they, whiche haue furste done the oultrage, maye haue the payne. And that they, that prepare themselfe for to punyshe them iustelye, maye do it. After that he had made this protest and requeste vnto the Goddes, he suffredde and lycenced hys men at armes to begynne the warre. And furst, with the trees that were incontynently cut downe, he cauſed the towne to be incloſed wyth greate

The protestacyon of Archidamus agaynst ỹ Plateens.

The forme of ỹ doune or moũt

barres and skinnes, to the intent that none shulde issue out nor enter therin. Afterwardes, they beganne to rayse vp a bancke, and a mount, hopyng in small time to acheue it, seyng the greate nomber of people that helped to the worke, and by that meane, to take the towne. And the forme of that same douue or mounte was suche. Furste, they made it with braunches of trees, with grates in forme of baskettes, and they sett them of eche syde of the mounte, fastened and sustteigned with skynnes for to kepe the earth and other matter, that was put into it. And after they caste in, stoanes, woode, earthe and euery other thynge, ꝑ myght serue to fylle it. In whiche worke, they contynued. lxx. dayes contynually, daye and nyght, wythout cessyng from theyr busynes. For whan they one departed for to go to eate or slepe, they other came thyder, euerye one in hys tourne. And for to sollycite and cause the sayde worke to be auaunced & sett forwardes, were deputed and appounted, the Lacedemonyans, whiche had charge of the huyged souldyars, and wyth them the Dukes and cappytaynes of all the cytyes. Whan they of the towne sawe the mounte so to heighynge and aryse, they beganne directly agaynst it in the ynner syde wythin theyr walle, to make an other wall vp stoanes with brecque, whiche they dyd take of the nert houses, that they plucked downe for to do it with, and for to sustaygne and vpholde it, they meddled it with pieces of woode, and wythoute fourthe they armed and fensed it wyth hydes, to the intente that in worksynge they shulde not be hurte, and also that yf any fyer were caste agaynste it, it shulde not take in the woode. In suche maner, ꝑ the worksynge arose greatly on bothe sydes. And neuertheles they of the towne, for to retarde and slacke the worksynge of thennemys, they deuysed one suche mete practique and meane: that is. That they persed the wall at one part ryght anempste the mounte, whereunto the ennemies hadde from the same forged an other Rāpare wyth woode and wyth earth, which came to ioigne to the walle, for to comme in couert, and secretely vnto the foote of the same walle, after that the sayd mounte had bene acheued. And through that same hoale, that they had made, they drewe and conueyed awaye the earthe vndernneath, which the other did caste into it. Wherupō, after that the Lacedemonians had parceyued it, they made greate panyars, and sylled them with soft and moist earth, and afterwardes dyd caste it in stede of that, whiche was drawen awaye, in manner, that men coulde not easely drawe more away. Also whan the Plateans sawe the remedy, they studyed no further in that partye, but they made greate mynes and conductes wythin the earthe throughe vnder the walle that wente to aunswere vnto the mounte. Throughe whiche mynes, they drewe wythout ceasyng, the earthe from the mounte, & dyd it long before the enemyes parceyued it, thoughe that they were all abashed to see that theyr mount dyd not greatly heyghenne, for the marueilous quantite of earth, that they dyd caste into it, and that it dyd falle and syncke in the myddelle. yet the cytezeins, consyderynge that at lengthe they coulde not drawe awaye so muche of the earthe, as the other, that were in greater nomber wythoute comparysonne, myght caste therin: and therfore considerynge that they trauaylled in vayne, they deuysed an other remedye for to resist. ꝑ is, ꝑ at the same part of their walle, where the enemys had approched vp their Rāpare for to assaulte, they raysed & erected vpon wardes, an other walle, in maner of increasing or adioyning, one vnto the other. For the two endes came to ioyne vnto ꝑ wall, directly anempste the two endes of the moūte of ꝑ enemies & went fromthence, enlarging inwardes, into the towne. To the intēt ꝑ yf the ennemies did take ꝑ quarter of the wall, they shuld yet there finde an other, against which, they shulde of necessitie make an other moūte, which shulde be their dou-

ble

ble trauaile. & also shuld be in greater daūger. On the other syde, the Peloponesians had erected two Engynes vpon their mount, wherewith they battered in two partes to witte, wyth the one the walle, that they of the towne dyd make within, whiche decayed it greatly, wherof the Citezeins were greatly astonyed: and the other did batter the principal wall. Against which engynes the citezeins vsed two remedies. The one was that they had great snares of bigge coardes, wt which they dyd breake thē. The other was that they had great rollers of woode, which they fastened at two endes to chaynes of yronne, whiche kepte the sayd rollers at the top of the wall, hanged ouerthwart. And whan they sawe the stroke of the Engyne cōmynge, they lett slyppe the endes of the chaynes, that were fastened to certayn Engynes, in such sorte, that soudainely the said rollers came to fall vpō the ende of the Engyne that battred, and did breake hys stroake. Wherupon, the Peloponesiās, seing that after all attemptates, they could not by that meane easely batter the walle, and yet though that it were battred, that there was an other wall within, & by that meane, they shuld with payn take the towne by battry: they determyned to enclose it rounde aboute with a walle. But afore they dyd that, they wolde assaye if they might do it by fyer, whiche thinge semed easy ynough vnto them, if that the wynde serued them, consyderynge that it was very smal. For they studyed all thinges, wherby they might haue it without great erpēce & without long sieage. And therfore they filled with fagotts & with wood all the dyche, that was betwene the mounte & the walle in a verey shorte tyme, through ỹ greate multitude of people, that were at doinge of it. And caused it to be caryed and extended, so farre, as they might within the towne, & afterwardes in the height did put in fyer wyth soulfer and wyth powder. Wherby there issued fourthwith one so greate a flame, as had neuer bene there sene afore, that hadde bene kindled by mans hande. For sometyme the fyer toke by itself in the woodes by the mountaynes, through the vehemente confrication, freatinge and gatherynge of the trees, whyche happened by force of wynde, wherby arose a greater fyer & flame. And that same fyer was so great and so sharpe, that it fayled very litle, that it had not burned all the towne, with them that were within, for there remayned but one small part therof, where as the fyer had no course. And if the fyer had chased, as the ennemys thought, it had bene done. but it chaunced clene cōtrary. For ther soudainly came a great rayne with great thōders, as it is said, that quenched it. The Peloponesians, thā seing that they were frustrated & disapoincted of that their enterprise after ỹ other, they determyned to leue one parte of thair people at the siege before the towne, & that the other shulde retourne, but furst they wold enuiron & cōpasse about all the sydes of ỹ walles. And for to haue it ỹ sonner acheued, they departed it amongest thē by quartiers, geuing to al the bendes of euery cytie, his quarter, & also made dyches, all alonge ỹ said walle, aswell vnto as without, & with the earth, that they drewe out & cast vp, they made bricque. After that they had acheued ỹ same worke, they left a sufficient nomber of thair people for to kepe the half of that same walle, & they left the other halfe, to be kepte by the Beotyans, and after, the other departed about the saison that the starre named Arcturus doth appere, & euery man retourned from thence vnto his houle. As touching the Plateans, they had now afore, sent away their wiues ỹ aged people, the childzen, & al thole, that were not mete to sarue for the warre. In such sorte, that there were abydinge in the towne, but foure houndzed and foure skore Athenyans, and ten women alonely for to make them their bread, and more there were not of any estate nor condityon. The which determyned for to defende the towne. Such was the preparation of the siege of Platee.

¶ Howe the Athenians had an ouerthrow bifore the towne of Spartole in the countrey of Bottians. And the Peloponesians an other bifore the cytie of Stratie in the countrey of Acarnanie.

☞ The.viii. Chapter.

Xenophon.

THat same somer, in the beginning of the said siege, ỹ Athenias sent Xenophō, son of Euripides, ỽ.ii. other capitains wᵗ two thousand fotemē citezeins, ỽ two hondred horsmen estrangers in harnest seasō, for to make warre against ỹ Chalcydyans ỽ Bottians, which be in the countrey of Thrace. who, being defended bifore the towne of Spartole, which is in ỹ quarter of Bottias, they wasted all their corne, ỽ yet had intelligēce ỽ confederation wᵗ some of thē of the towne. that shuld haue let thē in. But thoder that were not of ỹ confederatiō, cauled a bende of horsmē to come frome the towne of Olynthe. who, being aryued, went fourth wᵗ the people of the town for to fight against ỹ Atheniās. In which batail ỹ fotemē Chalcydyēs, being wel armed, were repulled ỽ driuē backe euē vnto ỹ gates. But the horsmē Olynthiās ỽ ỹ fotemen light armed, wᵗ a certain small nōber of other fotemen, bearing Pauelles or Targots, that were of the contrey, that is called Crulyde, repulled the horsmē of the Athenyans. And as they retyred on the one syde ỽ on the other frō that same battaile, ther came loudainly certayn fresh bēdes of fotemē wel armed, which the Olynthiēs sent to increase ỹ ayde of thē of the town. who, seing ỹ said succour cōming, toke hart vnto thē agayn, specially the footmen light armed ỽ the horsmē Chalcydyens, ỽ a fresh, wᵗ the succour of the Olynthyās, that was come vnto thē, they set vpō the Athenyans ỽ so dyd repulse ỽ force thē to retire vnto two cōpaignies, which they had left te kepe their baguaige ỽ their artillrie. And yet neuerthelas, those Athenians defended thēselues mānfully, ỽ alwayes, as they came liuely vpon their ennemis, they repulled thē. But after that they were retourned to their said baguaige, ỹ other did chase thē back agayn, to wit ỹ foot men wᵗ shott, ỽ the horse men wᵗ hand strocks, in such sort, that at last they put thē to flight, ỽ had thē long in the chase. In whiche chase, there died many, beside those that were there slayne at the battaile, which were in all four hondred ỽ thirty, togidres wᵗ the thre Capytains. The morow folowing, the Athenyās after that they had recouered their dead men of thē of the towne, they retourned wᵗ the remenant of ỹ army to Athenes. For ỹ same victory, the Chalcydiens ỽ Bottiens after that they had chosen out ỽ buryed them that were dead on their partie, they erected ỽ set vp an trophe or token of tryūphe bifore the towne. Anon after this battaile, the Ambzacyens ỽ the Chaoniens, desiring to subdue all the cōtrey of Acarnanie, ỽ to drawe it frō the allyance of the Athenyās, they signefied vnto the Lacedemonyās, that if they wold send thē any nōber of shipps, which they might cause the cyties cōfederated to fournishe, they might easely, wᵗ a thousand of their souldiars, subdewe all the countrey of Acarnanie, for that, that the one might not succour the other. And ỹ done, they might, wᵗ out any great difficultie, conquerre the Ile of zacynte ỽ that same of zephalanie, ỽ moreouer they had esperance, ỽ trusted the rather to take Naupacte. which doing the Athenyans could no more discourse ỽ saile aboutes Peloponese, as they had accustomed to do. wherunto the Lacedemonians didde agree, ỽ immediatly sent Cnemus, who yet was their capytaine generall by sea, wᵗ those fewe shipps that they had, ỽ the fotemē, ỽ dyd write vnto the confederated cyties on the sea side that they shuld wᵗ all diligence send thair shippes wel fournished into Leucade. Now those of Corinthe, among the other confedered cyties were most affectioned to the Ambzacyens, for ỹ they were their burgeoles, ỽ ther

Spartolus.

Olynthus.

Crulis.

Ambzacyote.

Chaones.

Acarnania.

zachintus.

Cephalenia.

Naupactum.

Leucadia.

fore

fore they made extreme diligẽce to tacle their shipps & to sende thẽ vnto thẽ. likewise did ꝑ Sycionies, & the other nighe neighbours. But thole of ꝑ Anactorians & of the Ambracians, and also of the Leucadyans were sonnest ready at ꝑ poarte of Leucade. Cnemus and the thousand souldiars that he cõducted, sled so good dyligence that they passed before ꝑ naupacte without that Phormyo cappytaine of the Athenyans, who had ther abowtes. xx. shipps to kepe the passage & the countrey, did perceue thẽ. So they descended incontynently in the land, nighe vnto Corinthe & they being there, sone after came vnto thẽ the succours of the sayde Ambracyens, Leucadyens and Anactoryens, and beyides them that were all Grekes, there came thider a great bende of straungers, to wytt, a thousand Chaonyans, whiche is a nation, that is not subiecte vnto kynges, but do lyue vnder Dukes, whome they do euery yeare chose of a blonde Roiall. Of whom were Cappytaines Photyon and Nycanor, and with them, were the Thesprotiens, whiche lyued likewyse without kinge. And the Molosses and Athytans, of whom was Cappytayn Sabylinthus that than was tutor of Tharipus, king of the said Molosses, beinge in mynoryte of age. There was also Oryndus, kinge of Paranees, whiche hadde vnder his bende with his men, a thousand Oreslyans, subgiettes of the king Anthiochus, which were come thider by hys knowlaige and consent. Likewyse Perdicas kinge of Macedonie sente thider a thousande Macedonians without knowlaige of the Athenyans, whych yet aryued not at the begynning, whan the furst dyd. Wyth this armye Cnemus departed frome Corynthe by lande, without wylle to tary for the othere that came by sea, & passinge through the countrey of the Argues he pillaged the countrey of Lymnea, which was not closed with walles. Afterwardes he came against the cytie of Stratie, whiche is the greateste of all the countrey of Acarnanie, hopinge, that if he might haue takenne that same, that he shulde afterwardes right easely take the othere. Whan the Acarnanyans knewe that there was come a great armye vpõ them by land, and that they attended yet, for a more strengthe by sea: they sente no succoures the one to the other, but euery one prepared himselfe to defende his cytie and his lande, and all they together, sente to Phormyo that he shulde come to succoure them. But he made them answere that it was not lawfull for him to habandone and departe from the poorte of Naupacte, vnderstandinge that the armye by sea of the ennemys shulde departe from Corynthe. The Peloponesyans than came with thre bendes before the sayde cytie of Stratie, beynge determyned to assayle it, if thole within wolde not render or yelde it. Of whyche thre bendes, tye Chaonyens and other straungers were in that same of the myddest, and in the right hande were the Leucadyens with the Anactoriens & othere of their bende, and in the laste bende was Cnemus with the Peloponesyans and the Ambracyens. And the sayd bendes went marchynge by dyuers wayes so farre distante the one from the other, that sometime they of the one bende dyd not se the other. And the Grekes went in battaille, kepinge theire order, for to aduyse before all thinges, whan they shulde be afore the towne, to chose some meteplace to lodge their campe. But the Chaonyans trustinge in their force, for that, that they were holden and reputed most valyant of all the other straungers in that quarter of the mayne lande, they wold not haue patience to lodge themself, but takinge it for shame so much to cocker themself, and hoping with the ayde of other straugers that were in their bende, to feare the people of the towne with their arryuall, and by that meane to take it, before that the othere shulde there arryue, & so to haue the hole honnour of that same enterprinse: they adnaunsedde themselfe in theire most, that they might, in such sorte, that they aryued in the sight of the towne, a

good

Sicyonii. Inactorii. Ambraciote. Phormyo. Chaones. Photius. Nycanor. Thesproti. Molossi. Antitanoe. Sabylinthus. Tharipis. Oryndus. Anthiochus. Perdicas. Argiui. Limnea. Stratus.

good space of tyme ynough, before the other. whiche seing, the Stratyans deuised among themselfe, that if they coulde discomfyte and ouerthrow that bende: the other woulde feare afterwardes to come thider, they set embushementes wythout the towne on that parte therof. And after that the Chaonyans were betwene the towne and the Ambusshes, they sette vpon them on both sydes so strongely, that they dyd put them out of Araye and vnto flighte. And so dyd slay many and a great nomber. whan the other strangers that came after, did see the flye, they dyd the lyke, and so did all flye, before that the Grekes dyd parceyue yt, who thought not that they shulde haue fought, but onely haue chosen the place to haue lodged them. But whan they sawe the so to flye, they retyred into their bende. And afterwardes, they locked themselues togider, and taryed there that same daye, waytinge if those of the towne wold issue fourth agaynst them. which thinge they woulde not do, for that, that thoder Arcananyans hadde sente them no succoure. But onely they dyd throwe againste them wyth casses of slynges, wherewyth all those of the countrey of Acarnanie do throwe better, than the other people. Also they were not armed, and therfore yt had not bene good for the to haue yssued fourth. Than Cnemus, seinge that they came not fourth, whan it did drawe nyghe vpon nyght, he withdrewe himselfe in great feare, to the ryuer of Anapus, whyche is distant from the cytie, aboutes four skoore stades. And the morowe followinge, hauinge recouered the dead men of the Stratyans, he retired with his army vnto the lande of ỹ Eniades. who receyued him willingly, for the amytye that they hadde with the Peloponesyans and fromthence they departed all, for to returne into their houses wout taryinge the succour, that shuld come vnto them. And the Stratians did sett vp their Trophe in remembrance of the victorye, that they had had agaynst the Barbarous or strangers.

Anapus fluuius.

Oeniades.

¶ Howe the Athenyans had a victory by sea againste the Peloponesians, and howe the one partie, and the other prepared them selfe for to combattre and fight, one other tyme vpon the sea.

☞ The. xiiii. Chapter.

ON the other syde, the armye by sea that the Corynthians and othere confederates shulde haue sent out of the goulphe of Crissee, to the succours of Cnemus agaynste the Acarnanyens if they woulde comme to succour them of Stratia, came not. But were constrayned, that selfe same tyme, that the battaille was before Stratia, to fyght againste the. xx. shippes that Phormyo helde and kepte to defende Naupacte, who spied whan they departed from the sayd goulphe of Crissee, for to assaile them in the highe or mayne sea. wherof, the Athenyans, who were not furnyshed to fight, but onely had charged the men of warre for to passe with them into Acarnanie, doubted not. thinkynge that Phormyo, that hadde but twenty shippes, durste not assaile thairs, whyche were seuen and fourty. But as they sayled alongeste the coste of Epire, for to trauerse into Acarnanye, whyche is opposite or directe agaynste yt, sawe the Athenyens comme fourth from Chalcide and oute of the floude of Euenus. Whoe came dyrectly againste them, for though in the nyght they were hydde in a place, yet alwayes they were in the moarynge, at breake of daye, apparceyuedde. And by thys meane, the Corynthyans were constraynedde

The fludde of Euenus.

to

to fight in the myddest of the destracite. Nowe the people of euery cytie hadde thair cappytaynes. And of them of Cozynthe were Cappytaynes, Machon, Ilocrates, and Agatharcydas. and so the Peloponesians dyd bringe theire shippes all into a roundell, locked togyther, the fore partes forwardes, and the powpes inwardes, keping almuch space, as they might in the sea. for to empesche & lett the yssue of ennemys, and within that same roundell they bestowed the smallest and lightest shipps, for to cause thē to go fourth in short space vpō thole of thēnemys whan they shulde see it to be mete. As touchinge the Athenyans, they broughte thair shippes all in a renge. And sayled clolinge aboutes thole of thēnemys, saignynge to be willynge fourthwyth to beginne the batayle, and in palling beyonde them, they approched so strongly, that wel nye they hurkeled togider. By meane wherof, ỳ other iopgned thēselfe & retired always more fuerlyer locked in their order. But Phormyo had defended or forbydden his men, that they shuld not begynne the batayle, vntill that he hadde geuē them a signe or token. And this he dydde for that, that he thoughte well that the sayde Peloponesyans coulde not maigntayne or contynue that same order vō their shippes, as they woulde haue done, vō their foote men, on lande. And also that the shipps would hurkle togider and woulde empesche thone the other. Specially, whan the wynde of the lande shulde aryse, whyche biganne comēly at the breake of the daye, whiche he attended, makinge in the meane seasonne a bragge or threateninge to be willinge to strike vpon them. For he toke it to be full certayne, that after that the wynd was ryssenne, they coulde not be a moment of one houre firme or sure togither, & that he might than assayle them, more at this pleasure, for that, that his shippes were lightest, like as it chaunced. For after that the wynd beganne to blowe, the shippes that were encloled in the myddell of the oder of thennemys, and the othere that were lightest beganne to hurkle against the other, and successyuely the disorder came the one from the othere. so that the people that were within, was ỳ more parte occupyed to lay fourth plankes of woode, or their glayues specially bifore, for to defende, that the shippes shulde not hurkle againste them, where they were. Wherby arose a great crye of one sort, that cryed and sayd vylanye to other, in suche sorte, that they coulde not heare nor vnderstande the thinge that was commaunded them. And yet they that vnderstode it, coulde not tourne nor conduict their shippes, so, as they were cōmaunded, they were so greatly oppress and coustrayned. Also they were not yet instructed perfaictely in the seate by sea. Than Phormyo, seinge the disorder, gaue the signe or token of the battaile vnto his people, who charged lyuely vpon the ennemys, and at the arryuall, they did ouerronne one of the Pretorpans galleys, to wytt, vpon which was one of the Cappytaines, and so drowned it. And consequently all thole, that they encoūtred, at that the furste charge, they frushed or sonke them, with suche strenghte, that they gaue not the ennemys leasure to ioynne themselfe agayne togither, nother to recouer thair courage, but they fourthwyth fledde towardes Patras & Dymen in the quartier of Achaie. And the Athenyans followed them so nighe, that in chalinge them, they dyd take twelue of their shippes and also dyd sleye a great nomber of their people. Afterwardes, they retourned into Myocryte. And after that they hadde erected and sett vp their throphee vpon the promōtory or highest place, and consecrated a shipp to the god Neptunus, they retourned vnto Naupacte. Also the Peloponesyans wyth the shippes, that were eskaped from Patras and frome Dymen, retourned to Cyllene, where the Athenyans haue their hauen, to the whiche place Cnemus also came at his departure from Leucade after the bactaylle of Stratie with the other shippes that shulde haue iop-

Machō. Ilocrates. Agatharchidas.

Patre. brbs. Dyme oppidū. Molycricum.

whan

Tymocrates. Braſidas. Lycophron.

ned with them there. And they beinge there arryued, Tymocrates, Braſidas and Lycophron, whome the Lacedemonyans hadde ſente for to aſſiſte Cnemus, and had wylled hym to vſe their counſaille in feate of the ſea, and chiefly, that he enterpryſed agayne a battaille vpon the ſea, to the intente that the ennemys, who had the leſſer nomber of ſhippes, ſhuld not cõtynue maiſters. For they thought well that that ſame battaille was loſte, through faulte of thair people, by many reasons. And chiefly for that, that it was the furſt tyme that they hadde foughte in the ſea. wherfore they coulde not haue had the arte and induſtrie to conducte themſelues ſo well, as the Athenyans, who therin were all accuſtomed. And lykewyſe that the victory was not for that, that the Athenyans were more puiſſant wyth ſhippes nor with apparaille, but through the ignorance of thair people, which was the cauſe that they ſent ỹ thre perſonaiges aboue named, through diſdaigne and anger for to geue Cnemus & his people knowlaige of their fault. the whiche perſonnaiges, after that they were arryued, demaunded certayne nõber of ſhippes of the cyties, and cauſed them, that were there, to be repayred, like as they thought good. On ỹ other ſide, Phormyo ſent his meſſengers to Athẽs for to ſignefye the victorie vnto the Athenyans, and alſo to aduertyſe them of of the apparaille and preparation, that the ennemys did make alreſhe, and that it was nedefull that they ſhulde ſende fourthwith renforte and more power of people, and of ſhippes. whiche the Athenyans dyd. and ſent hym twenty ſhipps wyth good nomber of people. By the conductor whet of, they commaunded him that he ſhulde incontynently and before all thinge, come with all the armye into Crete. And this did they, for that, that a citezein of Crete, named Nycias Gertynyus, that was thair frende, had aduertiſed them, that if they wolde ſende thider their armye he wolde cauſe them to wynne the cytie of Cydonie, whoe toke the contrary parte. But he willed that this were done by meane of the Polichnytes, who were neighbours of the ſaid Cydonyans. Phormyo than, enſuyng the commaundement of the Athenyans, came into Crete, and from thence into Cydonye, and with the Polichnytes he pillaiged and waſted all the terrytorye of Cydonians, and alſo was conſtrayned by force of cõtrary wyndes to tary there longer, than he was willinge. During this tyme, the Peloponeſyans, that were in Cyllene, hauing prepared all that whych they thought good for to comme againſte their ennemys, they came to Panormе, whiche ys in Achaye, at which place, was the hooſte of land that the Peloponeſyans had ente thider for to ſuccour & ayde that ſame by ſea. On the other ſyde, Phormyo, wyth the .xx. ſhippes that he had the daye of the date of the battayle came directly vnto the promountory of Milocryte. And lodged themſelf all rouide aboute, wythout that ſame, for that, that it dyd take their parte and ſtraight againſt it of the ſame coaſte of Peloponeſe, there was one other, diſtant or beinge a ſunder the ſpace of ſeuen ſtades or theraboutes by ſea, whyche cauſed the mouthe and the entrye of the Goulphe of Criſſee. The Peloponeſians alſo came toan other promountorie of Achaie, whiche was not ſo farre diſtant from the cytie of Panormе. where they had their armye by lande. And they had the nomber of .lxxbii. ſhippes armed. Than the twoo armyes, beinge in ſight the one of the othere, they kepte themſelues fire or ſeuen dates in their fort, for to make their preparations, and to aduiſe of the manner of the battaile. For the Peloponeſians, by reaſon of the feare, and remembrance that they had of the former diſcomfiture, durſte not iſſue fourth at large into the mayne ſea. Alſo the Athenyans wolde not enter into the diſtroicte, knowinge that it was for their diſaduantage. And in the meane tyme, Cnemus & Braſidas and the other capytaynes of the Peloponeſians, ſeinge that thair ſouldyars were

Nycias.

Polichnyte.

Panhor mus.

were asstonyed and afrayed by meanes of the former ouerthrowe, they causedde them all to assemble and did speake vnto them in this manner.

¶ The exhortation of the dukes Lacedemonyens to their souldyars.

¶ The.xv. Chapter.

IF there be any of youe, lordes Peloponesyans, that feareth to come vnto this battaille by reasone of the other, which we losse: he groundeth his feare nother wel nor vpon good cause. For our preparation and apparaille was not than suche, as apperteigned. For that menne thought not to come to fight by sea. But rather that vopage was onely to cary and transporte our armye into the lande. whereun, inconuenyences chaunced vnto vs, whyche were not small, by myssortune, and it might be partly by ignorãce, beinge the furste tyme that youe hadde fought by sea. wherefore, knowinge and consyderinge that we were not vainquished by the force and vertue of our ennemys, but rather that there be raysons to ẏ cõtrary: It is not raisonable, that we shulde nowe be destitute of couraige. But we ought to consider, that albeit that oftimes men of estymation do saile and lose by fortune of warre: yet neuerthelas they haue and reteigne their vertue and hardynes of harte. the which they iudge not to haue lost by the former faulte and imprudentie. & likewyse they be neuer discouraiged nor tired. And as touchinge your parte, truly, though you haue not somuch knowlaige in this busynes by sea, as our ennemys haue, yet haue you almuche and more hardynes and vertue. And as touchinge the industrie of them here, whome youe feare, if the same be actõpaigned with hardynes, yt shal know well how to execute in great daungers, that, which it shall haue learned by exercise. But if that be lackinge, the arte shall serue nothinge at all. For feare taketh awaye the memory. And the arte, without the vertue of harte and couraige, profiteth nothinge in daungers. wherfore it behoueth you, forsomuche as they haue more experyẽce to haue againste it, more audacytie. And for the feare, which youe haue, for ẏ, that ye were vainquished, ye ought to call to remẽbrance, ẏ you were not prepared nor disposed for to fight. And besides this, cõsider, ẏ we haue many more ships thã our ennemis, & that you shal fight in ẏ sight of our army, ẏ is here on lande, for to do vs pleasure. & that by reasone, those, that be in greatest nõbre & best appointcted, shuld haue the better. Also we parceyue not one onely raisone, wherby we shuld haue any fear, but the fault, that we heretofore haue done, maketh vs by the experience the better instructed. Haue youe all than good courage, aswell cayptaines & souldyars, as marromers, and do euery one his office, without habandoninge and forsakynge the places, wherunto youe artie ordeyned. For also we, that be your dukes & heddes, wol not geue youe lesse cõmodytie to fight, thã those, ẏ shulde conducte you to the other battaile nor also any occasion or example to be wery & faynthearted. And if there be any, that shal shewe himself such, he shalbe punyshed accordynge to his deserte. Likewyse those, that shall shewe themself to be valyaunt, shalbe recõpensed & reputed accordinge to the merytt of their vertue. By such wordes & declaratiõs, they did animate & encourage the Peloponesiãs, their souldyars. On ẏ other side, Phormio, seing that hys souldyars were also afraide for the great nõber of ships that they sawe against them, caused them likewise to assemble, & comforted thẽ, for that, that alwayes he had assured them, that there coulde not comme againste them one so greate an armye by sea,

that they were not hable to resiste. And they themselues, for that they were Athenyans, had conceyued thys presumption in their mynde, that they neuer would recueile bifore any armye by sea, that they shulde se of the Peloponesians, howe great so euer it were. But parceyuinge them to be afrayde, he deliberated to put them againe in courayge, and so spake vnto them in this manner.

The Exhortation of Phormio, to the souldyars Athenyans.

The.xvi.Chapter.

I haue deuyled to calle you here togither, seing you somewhat afrayed for the greate nomber of ennemys. whyche I fynd to be an euil thing, to feare the same, whiche is not to be feared. For those here, haue assembled this nomber of shippes muche more greate, than ours: for feare, that they haue of vs, hauynge remembrance of the victorie, that we hadde last against them: and knowynge that they be not hable, so many for so many, to compare with vs. And also they come with thonely thing, wherin they haue their affiance, that ys, wyth greate nomber of fotemen (for that, that they haue often had victorie in battaille by their meane) thinkinge that they woll do asmuche in the fyghte by sea. whiche is an abuse. For this, that yf they haue any industrie & perseuerance or power in that same manner of fyghtinge, we haue much more greate, in this same here. For of courage, we therin haue the one as the other, but in that, that we be experymented the one in the sea and the other by lande, yt maketh euery of vs for his parte more bolde & audacyous, in that thing, wherin we haue most experyēce. On the other parte, the Lacedemonyans, for somuch as they be heddes and princes of other confederats, for to recouer their honour, do constrayne them agaynste thair wille, to come afore the to proue the fortune of battaille, whiche thyng they wouldе not do willyngly, being vainquished. wherfore youe ought not by any meanes of the world, to feare the audacyte and hardynes of them, vnto whome youe haue geuen greatest and moste certaine feare. aswel for that, that you haue one time vainquished thē, as also for this, that they haue this same opynyō of vs, that in resisting thē, we wol do some thing, worthy of memory. And on the other parte, they that be in greateste nomber, comme to battail, trusting more in their force, than in their conducte. where they, that parceue themselfe to be weakest and feblest of people and preparation (if they be not forced to fight) puttinge their suertie in their vnderstandinge and prudency, procede moste valyauntly in their busynes. whiche thinge considered by them here, they be more afraide of that, and not without cause, than they be of our preparatiō. For also it hath bene often sene, that the greatest puissance hath bene vainquished by the lesse, sometyme through ignorance and lacke of knowlaige, sometyme for lacke of courage and of conducte. The whych two thinges be not in vs. And yet neuerthelas I wylle neuer be of opynyon to fight wythin the distraict, and that we shulde go thider to assayle them. For I knowe very well, that that, ys not for thaduantage of them that haue light shippes and smal vnder cōduct of good patrons and maronners, for to goo to assaule in a straicte place thē, that be in greater nomber vnder conducte of newe & inexpert people. Inasmuche as a man shulde not go in suche case to assayle them, but whan he seith afarre of, his aduauntaige. And also whan he ys in such narow and straight place, he may not

retire

retire whan he is in daunger, and for effecte a man may not go and come agayne at hys pleasure, which is the industrie & facyō of light shippes & of good maronners. But rather a man is constrayned to fight, as in mayne lande amongest fote men, in whiche case, they that haue greater nomber of shippes, haue the greateste aduauntage. But as touching that, I woll therunto haue eye, somuch as I may. And as concernynge youe, it is conuenient, that euery of you holde and kepe him in this place, that hath bene appoincted him within youre shippes. And to obeye readely vnto that, that shalbe commaunded. For this chiefly, that thoccasion of victorie consisteth and resteth in the readynes and diligēce to assaile, whan tyme is. And moreouer in fightinge take good hede to your table, and to kepe silence. whiche thinges be very requysitte and fittinge, in all battailes, but aboue all, in the sea. Charge therefore vpon thies here, in kepinge the honnoure that youe haue acquyred against them. And consider, that it is a question at thys conflicte of a very great matter, to wyt, whider you shall deprive ỳ Peloponesiās of hope to sayle fromthensforwardes, or ỳ you shall putt the Athenyans in greate feare to goo to the sea. And to ende reasoninge, remember youe for one thinge, that we haue vainquished a great part of them here in battaille, and that they that haue bene ones vainquished, haue not the harte, so sone assured in like daungers. In thys manner did Phormyo instructe and encourage his souldyars.

¶ Howe in that same seconde battaille by sea, aither of the parties reputed hymselfe to haue had the victorie.

¶ The.xvii. Chapter.

THe Peloponesians, than seinge that the Athenyans wolde not enter into the destraict: for to bringe them therunto, whider they would or not, assone as the day beganne to pepe out, they comptted their shyps to the sayle all in battaille, in thickenes of foure shippes, to wytt, four shippes topynge to the hynder parte of the othere, and they beganne to marche inwardes within the destroicte towardes their lande. Nowe there were twenty of the most light shippes, that marchedde biforе in that same order, that were in vouhu the poorte, to this ende, that if Phormio, thinkynge that they wolde goo against Naupacte, shoulde marche in that parte for to go to succour the towne, he shulde be incloied amonge the sayd twenty shippes, and the othere, whych sailledde more at large from the sea on the lefte hande. like as it chaūced. For Phormyo seing that they made towardes the towne, & knowyng that it was vnprouyded of people, was cōstrayned to cause his people to be soubdenly embarqued, and to sayle alongest by the lande, trustinge in the foote men of the Messenyens, which were already for to succour him by lande. But whan the Peloponesians did see them to marche by from the shoore to lande, and that they were nowe vō in the destroicte, whiche was the thynge that they demaunded, they retourned all at ones agaynste them. And geuynge token of battaile, they toke their courle agaynste them with the greateste diligence that they coulde, hopinge to enclose them and to take them all. But. lxx. shippes of the Athenyans that wente biforе escaped, & saued thēselfe in the mayne sea. The other, that thought to saue thēselfe by land, were take by the Peloponesiās & destroyed. And ỳ people, that could not swym me to land, were slayn. And afterwards they caryed away the voyde shyps with theirs. For there was but one onely taken with the people that yt caryed,

and neuertheles of the other that remaigned boide, ther were some sauedby the Messenyens, that were on lande. who entred into the sea so farre on foote, that they fought hande to hande with them that wouldе carye awaye the sayd boyde shyppes, and dyd take awaye one parte therof. In suche manner the Peloponesians had victory & wasted the shyps of the Athenyans, and moreouer the twēty light shippes, which they had put on thair right wing, gaue chase vnto .xl. which were eskaped after the begynninge, into the mayne sea, whiche they gott al, reserued one, and came to ioygne themselfe agayn togider for anempste the temple of Apollo, tournynge the foore partes of their shippes againste their ennemys, to the intent to defende themself, if they came to assaile them. The Peloponesians came after, singing ỹ songes of victory, as people that had vanquished. Amōgest the whyche one shippe of Leucadyans came a great space before all the other, geuinge the chase to one of them of the Athenyans, whiche abodde behinde. So yt chaunced by fortune, that there was one small carrete at ancre, very nighe the poorte, whervnto the Athens shipp, that was chased, came to ioygne for to saue himself. And as the same of Leucadyans, with force of sailes and with oores did pursue yt, he happenned bitwene them bothe and so was incontynently sonken, whereby the Peloponesyans that had no doubte therof, were somewhat astonyed, and for that, that they were not in battaill but folowed at the bayt, as people that had the victorie, and gaue the chase, they stayed a litle and cessed to saile, tarynge the other that followed them with feare, that if they approched more nighe, the Athenyans wolde issue fourth vpon them to their aduantage. And so goynge sayre and properly with the sayle, they entred into certayne bankes for that, that they knewe not well the place. whyche parceyuynge the Athenyans they toke courage agayne, and the one, encouragynge the othere, they came to charge vpon them, whoe knowinge the faulte that they hadde done and that they were in disorder susteignedde the brunte, a litle at the begynninge, but sone after they tourned the backe and gaue themself to flight towards the place, fromwhence they were departed. Yet alwayes there remayned fire, whiche the Athenyans did take, and also recouered their empty shippes that the selfe Athenyans hadde that same houre fastened on groundе, and of the ennemys they dyd slaye one partie, and the other parte, they reteigned prisonners. Amongeste the whyche Tymocrates, who was vpon the shippe of Leucadie that was sonke, seinge that there was no remedy to saue hym, did kille himselfe wyth his owne swerde. And was caste by the waues, into the porte of Naupacte. The Athenyans, beinge returned to the place fromwhence they were departed, did set vppe there their trophe on lande, and recouered the broken peces of shippes and the deade bodys that they founde thereabortes, and haynge chosen oute theirs, they rendred to the Peloponesyans by appoinctment, thyse of their people. whoe on the other side did erecte and sett vp an other trophee vpon the promontory of Achaya, reputynge themselues to haue had the victorie, by cause of the shipps of ennemys, whyche they hadde taken and chased nighe the lande, and of that same that they hadde sonke, the whyche they consecrated and sacrefyced, nighe vnto the sayd trophe. And that done fearynge that some newe succours shulde come to their ennemys, they toke sayle in the night, and wente all (sauing the Leucadyans) to the goulphe of Crysee. And into Corinthe, and so righte shortly after, arryued at the poorte of Naupacte, twenty shippes, whyche the Athenyans sente from Crete vnto Phormyo for to strengthen them, the whyche shuld haue arryued before the battayle. And this dependinge, yt came to the ende of the sommer.

Tymocrates.

Howe

How the Peloponesians

failed to take the poorte of Pyreus secretely or by stealthe.

The.xviii.Chapter.

BUt before that the shippes of the Peloponesyans departed from Corinthe and oute of the goulphe of Crisee, Cnemus and the othere rulers, through the requeste & incouraigemēt of the Megariens, wolde assaye to take the port of Athens, named Pireus. which was not kept nor also closed. For that, that the Athenyans that were muche more puissant by sea, than all the other, feared not that any woulde come to assaile them in their poorte. And so they ordeyned, that euery of the marōners with an oare, and a lyne wherwith men bynde them, and a skynne of that same, whereupon, they lye within the shipp, shulde go by lande frome Corinthe, vntill the sea that is foranempste Athens. And fromthence they shuld go all togither to Megare with moste diligence that they mighte. And oute of the place of Nysee, where is the hauenne of Megarians, they shuld toawe fourty galleys, in the whiche they shulde go soubdainely againste the sayde poorte of Pyreus, wherin were no shippes, and there was also no greate watche, for that, that the Athenyans neuer doubted thereof. For it neuer chaunced that any shippe dyd aboorde there openly or secretly that was not parceyuedde. Haunge than the Peloponesyans well preparedde their case, they toke their iourney. And beinge by nighte arryuedde at Nysee, they embarqued themselues vpon the shyppes, that they founde there, and rayled vppe their sayles for to sayle towardes Pyreus. Nythout hauynge any more feare of anye manner of thynge. But they hadde (as it is sayde) the wynde somewhat contrary. Nowe was there vpon the promontorie, whyche is agaynste Salamyne, on the coste of Megare, a bastillion which certayne souldyours Athenyās did kepe, and in the sea benethe them thre galleys, whych was there to empesche and lett, that nothynge shulde enter nor isshue fourth from the towne of Megare, The whyche bastillion, the Peloponesyans assaulted, and at the arryuall, dyd take the thre galeys whyche they founde empty, and caryedde them awaye. Afterwardes, all at one tyme, one partie amongeste them entred into Salamyne, before that it was parceyued and dyddē pillage yt. But in the meane tyme, they, that were wythin the bastillion, whyche yet defendedde themselfe, didde kyndle fyers for to make signes to them of Athenes, that the enemys were comme. whereof the Athenyans were somuche or more afraide, than of any other thing, that happenedde vnto them in all this warre. For they that were in the cytie, thought that Pyreus had bene already takē. And they, that were in Pyreus, reconed ỳ Salamyne being taken, there rested nothing, but that thennemis wold come also to take them, whiche thing they mighte easely haue done, if they had not bene empesched by the wynde, and kepte backe by feare. But durynge this, at the dawninge of the daye, all the people of Athens issued fourth on a heape, and toke their shyps, that were at Pireus, & after ỳ they were embarqued, they sailed towardes Salamyne with the moste diligence that they coulde, leuinge a good nomber of sotemen within Pyreus. whan the Peloponesians parceyuedde their comminge, they aduaunced themselfe to wythdrawe their butyne, pray, and the prisonners of Salamyne into their shippes. And that done, with the thre ships that they had takenne in the poorte of the castelle of Budore, they retourned to Nysee. For they diddenot allure themself well in their shipps for that, that they

 had

had bene longe on drye ground in the hauen. wherfore they thought ỹ they were not for to indure well the sea. And after that they were descended at Nysee, they returned by lande to Megare. And fromthence, to Corynthe. On the othere syde, whan the Athenyans were arryued at Salamyne, seing that the ennemys were nowe departed, they retourned likewyse vnto Athenes. And fromthence fourthwardes, they fournished better their poorte of Pyreus, aswel with cloture, as wt defence or watche.

Howe Sitalces kinge of Odrisiens entred the countrey of Macedonie for to conquerre it from the kinge Perdiccas, and howe he came agayne withoute domge any great feate.

The.xix. Chapter.

IN that same saisonne, aboutes begynnynge of winter, Sitalces Odrisien, sonne of Tereus, kynge of Thracyens, enterpryled warre against Perdiccas, sonne of Alexander, kynge of Macedonie, and against the Chalcydyans, that be in Thrace, by occasyon of twoo promyses, that the said Perdiccas had made vnto him, whiche he did not obserue. The one for his name & profyyt, and the other in fauour of the Atheniẽs. For the same Perdiccas, being in great extremyte, for that, that on the one syde, Philippe his brother wolde haue chased hym out of his roiaulme with the helpe of the said Sitalces, and on the other, the Athenyans were mynded to moue warre against him, he promysed to Sitalces many things if he made the appoinctmẽt betwene him and the sayd Athenians, & gaue no ayde to Philip his brother against him. And moreouer in makyng of the sayd appoinctment wt the Athenyans, the sayd Sitalces had promysed thẽ, ỹ the said Perdiccas shuld make warre against the Chalcidiãs. which thyng Perdiccas had ratefied, & yet had not done yt. For thies two quarels than, Sitalces enterpryled the warre. And led with him Amyntas sonne of Philippe, for to restore hym to the roiaulme, togiders with Thamballadours of the Athenians. Of whome, Agnon ys chiefe that were sente thider for this cause. For also they hadde agrede with Sitalces, to sende immedyatly their armye by sea, and by lande agaynste the Chalcydyans. For to execute than thys enterpryse, Sitalces assembled, wyth the Odrisians, all the Thracyens. Quer whome he ruled, whiche be betwene the mount Emon and the mount Rodope, of the coste of the lande. And the bridge of Eurin, and Helles bridge on the sea coste. And afterwardes, the Getes and the other, that be beyonde the sayd mount Emon and on thillide the ryuer of Ister drawinge towardes the bridge Eurin, whyche border vnto the Scytes, and lyue as they, the more parte Archers on horsbacke, whiche we calle Hippotoxotes or Stradiotes. Besides this he assembled the people of the mountaignes of Thrace, whiche lyue in libertie, & do were their sweardes at their girdell, and cause themself to be called goddes, togiders with many of thinhabitãtes of Rhodope, which folowed him, partly for wages, & partly for curyosite & desire to se ỹ warre. He caused moreouer to come, ỹ Agrians, the Leens and the other Peonyens, which be at the furder ende of his empier & seignorie vntill the Greens, & to the ryuer of Strymone, whych descendeth frõ the mount Scomie, through the countrey of Leens and of Greens. whiche ryuer maketh the lympyt of his roiaulme. And fromthence, he toke some other free people, whyche inhabytte nighe the sayde mounte Scomie on the Northe syde, drawing

Agnon.

The mõt of Pemus.

The mõt of Rodophe.

The ryuer of Ister.

The ryuer of Strimõ

The mõt of Somius.

drawynge towardes the weste vntyll the ryuer of Ostius, whiche ysslueth oute of the same mountaigne. Fromwhence runne Nestus and Ebrus. the whiche mountayne is vntilled, barreyne & not inhabyted, nygh ynough vnto Rhodope. And for to determyne the greatnes of the empyre and royaulme of Odrysyans it extendeth from the citye of Abderyans, which is nygh the brydge Eurin, vnto the ryuer of Ister. And in that same parte, where was the moste straicte on the sea syde, in a shyppe, hauynge alwayes a good wynde, in foure dayes and foure nyghtes, and by lande in the most strayghte, which is from the Abderyans vntyll the ryuer of Ister, A man maye easely and well delyuer hys charge. But he must haue. xi. dayes, for to trauerse or go ouerthwarte it. Thys is the largenes of the royaulme on the sea coste, but on the mayne lande syde, and of the places mediterrayne in the moste lengthe, whiche is from Bizance vntyll the Leens, and throughe aboue the mount Strymon a man delyuered as is before sayde, he maye go it in. xiii. dayes. And touchyng the reuenue of the same royaulme, the increase, whiche Senthes sonne of Sytalces leuyed, aswell vpon the estraungers, as vpon the Grekes, that inhabyted the sayde royaulme, aswell in golde as in syluer, amounted well nyghe to foure houndred talentes of syluer euery yeare besydes the guiftes that were geuen hym. whiche amounted not to much lesse, and besydes the other thynges, as clothes of sylke and of woolle and other moueables, whiche the paysans Grekes and estraungers dyd geue, not onely vnto hym, but also vnto Prynces and Barons Odrysians for annuelle rente. For me maye see in that same royaulme of Odrysyans, and also in all the remmenaunte of the countrey of Thrale, an other sorte than is vsed in the Royaulme of Persee. That is, ỳ the Lordes be accustomed more to take, than to geue. And it is more shame for hym, of whom a thyng is demaūded, to refuse to geue it, than for him that demaunded it, for to be denyed. And also the prynces, oftentymes vsed that same custome imperially and by constraincte, for vnto them that refused to geue them, they denyed all traffique and marchaundise. And by these meanes, that same royaulme was comme to a marueillous greatenes. For it was the greaste ỳ than was in Europe, frome the goulphe of the sea Jonisi vnto the bridge Eurin. that is to wytte of reuenue and of ryches. But of nomber of people and of good warryours, it was muche lesse, than the same of the Scythians. vnto whome whan they were both ioyned and agreeng togeders, nother the Thracyens, whereof we speake, nor any other one natyon, that was in Europe or in Asia, couide not resiste. Also they haue a prudencye and dylygence in theyr fourme of lyuyng, all of an other sorte, than all the other haue. Sytalces than hauynge so greate & so puyssaunte a royaulme, as we haue declared, after that he had assembled all his armye and his preparatiō, he toke hys waye for to go into Macedonie, furst throughe hys countreye, and after by the mounte Cerryne, which is ouer all inhabyted. and departeth the countreye of Synthyans, from the same of Peonyens, and he followeth the waye that he before tyme had made, whan he made warre agaynste the sayde Peonyans, cuttyng the wood ouerthwarth the mountaygne, leuynge on the ryght hande the sayde Peonyans, & on the lefte, the Synthyens & Medes. Hauyng thā ascended agayne that same mountaygne, he came to Dobere, which appertaigneth to the sayde Peonyans, without that, that hys hoste dyd many thynge dymynysh it, though that many of the people were diseased, by meane that many Thracyens followed the armye wythout wages and wythoute hauynge hope to gaygne, in suche maner, that he hadde (as it is sayde) fewe lesse, than a houndred and fyfty thousande men. wherof, about the thyrde parte, were horsemen, of whome the more parte and the better, were the

The ryuer of Ostium
The ryuer of Nestus
The ryuer of Ebrus
Abdeci.
The greatnes and puissance of the royaulme of ỳ Odrysians.
The moost of Circine
Doberus.

Odrisians, and the reste, Getes, and of the footemē, the Matheriteyans, which be one of the natyons, that inhabyte in the mounte of Rhodope, lyuynge in libertye, were the beste warryours. But the nomber that followed of al nations, was so greate, that, at the syghte onely, it was fearfull. Beyng than all arryued at Dobere, they sotourned there certayne fewe dayes, and made prouysyon for that, whiche was necessary for them, for to allayle the countreye of Macedonye, that was benethe that mountaygne, whiche dyd obeye vnto Perdicas. For all the Macedonyans were not in hys obeysiance. But the Lyncestes and the Eliniores, all whiche be Macedonyans, although that they had allyance wyth him, and also dyd hym some seruyce, yet they had theyr partycular kynges. For that, that Alexander, father of Perdicas and theyr progenytours, surnamedde Temenides, departed furste frome the cytye of Argos, and came to the countrey of Macedonie. And at the begynnynge, toke that parte, that presentlye is called, Macedonye marytimate, by force. And chased oute of the countreye, that is named Pyerie, the Pyeryans. Who afterwardes came to inhabyte beyonde the mounte Strymone vnder the mounte Pangeus in the towne of Phagrete, and some other. Whereby, yet at thys presente, the countreye, that is vnder the sayde mounte Pangeus, drawynge agaynste the sea, is called Pyerienne. They chased also oute of the countreye of Bottiee, the Bottiens. who presently inhabyte the borders of Chalcydyans, and also occupyed a small portyon of the countreye of Peonyans, nyghe to the floude, Axius. to wytt, from the mountaygnes, vnto Pelle, and so vnto the sea syde. And also beyonde the sayd floude they toke the regyon that ioygneth to the mounte Strymone, whiche is called, Migdonye, fromwhence they chased the Edonyans. And oute of the countreye of Eordie, the Eordyans. Of whome they dyd slaye a verye great part, the other wythdrewe them selfe, about the cytye of Phiste, where they yet, at thys presente, do inhabyte. Also they chased the Almopyans from theyr lande, named Almopie, and beyde thole there, they subdewed and brought into theyr obeissāce and subiectyon manye other people of Macedonyens, which, yet at thys presente, obeye vnto Perdicas, to wytt, thole of Anthemont, of Grestonie, of Bisaltye and other manye countreys, whiche all be called Macedonye. And all obeyde to Perdicas, sonne of Alexander, whan Sytalces wente to make agaynste hym the warre, whereof we speake. The Macedonyans, vnderstandynge hys commynge, and knowynge that they were not myghtye ynoughe for to resiste hym, withdrewe them selfe into theyr places and townes walled. Whereof, there was not than anye greate nomber. For thole that men do see there at thys presente, were enclosed by Archilaus, sonne of Perdicas, that reigned after hym. And he caused the wayes to be repayred. And furnysched the royaulme wyth horse, wyth harnoys, and all other apparaylle of warre, more than the eyght kynges, that raygned afore hym, all togeders had done. The hoste of the Thracyans than at theyr departynge frome Doberе, entred at the arryuall into the countrey whiche hadde bene Philyps, brother of Perdicas. And toke by force the towne of Idomene and them of Goztynie, of Atlante and some other by compolytyon, for the amytie that he had wyth Amyntas, sonne of Philyppe, who was with him. After he came to the towne of Europe, thynkyng to haue taken it by force, but he coulde not. And so he departed frō thence, ouerthwart the coūtrey of Macedonie, which is of the right hande of Pelle & of Cyrre. But he neuer entred diepe into the coūtrey, to wytt, into Bottiee nor Pierie. but he ouerrōned & pillaged the coūtreys of Grestome, of Migdonie & of Anthemōt. The Macedonyans, seynge that they had not foote men to matche wyth the Thracians,

The beginning of the Royaulme of Macedonye.

Pangeus.

Phagres.

The floude of Axius.

Migdonia.

Phista.

Almopia.

Archilaus.

Idomene.

Goztynia.

Atalanta.

Europus.

Thracyans, they allembled, certayne good nomber of horlemen of theyr neygh bours, which dwelled in the mountaignes. And although that they were in much lesse nomber, than the ennemys, yet they came to assayle them. And on that syde where they charged vpon them, nothynge abodde them. For they were good warryours, and well armed. But beynge sone enuyroned by the greate nomber, although that they for a certayne space defended themselues, yet, seyng that at lengthe they coulde not resiste agaynst so greate a nomber, they retyred, and in that conflicte Sytalces dyd speake vnto Perdicas, and shewed hym the causes for whiche he made warre agaynste hym. After that, Sytalces, seynge that the Athenyans were not come wyth theyr armye by sea, lyke as they had promysed, but onely had sente towardes hym theyr Ambassadours with certayne giftes, thinkynge that he shulde not haue enterprysed nor executed that same warre, sente one parte of hys armye into the quarter of Bottiens, and one other, into ye same of Chalcydians. who, perceyuing the comminge of thennemyes, were retyred into theyr townes. and suffred them to waste and pyllage theyr countrey. And he, beynge in the same quarter, the Thessalyans, that inhabyt on the southe syde, the Magnetes and the other, that be vnder the Empyre of the sayde Thracyans, Joynynge to Thermopyles, fearynge that he wouilde come vpon them, putt them selues in armure. And lykewyse they, that inhabyted in the plat countreye beyonde the mounte Strymon on the southe syde, and also the Paryans, the Odonians, the Dropans and the Derstans, all whiche, be people syuynge in lybertye. And of the other parte, the bruyte was amonge the Grekes, ennemyes of Athenyans, that the same Sytalces for the allyance that he hadde wyth the same Athenyans, had vnder couloure of that warre of Macedone, assembled that armye for to come agaynste them in fauor of the sayde Athenyans. Wherevpon the sayde Sytalces, parceyuynge that he came not to the ende of that, which he had enterprysed, and dyd nothynge but waste the countrey wythoute conqueryngeit, also that victuailes fayled hym, and that wynter drewe nyghe, by the counsayle and perswatyon of Senthes, sonne of Spardocus, who was hys cousynne Germayne, and the chyefe and most puyssant of hys armye next hymselfe, determyned to retourne allonne, as he coulde. Nowe had Perdicas gotten secretely the sayde Senthes to be hys frende, by meane that he had promysed to geue hys suster vnto hym in maryage, togeders wyth a greate somme of monneye. By this meane than, Sitalces, after that he had taryed. xxx. dayes, and no more, in the countreye of the enemies (wherof he had consumed. viii. whole & entier daies in the countreye of Chalcyde) he retourned into hys royaulme wyth hys armie. And anone after, Perdicas, inuynge hys promys dyd geue Stratonice hys suster vnto Senthes in maryage. The enterpryse of Sytalces dyd take such yssue, and effecte. Strato nice.

Of certayne exploites of warre that Phormyo dyd in the countrey of Acarnanie, and of the begynnyng of the same countrey.

The. xx. Chapter.

IN that self same wynter, whereof we speake, after tharmye by sea of the Peloponesians was retyred and dysseuered, Phormyo, with the people, that he had at Naupacte in armes, stalled towardes Astace. & Astacꝰ. beynge there arryued, sett on lande thre houndred of hys maroners all armed,

all armed, wyth almany Wellenians. with whome, he entred into the countrey mediterraine of Acarnanie. And oute of the townes of Strate, of Coronte, and out of many other, he chaled the inhabytantes, that semed vnto hym to be affectioned, or partyes wyth the Peloponesyans. And after that he had lefte agayne Cynetes, sonne of Theolyte within Coronte, he retourned into hys shyppes vnto hys people, and durste not go agaynste the Oeniades, who onely amongest the Acarnanyans, had alwayes bene ennemyes of the Athenyans. For feare, that he had to demoure and tary there in wynter seasonne. For that, that the ryuer of Achilous, which descendeth out of the mount Pyndus, and palleth by the Dolopyans, by the Amphilochiens, by the plat countrey of Acarnanie, and through the cytye of Strate, and after, by the countrey of Oeniades, and than commeth to descende into the sea: retourneth ryght agaynste the towne of the sayde Oeniades. In such sorte, that the countrey there is almoste not habytable in wynter, for men of warre. By cause of the contynuall crekes and wallynges away of the earthe, that it causeth. And also there be dyrectly agaynste the regyon of Oeniades certayne of the Illes Echinadians. whiche be very lytle differente frome the ouerflowynges of Achelous. For by the earth that the ryuer, whiche cometh frome the mountaynes as it were a flonde, doth carye thyder, some of the same, do ioygne vnto the mayne lande, and the people of the countreye do beleue, that by succellyon of tyme, they so shall ioygne togeder. For that, that it oftentymes reygneth there, whereby the ryuer groweth very grosse, which caryeth alway a great quantyte of sande. Also the Illes there, be very thicke or nygh toyned togeder, so that well nyghe, the one maigneteygneth the other togeder, by meanes of the refuse, that the ryuer bringeth thyder, not by order & in a range. For than the force of the ryuer wolde breake it. But one tyme in one place & an other tyme in an other, so that men coulde skarcely departe frome the same Illes into the sea, and also they be small, rude and deserte. And it is sayd, that whā Alcmeon sonne of Amphiaraus, had slayne hys mother, beynge by contynuall tourment of horryble vysions, constrained to wander through the worlde, and coulde not arreste in any parte, he was admonyshed by the oracle & aunswere of the God Apollo, to go to inhabyte in that lāde. For the said oracle aunswered hī in thys manner. that he shulde neuer be delyuered from thole fearefull vysyons, vntyll that tyme, that he had founde for to inhabite, the regyon, that hadde not bene sene of the sonne, & that had not bene lande, before the death of hys mother. For ẏ, that all other lande was prophane vnto hym, & accursed for the myslede of murder, ẏ he had comytted in the parsone of hys mother. Who, after ẏ he had longe studyed, howe that he might fynde thys lande, aduysed vnto himself, that it was the ouerflowinges of Achelous. In which place after the death of hys mother, was increased by the alluuyons or ouerwallynges, lande ynoughe for hys habytaciō, besydes that, which was there before, by meanes that he had now erred & wandred aboutes a longe tyme after the death of hys mother. And so he inhabyted & raigned there, nygh vnto the quarter, where be at thys presente the Oeniades. And by cause of hys sonne, named Acarnanus, he called that regyō Acarnanie. Thys is ẏ, which we haue vnderstāded of Alcmeō. And for to retourne to our hystorye, Phormion, being vnto the Athenians, that he brought agayne out of the countrey of Acarnanie vnto Naupacte, went in the beguning of the fyrste spring tyme to Athens by sea. And caryed away the prysoners, that they had takē in that warre, which were franke, & free, & not bonde men. The which al were bought agayne or redemed. Also they ledde wyth them the wastes of the shyppes, that they had taken. And thus passed the wynter, whiche was the ende of ẏ thyrde yeare of the warre, whereof Thucidides hath wrytten.

The ryuer of Achelous.

The moūt of Pindus

Achelous.

☞ Here endeth the seconde boke of Thucydides, & begynneth the thyrde.

CHowe the cytie of Mythilene, wyllynge to rebelle agaynste the Athenyans, was by them assieged, and howe they sente vnto the Peloponesyans for to haue succours, and of an ouerthrowe, that the sayde Athenyans hadde in Noricque.

The fyrste Chapter.

IN the begynnynge of the somer, whan the corne was alreadye greate, the Peloponesyans entred agayne into the Attique warre, vnder the conducte of Archidamus theyr kynge, pyllagynge and wastynge so, as they had accustomed, the other yeares. Howbeit the horsemen, that were in the cytye, came fourth oftetymes vpō the footemen of the ennemyes lyghtly armed, whiche came there the more parte to runne for to watche, that they shulde do no euyll to the places, nyghe to the cytye. And the sayde Peloponesyans demoured in that lande, so longe as they had victuayles, and after, euery man retourned into hys quarter. But at the begynnynge whan they were entredde: all the inhabytantes of the Isle of Lesbos, (excepted them of Methymne) were rebelled agaynste the Athenyans. and tourned vnto the Peloponesyans, whiche thynge they were mynded to haue done, before the begynninge of the warre. But the Lacedemonyans were not willyng to receyue them, and yet at that tyme dyd declare, that they were not therein determyned. For yf they shuld do it, they were of force constrained to forteiye theyr poortes, to make agayne and repayre theyr walles, and to make shyppes. And also they attended for victuayles, for archers and for other prouisyons, that they had sente to feke in the countrey of Ponte. But the Tenedyans, who were theyr ennemyes, the Methymnyens, and some particulars of the cytye of Mytilene, (which for the partakings that were in the towne, were become burgeoses of Athens) aduertyled the Athenyans that the cytezeins of the sayde towne of Mitilene, constrayned all the inhabytantes of the Isle, to comme vnto them, and to retyre into the cytye, to thintent to rebelle frome the sayde Athenyans. And that they made all the preparatyons to them possyble, for to do it, throughe the perswatyon of the Lacedemonyans, and of the Beotiens theyr parentes. In suche sorte, that yf the sayde Athenyans dyd not fourthwith prouyde therfore, they shulde lose the sayde Isle of Lesbos. Neuertheles those Athenyans, consydering that it shulde be a thyng very harde after the pestylence, that they had hadde, so greate, and bauynge the ennemies in theyr lande, to make a newe armye and enterpryse agaynst them of Lesbos, who were yet in theyr intier and hoole power, and had greate nomber of shyppes: they wolde not at begynnynge beleue that it was so, for that they were not wyllynge, that it shulde be so trewe. And they rebuked them, whiche made reaporte therof vnto thē, saying that it was nothing, and that they dyd yll to charge the sayde Mytilenians. Notwithstandyng after that the Comissaryes, whiche they had sente thyder for to knowe the trouthe, hadde reaported vnto them, that they of Mytilene, wolde not sende awaye the people of the Isle that they had caused to comme into theyr cytye, nor also desist and ceale from the preparations for warre, whiche they made: fearinge that they wolde rebelle, were mynded to preuente it. And sente into that partye, fourtye shyppes, whiche they had all made readye for to sende into Peloponese, vnder the con-

Cleipides. the conducte of Cleipides, sonne of Dynyn of two other Cappytaynes. For they were aduertysed, that tyght shortly shulde be the feaste of Apollo in Malaente, which is nyghe vnto the cytye of Mytilene, wherevnto all the cytezeins or the more parte of them came yearelye. Wherefore yf they hasted to go thyder, they myght take them there loubdaynely. and yf they coulde not execute that, yet commynge vpon them with that armye, they myght commaunde them to delyuer all theyr shyppes that they hadde, and to beate downe theyr walles. And in case they refused, to denounce warre agaynste them, before that they shulde be prouyded and fortefyed. For thys occasyon the Athenyans dyd sende the said fourtye shyppes, and moreouer reteignedde tenne galeys, which the Mytilenyans had sente vnto them, by vertue of the allyaunce. And all the men that were wythin them, they put into prysone. Notwithstandynge, one of the countreye, that was at Athens, departed wyth dyligence by sea, and came into Eubee, and from thence, by lande vnto Gereston. Where he founde a marchauntes shippe, whiche wolde departe from thence to sayle vnto the sayde Mytilenyans. Wherevnto he entred, and had so good wynde, that the thyrde daye after hys departure from Athens, he arryued at the porte of Mytilene. And incontynently aduertysed them of the towne, of the commynge of the Athenyans shippes. which vnderstode, they went not fourth the daye of the feaste for to go to Malaente. & also they cauled with all dylygence to repayre theyr walles, where they were fallen downe, and to fortefye theyr porte the beste that they myght. Anone after, arryued the shyppes of Athens. Who seyng the apparayle and preparatyō that the cytezeins dyd make, expounded vnto them the charge that they had to commaunde them. That they shulde delyuer theyr shyppes, and beate downe their walles. And seyng that they dyd refuseit, they prepared themselfe to comme for to assayle them. Wherby they of the towne, as people surprysed and betrapped, although that at begynnyng they yssued to the mouthe of poarte, makyng threatenynges to be wyllynge to fyght: Yet after that they dyd see the shyppes of the Athenyans commynge agaynste them, they retyred and came to a parliamente wyth the Cappytaynes of the Athenyans. And fynally they sayde, that they were contente to render all theyr shyppes, yf they myght haue any good compositiō and raysonnable appoinctment of the reste, wyth the Athenyans. Wherevnto ỹ Cappytaynes dyd agree wyllynglye, fearynge also that they were not myghtye ynough for to subdue all the Isle. And vpon thys, they toke truse. Duryng the whiche, they of Mytelyne sent in Ambassade vnto the Athenyans, some of theyr cytezeins. amongest whome, was one, that had discouered the reuolte and rebellyon to the sayde Athenyans. Who afterwarde had chaunged opynyon for to se, yf they coulde so well excuse the case and pourge the suspytyon vnto the Athenyans, that they wolde be contente to call backe theyr armye by sea, whiche was at Mytilene. And neuertheles on the other syde, they sente other messengers vpō a gallyon to the Lacedemonyans, wythoute knowelayge of the Athenyans, whiche helde the porte allieged. For that, that theyr armye kepte themselfe on the northe syde of the sayde porte towardes Malee. And thys dyd the sayd Mytilenyans, for that they had no hope, that they, whiche they had sent to Athenes, shulde obteygne any thynge to theyr intente. So the sayde Ambassadours, that wente to Lacedemonye, dyd make marueylous dylygence for to perswade the Lacedemonyans to sende succoure vnto them of Mytilene. And in the meane tyme, came agayne the Messengers, that were gone vnto Athens. who haynge made reaporte, that they coulde obteygne nothynge, the cytye and all the Yle armed themselfe, for to resiste. Reserued Methymne, whiche toke part wyth the

Athenyans.

Athenyan. And so dyd the Imbrians, the Lymnyens & some other of the Iles, being theyr next cõfederates. And hauyng made one assaulte vpon the campe of the Athenyans, though they had not had the worse, yet durste they not demoure nor abyde vpon the campe. Nother afterwardes they durste yssue fourthe, but they kepte themselfe wythin the cytye, attendynge and lokynge, yf anye succoure wolde come vnto them frome Peloponese or elleswhere. Certayne tyme after, arryued Meleas Laconyon, and Hermeonidas Thebayne. Who thoughe they brought them no succoure, were dyspatched for to come towardes the Mytilenyens before theyr reuolte or rebellyon, for to empesche and lett the commynge of the Athenyans. But seynge that they had bene preuented, they cauled themselfe to be brought pryuely vpon a Brygantyne vnto the towne, after the battaylle, that was made at the assaulte, whereof we haue spoken. And they counsayled them of the towne, that they shulde sende with them some Imbassade vpõ a lyght galley. Which they dyd. Seyng than the Athenyans, ỳ the Mytylenyens durst no more comme fourth, they toke the more courage, and cõmaunded theyr allyes to comme and to strengthen theyr armye. Who came thyder wyllingly, thinkynge that wythoute greate payne they shulde ouercome the Lesbyens. And so they besieged the cytye on two sydes towardes the lande, and they fyrmed theyr two sieges wyth walles. And moreouer they dyd sett a greate garnysone wyth shyppes at the entrye of two portes, so that they of the towne coulde haue no vsage of the sea. But on the lande syde they dyd kepe all. For the Athenyans occupyed not but a very lytle about theyr campe, forsomuch as they had made, theyr estaple of victuayles, and the sourme of theyr shyppes at Malee. In suche sorte were the affayres at Mytylene. In that selfe same sayson, the Athenyans sent aboute thyrty shyppes from Peloponese vnder the cõducte of Alopius, sonne of Phormyon, at the requeste of the Acarnanians. Who had prayed them that they would sende to that enterprysse some one of the chyldren or of the parentes of the sayde Phormyo. The same Alopius wyth hys shyppes pyllaged and dyd fourrage many places by the sea syde in the countrey of Lacone, and after retyred vnto Naupacte wyth twelue of the sayde shyppes. And the other he sente agayne vnto theyr houses. Afterwardes, hauynge assembled all the puyssance of the Acarnanyans, he wente to make warre vpon the Eneiades. And he by sea came to rushe vpon the shyppes of the Acheloyans. And the sayde Acarnanyens came by lande, to pyllage all the countrey. But seynge, ỳ he coulde not comme to the ende of hys enterprysse, he sente away hys armye by lande, and he wyth hys twelue shyppes toke hys course for to sayle into Leucadye. Neuertheles, beynge descended in Noricque, as he wolde haue retyred into hys shyppes, he was slayne, wyth one parte of hys souldyars, by the people of ỳ toune, with the ayde of certayne souldyours, that they had in very small nõber. And the other, after that they had recouered theyr deade of the Noricques, and by thys meane confessed that they had had the victory, they retourned frõthence. In these entermedlynges, the Imbassadours, that the Mytylenians, had furste sente vnto the Lacedemonyans, hauynge by those Lacedemonians bene referred to the nexte assemble, that shulde be made of all Greece, in the place of Olympe, to thyntent that they beynge harde in the presence of all the confederates, the affayre shuld be determyned by common aduyse: they cõminge together at the tyme of the feaste, whan Dorycus Athenyan wonne the pryze, and after that the feaste and playes were acheued and ended, the confederates beynge assembled to consulte of theyr affayres generall, the Imbassadours were called, who dyd speake in thys manner.

Meleas.

Hermeonidas.

Alopius

Nericii.

The propoſition and ſpeakinge of the Mytilenyens vnto the aſſemblye of the allyes and confederates of Grece.

☞ The.ii.Chapter.

WE do well vnderſtande, Lordes Lacedemonyans and you other confederates, that it is accuſtomed amonge the Grekes (whiche is veray raylonable) that whan they wythdrawe in tyme of warre, anye, from the allyance of theyr enemyes, vnto theyrs: they intreate thē very welle, ſo farre, as they ſerue for theyr profyt. But afterwardes, conſyderyng that they haue betrayed theyr furſte and auncyent frendes, they repute them for to be vnhappy or naughty people, and thynke that they wolde do worſer vnto them. whiche thynge were very raylonable, yf the thynges were egalle on the behalfe of them, that do rebelle, and on the behalfe of thoſe, whom they forſake. For yf they be egall of force and preparatiō, as of wylle and amytie there is no reaſonable caule whye they ſhulde habandone nor leaue the one, the other. But that hath no place betwene the Athenians and vs. The which thyng we wyll gladly declare, to the intente that youe eſteme vs not for noughtye and wycked. And iudge, that we do dyſſolutely and cowardely, yf we forſake them in tyme of warre, hauynge bythē bene honored in tyme of peace. For inaſmuche as we come hyther for to requyre to bereceyued into y our allyaūce, we woll gladly before all thynges both iuſtyfye our cauſe & alſo do our vertue to be knowē. For y that the amytye amonge the partycular people, and the confederatyon amonge the tytyes cannot be honnorable nor pardurable, yf there be not a mutuell oppynyon of vertue on both partes. And in the reſte, a conionction and a conformitte of manners and of wylle. For where the wylles be dyſcrepante and dyſagreynge, the actes and operations be lykewyſe. Wherfore to the intente that youe ſhulde vnderſtande, howe we haue proceded with the Athenyans, we made allyaunce wyth them, whan youe departed frome the armys after the warres of Medes, & that they purſued the reſte of the warre and of the enmemys. Whiche allyaunce we made not wyth them for to ſubdue the Grekes, but for to delyuer them frō the ſeruytude of the Medes. For thys cauſe, ſo longe as they contynued in good compaignye, we haue followed them with good and entier wylle. But whan we knewe that they hadde forgotten theyr enmyte agaynſte the Medes, and that they wente aboute to reduce and bryngе theyr compaignyons and allyes into theyr ſubiectyon: we were afrayde. Neuertheles for ſo muche, as it was not laufull nor an ealye thynge to thoſe confederates to reallye themſelfe togeders, for to wythſtande the byolence, whiche the ſayde Athenyans wolde do vnto them, for the multytude and dyuerſyte of oppynyons, that muſt be hadde in ſuche cale: all the other confederates, excepte vs, and them of Chio, haue bene by the ſayde Athenyans ſubdued and brought into theyr ſubiection & obeiſſance. And though that we haue ſente of oure people to theyr aſſemblyes and commaundementes, as theyr allyes and confederates, and be takenne and named for ſuche, yet for truthe we neuer dyd take them for oure laufull dukes and headdes. For that it was not to be beleued, ſythēs that they had reduced into ſeruytude the other, that were compryſed in the ſelfe allyaunce, that we haue wyth them: but that they wolde do the lyke vnto vs, whan they ſhulde ſee theyr opportunytie. For yf we had bene all yet in oure lybertye, we myght haue had more ſaythe in them. But hauynge ſubdued the more parte, it is to beleue, that they wolde take it more

more displeasauntlye, that we woulde repute oure selfe egall to them in common affayres, and that we alone wolde accompanye our selfe wyth them, where all the other obeye them. Cõsydered chiefly, that howe muche they arne become more myghtye, we do remayne so muche the worse accompaignyed. Nother there is anye thynge that maketh so muche the allyaunce to be faythfull and pardurable, as doth the mutuell feare, that one of the allyes hath of the other. For he that wolde violate and breake it on hys partie, whan he consydereth ẏ the other is as puyssant as he, he feareth to assayle it. And that they haue permitted and suffred vs vnto thys presente to lyue in libertye, it hath not bene for any other reasonne, but for that they wente aboute to establysshe theyr principalitie, rather vnder couloure of some reasone and of counsayle, than by manifest force. And also to the ende, that yf they made warre agaynste any of them (that they had subdued for any faulte, which they had done agaynste thẽ) they myghte mustrye them selfe, sayinge that yf the same warre had not bene reasonable, we and the other that were yet in lybertye, and hadde lyke auctorytie as they: wolde not haue gone thyder. For thys cause, they haue many tymes assembled a great puissance agaynste people, very weake. To thyntente, that hauynge by a lytle ⁊ lytle reduced the one after the other, they that remayned, shulde be so muche more weake. There, where yf they had begonne wyth vs (the other, stylle beynge in theyr entier and not subdewed) they coulde not haue done it so easelye. Also they wolde haue had some feare of oure shyppes, and wolde haue doubted, that yf we had assembled them all togeder, and wolde haue drawen vnto you or anye other, that it shulde haue bene to theyr dommayge. And on the other parte, we be saulfe from them by flatterynge and entertaynynge theyr seignioryе by swete meanes. And so endure all theyr gouernementes vntyll thys presente. But yf that thys warre had not bene begonne, that coulde not longe haue endured, as it maye appeare by therample of other. What amytye coulde thys than be, or what confydence coulde we haue had of true lybertye where the one do gratefye the other agaynste theyr opynyon, to wytt, they by flatterynge vs in tyme of warre for feare that they haue to displease vs, ⁊ to prouoke oure anger: and we do the lyke to them in tyme of peace, for the selfe consyderatyon. And so ẏ, whiche amytie and benevolence hath made stable and faythfull amonge other allyes: causeth feare betwene vs. And for effecte, we haue parsevered and contynued in thys allyaunce and socyete for feare, and not for loue. In suche manner that the same of vs, that somest had founde meane to breake it wythout feare of daunger, was redye to declare hymselfe, to be the furst. And yf any iudge vs, to haue done evyll to preuent and comme before, and that we shulde haue taryed vntyl they had declared theyr yll wylle, whiche we thought that they had had, consyderynge that yet they had not shewed it: he taketh it not welle. For that myght haue had apparaunce, yf we had had the facultye and power to elype and tarye our tourne, as they: and that in that case, there had bene no daunger to be vnder them, beynge as puyssant, as they be. But consydered that they had alwayes the meane and power to enterprise vpon vs, whan they shulde haue wylled, it was reasonable that we shulde furste take it, whan we dyd see opportunyte. Thies be than the causes (Lordes Lacedemonyans and confederates) for the whiche we depart our selues frõ the Athenyãs, which we thinke clere ⁊ raysonable to al mẽ, ẏ vnderstande thẽ, ⁊ sufficient on our behalfe for to put vs in dreade ⁊ feare. And to geue vs occasyon to seke some succoure. which thinge we had nowe determyned to do before the warre begãne, and for that cause dyd sende our messengers

towardes youe, for to demaunde youre allyance. But beynge by youe refected & denyed, we coulde not obteygne nor execute it. Whereunto nowe haueynge bene moued by the Beotians, we haue done it readely and wythoute delaye. Perſuadynge oure ſelues that oure reuolte and tournynge from them is iuſtyfyed by two great reaſons. The one to the intente, ỳ not perſeuering on the partye of the Athenyans, we ſhulde not be aydynge to ſubdue Greece, but rather wyth youe the other, we ſhuld helpe to defende hys lybertye: ỳ other, for to defēde our lyberty ſpecyally, & that in tyme to comme, we be not ſubdued, as the other. And yet neuertheles we be declared to be to ſwyfte or to haſty. Wherfore it is nedefulle, that youe vſe the more dylygence to ſuccoure vs, and that youe ſhewe in effecte at thys poynte, that youe wyll both defende thē, that youe ought: & alſo that youe wylle nope youre ennempes, in all ſortes that youe can. whiche thynge to do, youe haue nowe greater opportunyte, than euer men had. For that, that the Athenyans be vnprouyded, of men, by meanes of the peſtylence: and of monneye, by meanes of the warre. And alſo theyr ſhyppes be dyſparſed, ſome of them into youre quarter of Peloponeſe, and the other into ours, for to watche vs. In ſuch manner, that it is not to beleue, that they can rayſe anye greate nomber, yf youe go to aſſayle them preſently at begynnynge of thys ſommer by ſea. and by lāde. But rather it is to beleue, ỳ aythet youe ſhalbe more myghtye thā they by ſea, or at the leaſte that they cannot reſiſte youre puyſſance ioynned wyth ours. And yf there be any that woll ſaye, that youe ſhulde not put youre lande in daunger, for to defende ours, that is farre frome you: I ſaye vnto youe, that the ſame mā, that eſteemeth the Ile of Lesbos to be farre of, ſhall knowe by effecte, that the profyt, that he ſhall haue thereby, ſhalbe nyghe. For the warre ſhalbe made by thys meane not after the ſorte that they thynke for. But it ſhalbe made in the place, from whence, Athens it ſelfe taketh & rayſeth the monney and profit. For theyr reuenues is taken vpon theyr allies. which yet wolbe greater, whā they ſhal haue brought vs to theyr ſubiectyon. For none of the other ſhall thā be bolde to rebell more agaynſte them. And of the other parte oure goodes ſhalbe theyrs. And alſo we ſhalbe worſe entreated than they, that haue bene before tyme ſubdued. But yf you ſuccoure vs redely, ye ſhall haue in your power a cytye habundante wyth great ſhyppes, wherof youe haue nede. And alſo youe maye more eaſelye deſtroye the Athenyans, in retynynge and withdrawynge theyr allyes. For the other, by oure example, ſhall haue more audacytie to do the lyke. And alſo youe ſhall take awaye the cupll oppynyon, that the people haue of youe, ỳ youe woll not receyue them, that come for to offre themſelfe to youre allyance. Be abaſhedde than Lordes, to defraude & fruſtrate the hope, that the Grekes haue of youe, and alſo the religyon of the God Apollo. In whoſe temple we be here, as people that requyre mercy and franchyſe. Receyue vs into youre allyaunce, and ſuffre vs not to be a prayse vnto the Athenyans, to the partyculer dangier of our parſones. For in receyuynge vs, ſhall followe the generall profite of the leage of Greece. And yf you habandone and forſake vs, there woll followe a dyſaduantage, yet more generall. Therfore ſhewe youre ſelfe, Lordes, ſuche men, as the Grekes eſteme youe to be, & as oure neceſſyte requyreth. After that the Mytylenyens had thus ſpoken, the Lacedemonyans and the other allyes concluded to receyue them into theyr allyaunce. And thoſe ſame Lacedemonyans, takyng the charge to entre agayne that ſame yeare into the lande of Athens, commaunded the other allyes, that they ſhulde be ready, allone ys they myght, for to ſourny by bothe partyes of the armye.

Of certayne

Of certayne great preparations and some smalle exploictes, that were done the same yeare, on the one syde and of the other.

☞ The.iii.Chapter.

IN ensuynge thys resolutyon taken at Olympe, the Lacedemonyãs nyghe the dystreate of Peloponese, made theyr preparation of the sotemen, for to bestowe them in theyr shyppes. And afterwardes to cause them to assemble at Corynthe. And from thence to sende them by sea to the coste of Athens, for to assayle the Athenyans both by sea and by lande. And vsed greate dylygence to make theyr sayde preparations. But thallyes of the countreye, vsed greate neglygence, alwell for that, that they were occupyed to gather in theyr fruytes, as also for that, that the warre beganne to noye them. Whan the Athenyans dyd vnderstande the preparatyons of the Peloponesyans, and that by that, they therin dyd, it semed, that they thought, that the puyssance of Thathenyans was greately debilitated and weakened: they armed an houndred shyppes, for to shewe that they were yet moze puyssant than thennemyes dyd thynke. And that wythoute retyrynge and callynge backe the armye by sea, that they had in Lesbos, they had shyppes and power ynough for to resiste them of Peloponese, yf they came to assayle them. And within the said shyppes, they shypped all the cytezeins and inhadytantes of the towne, reserued the knyghtes and the pryncypall gouernours. Who, goynge agaynste the countrey of Peloponese, passed by before the destreate, to the intent that the ennemies myght see them. And also landed in the sayde countrey, where as they thought good. Whereby the Lacedemonyans that were in the same distreate, seynge the nombre of the shyppes muche moze greate, than they dyd thinke: Imagyned that the Mytylenyans had sayned wyth them, wyth that, that they had sayde, and they thought that they hadde enterprysed to greate a matter, consydered, that the allyes dyd not comme. Wherefore, and vnderstandynge moze ouer, that the shyppes of Thathenyans, ỳ were on the coste of Peloponese, dyd pyllage the countrey aboute theyr cytye, they retourned vnto theyr houses. And after, they caused shyppes to be made fourthe, for to sende into Lesbos, and commaunded the confederates and allyes that they shulde furnyshe to the nombre of thyrty shyppes for the sayde voyage. whereof they gaue the conducte vnto Alcydas. On the other syde, the houndred shyppes of the Athenyans, whan they vnderstode that the Lacedemonyans were retyred, they retourned lykewyse. And ỳ same armye was the sayrest and the best appoincted, that the Athenyans had euer had. Althoughe that aboute the begynnynge of the warre, they had welle as greate nombre of shyppes or moze. For they therein had one houndredde to defende Athens, Eubee and Salamyne, and they had almanye that wente in and oute aboute Peloponese, besydes those, that they had at Potydee and in other places, whiche they kepte vpon the sea, durynge all one sommer. Also the expences of the same armye by sea, & the same that they made at Potidee, consumed greatly their money. For the men of warre ỳ defended Potidee, which were at begynning. iii. thousand (& so many were they, ỳ besieged it) & besides thẽ. ỳ. xvi. houdred, ỳ went vñ Phormiõ: had .i. grotes of soulde euery mã by day, to wyt ỳ

one for theyr lyuynge, and the other for the lyuynge of theyr seruaunte, and so muche all they hadde that were in the shyppes. In thys manner the Athenyans were furste at greate expences, and also prouyded of suche and so greate nomber of shyppes, at the self tyme, whan the Lacedemonyans were in the dystreate. The Mytylenyans, wyth certayne souldyars of theyr allies, made warre agaīst them of Mythymne, hoppynge to haue it by treasone of some of the towne. But whan they had donne theyr beste on ẏ syde where they thought to haue theyr intellygence and purpose, and seynge that they were deceyued, they wente into
Antilla. Antylle, into Pyre and into Eresse, which cytyes they forteyped in the beste man
Pyra. ner that they coulde, aswell in repayrynge the walles, as otherwyse. Afterwar-
Eressus des they retourned wyth great dylygence to Mytylene. Soone after theyr departure, the Methymnyens came wyth theyr power agaynste Antylle, thinking to take it by force, but they were repoulsed by them of the towne and by certaine souldyars estraungers, that they had, wyth greate losse of theyr people, and retourned with shame. Of whiche thynges the Athenyans beynge aduertysed, and also howe ẏ the Mytylenyans dyd holde the Isle of Lesbos at theyr wylle, so that the people, that were at the siege, coulde not empesche them: they sente a-
Pachetes. boute the begynnynge of Autumne, Paches, the sonne of Epicurus, wt a thousande men of theyr people. who beyng enbarqued, they sayled vntil they were landed at Mytylene. Beynge at whiche place, they enclosed the cytye wyth a symple walle. And in many places therof, they sett vp towers in maner as it were assieged aswell on the lande syde, as of the same of the sea very straygthly. And so wynter drewe nyghe. But for so muche as the expences were very greate, and that the common monney nowe sayled the Athenyans, they beganne than (for to furnyshe the sayde siege) to set a tare vpon them, vnto the somme of two hoc-
Lysicles dred talentes. And so they sent Lysicles, and certayne other commyssarye, with twelue shyppes towardes theyr confederates, for to leuye on them a newe ayde. whiche Lysicles, hauynge exacted of many cytyes marytyme or nyghe the sea, a sufficyente greate somme, as he trauersed the countrey of Carye, throughe the lande of Meandre, at departure frō Meunte, beyng now come to ẏ mountaigne
Sandi collis. of Sandia, he was by the Caryens and Antylys assaulted and slayne, wyth one partye of hys people.

¶ Howe the Athenians, that were assieged within Platee, and one parte of the cytezeyns, dyd saue themselfe by greate trauayle and vertue, and passed all the walles, dyches, and fortes of the Peloponesyans, that kepte them assieged.

☞ The.iiii. Chapter.

IN the selfe wynter, the Plateans, beynge contynually assieged, & greatly oppressed by the Peloponesians, and by the Beotiens, and not hauynge any hope of succours of the Athenyans, nor to saue them selfe by other meane: aduysed wyth the Athenyans, that were in the towne assieged wyth them, to saue them al togeders ouer the walles of thememyes, yf they myght do it by force of armes. Of the which enterprise, the said Athenians
Theoenetus. were the inuentours, chiefly Theenetus, sonne of Timidas, whiche toke vpon
Enpolpidas. hym to deuyse, and Eupoldyda, sonne of Dymalchus. But for that, that it semed vnto them to be to dyffycyle and harde, the more halfe wythdrewe them selfe, so ẏ there remayned not, but about two houndzed & twenty, ẏ dyd execute it in the

pt in the manner as foloweth. They made ladders of the heigh of the sayd wall, whiche heith they tooke by seing & calculatinge the greatnes and thyckenes of the brickes, wherof the walle was made. nombrynge the rankes thereof, frome the toppe to the bottome, whiche thinge they mighte easely do by succession of tyme, there, where the walle was vncouered on their side. And likewyse they did calculate that whiche might transtende and be ouer the ioynters or byndinge togiders of the sayd bricques. And forsomuche as in that poinct one only man might well faille, many enterprysed to do pt at sundry tymes. In suche sorte that they made their ladders of that same highnes. Nowe the sayde walle was double, to wytte, the one towardes the towne to kepe them that they shulde not issue out, and the other towarde the felde to defende, that the succours of the Atheuyans shulde not therinto enter, Distant the space of .xvi. foote, the one from the othere. wherein bitwene bothe were the lodginges and sheddes of them that kepte pt, separated the one from the other, but so thicke and so nighe, that the two walles semed to be but one, reserued that they had creneaulx all alonge, and from tenne into tenne Creuaulx, there was a greate tower, whiche helde the one walle wyth the other, so that one couldc not passe bitwene the walles, but through the mid of the sayd towers, wherein, they that kepte watche in the night, withdrewe thē selfe, whan pt raigned or was fowle wether. For that they were there couered, and also they were not farre from the Creueux or Looupe hooles. Than they of the towne, knowinge the manner of the watche, espied a night whan it greately did rayne and blow, and that there was no moone shyne. And vnder the conduict of those same, that had bene inuentours of thenterprise, they passed furst the dyche that was on their syde, and came vnto the foote of the walle, without being perceyued of the ennemys, by rayson that the obscurite and darkenes of the nighte did lett them to see, and thenoyse or brute of the wynde and rayne, to heare. Also they went alonge, and separated the one from the other, that their harnois shuld make no noyse by touchinge togither. And also they were light armed, and they had but the lefte foote hoased for to kepe them frō sticking in the mudde. Nowe whan they had raysed vp their ladders againste the Creueux, where they perceyued that no body was, they that had broughte those ladders did furste clyme vp. After, a douseme other did amounte armed onely of their bodys wyth harnes and with a dagger in their hande. Of the whiche .xii. the furst and the chiefe was Amneas, sonne of Corebus. And sire of the said .xii. that came after hym, amounted to the toppe of the two towers, bitwene the whiche, were the Creueux right against ꝑ ladders, that were raised vp. After thies twelue, other did amoūte being armed as afore said, and did moreouer cary with them, dartes fastened behinde their backes, that they shuld not empesche, nor hynder them to clyme vp. Some other, caryed after them, targats or shildes to delyuer them, whan they shulde be wyth thennemys hande to hande. But after that many were mounted vp, they that watchedde within the towers perceyued them, by meanes that one of the Plateans in skaflinge, did caste downe a tyle from one of the Creuelles, to the noise whereof, the watche did crye. At whiche their cry, the campe was so afrayed, that they came all to the walle not knowynge what it was, by meanes of the night, or of the fowle whether. And on the other syde, the Plateans that remayned in the towne, issued fourth and came to assaulte the walle, in othere places, clene cōtrary to the other where they skailed, for to deceyue thennemys, in such manner, that they were all abashed what it mighte be, and did not remoue themself. Also they that watched within the towers dust not issue fourth, studying and debatinge amongeste themselfe what it might be. Yet the thre houndredde Amneas.

that had the charge to succour the watche, did light fyer on the coste of Thebes for to signefie the cõming of thẽnemis. But they that remayned within ẏ towne, preuẽtinge ẏ same, did likewyse light a great quãtitie therof vpõ their wal, which they had prepared to the ende, that thennemys shuld not knowe, wherfore thyes fyers were made. And that their compaignyons might by this meane saue thẽ-selfe bifore that any succour came vnto the watche. During this tyme they that were furst mounted, dyd winne the two towers and did kille thẽ, that they foũde within, for to kepe them, to thintẽt that none of thẽnemys shuld not come there. afterwardes they cauled the other to amounte, whiche yet were not mounted, & so repoulsed with strokes of dartes, and of stones, them, that came to succour the walle, aswell by lowe as at the toppe. By meane whereof, they that were not yet amounted had leasure and occasion to rayse vp a greater nõber of ladders. And moreouer they that had gaigned and gotten the height of the walle, didde beate downe the Creuelles within fourth, to thintent that they, that mounted, might-e more easely leape vp. And euery of them after that they were aboue, did cast stones and other dartes againste thennemys, that came vpon the dyche side on the outside, for to succour their people, that were vpon the walle. In suche manner, that all they, that shulde passe fourth, did amounte. though that the laste hadde therin greate payne. Afterwardes they all went downe from the towers to the dyche wythoutfourth, where they founde on the othere syde the three houndzed that had charge to succour the watche, & that had lighted the bekens. By meane wherof they were in playne light, by light of ẏ sayd bekens, & also it did let thẽ to see the other that were on the other syde: wherupon beinge by occasion hereof in faire light, and also that they were vpon the syde of the diche in discouert: they ẏ were vom, did repoulse thẽ võ force of dartes & so did hurt many. Thus they all did passe ẏ diche, though võ greate difficultie, for that the water was halfe frosen so ẏ ther were great flakes of Isse. And also it couldenot beare thẽ, & that was by meane of the south wynde that had thawed it. It rayned also, by reason wherof, the water was so increased that it came in a manner vnto their chynne. And they pourpously had cholen ẏ same tyme. After that they had passed ẏ dyche, lockyng or ioyninge thẽselfe togiders, they toke the way, that leadeth to Thebes, leauing on the side of the right hande the sepulcre of Andocratus. And this they dyd, con-sideringe that the Peloponesians wolde neuer thinke that they wolde take that same way, that did leade vnto their ennemys, and also for that they did see that the said Peloponesians had lighte wyth fyers and beakens, all full vpõ the way towardes Athens. But after ẏ they had gone lire or seuẽ stades towardes The-bes they lefte that way, and toke on the syde the way, that goithe to the moun-taigne of Erithre and of Nylie, and throughe that countrey of moũtaignes, they came vnto Athenes and were two houndzedde and twelue in all. For the other, senge the difficultie, retyred into the towne of Platee, excepte one, that was slayn in the dyche. The Peloponesyans, after that the bruyt was passe, retyred euery one vnto his lodginge in the campe. And as touchinge them of the towne, they knewe not if their compaignyons were in saulstie, or not. And for that, that they of their bende that were retourned, had saied that they were all deade, they sente whan yt was daye, their Herault towardes them of the siege for to haue the deade bodys, but vnderstandinge that they were saulse, they made no further pourslute. In this manner, parte of them, that were within the towne of Platee, did passe all the fortes and rampares of the ennemyes, and saued themselues.

How the Mytilenians for fault of not being succoured in time, as the Peloponesians had promysed, did render themself to the Athenians. and ỹ determynation that was made by those Athenyans to kylle them all togider, with certaine other thinges, that were done in the same tyme, by the people of the one partie and of the other.

☞ The.v. Chapter.

ABoute the ende of that same wynter, the Lacedemonyans did send in a light galley one Salethus vnto Mytylene. who beinge landed at Pyreus, came a fote well nighe vnto the campe. and entred by nyght into the towne throughe ỹ shallowe of a streame, which passed ouerthwart the rampers of thennemys, wherof he was aduertysed. And he did signifie vnto the principallest and chiefest of the towne, that he was comme to aduertise them, howe the Lacedemonyans and other confederates shulde shortly enter in armes into the lande of Athens, and to sende them foorty shippes to their succours, as it was ordeynedde, and moreouer to prouyde in the meane tyme with thē in that, that was to be done in the cytie. By meane whereof, the Mytilenyās were slacke or retarded to make any appointement with the Athenyans. And so passed the fourth yeare of this warre. In the beginning of the sommer following the Peloponesians, sendinge Alcidas their Cappytayne general by sea wyth forty shippes for to succour the Mytylenyans, they, wyth their confederates, entred a freshe into the lande of Athens, to thintent, that Thathenyans, seinge themselfe assayled and thronged on both sides, shulde haue lesse occation to sende renforte or newe strength by sea to the siege of Mytylene. And of that army by land, Cleomenes was chief, in the name and as tutor of Paulanias sonne of Plistenactus, hys ponger brother in years, than kyng of the Lacedemonyans. In whiche cōmyng, they destroyed afresh ỹ, that was encreased agayn & newly spronge in the countreys that they had wasted, the yeares preceadinge. And moreouer all the quartiers, where they neuer had touched before. By meanes whereof that same entry was more greuous to the Athenyans, than all the other before, excepte the seconde. For somuche as the ennemys, attendinge newes, that their armye by sea had done some greate exploicte in the Ile of Lesbos, where they thought it was than arryued, they dydde pillage and destroye alle, asmuche, as they founde before them. But vnderstanding afterwardes, that their enterprise of Lesbos failed, haninge also lacke of victuailes, they returned euery one into his quartier. In this meane tyme, the Mytilenians, seing that ỹ succours of the Peloponesiās came not, and that the victuailes failed them, they were constrayned to take appointement with the Athenians. wherof Salethus himself was the cause. who lokinge no more for the said succours, cauled the armure to be delyuered to the people of the towne, whyche had not yet before borne them. to the intent to cause them to issue fourthe vpon Thathenyans. And whan they had receyued the armure, they wolde no lenger obey the officers, but they made greate assemblies & came to the gouernours and riche people of the towne, sayinge, that they would that all the goodes and victuailes shulde be putt in commone and parted by the hedde, and that if they so dyd nott, they wolde delyuer the towne vnto the Athenyans. whych sene by the said gouernours, and principallest: and fearing that the comon people shulde make an appointement a parte, without includinge them therin (whiche thinge they might do at their will for that they were the strōger)

Salethus.

Alcidas.

Cleomenes.

they

they made all togyders their appoinctement wyth Paches and the Athenyans. vpon this condition that they shulde receyue tharmye into the cytie, and sende their Imbassadours vnto the Athenyãs, to requyre grace, cõmyttinge into their wille and discretion the satisfaction and amendes, that those Mytylenyẽs had to make for their offence. And this duryng, & vntill thaunswere were comme from Athens, it shulde not be lawfull to the said Paches to kylle, bynde nor take prysonner, any of the Citezeins. whiche appoinctement notwithstandinge, they that had bene the principallest conductours of the reuolte or rebellyon, after that the hoste was entred into the towne, they withdrew themselfe into the temples for franchise & sanctuary. whome Paches did finde a manner to cause to cõme fromthence and sent them into the Isle of Tenedon, vntill that he had thaunswere frõ Athenes. And after, he sente a certayne nomber of galleis vnto Antisse, whiche rẽdred itselfe vnto his wylle. And further he ordened touchinge the hooste, as he thought good. In thies entrefaictes, the forty ships with the Peloponesians, that shuld come to the succours of the said Mytyleniens, kepte thẽselfe longe in secret about Peloponese, & also vsed very small diligẽce. Yet they arryued at Delos before that the Athenyans parceyued them, & fromthence they came to Clarus & to Myconus, where they furst did vnderstand that the towne of Mytylene was rendred and geuenne ouer, and yet neuerthelas the better to know the trouth of the matter, they came vnto Embatus, in the countreie of Erythreus. Beinge in which place, and vnderstãding for trouth that it was than. vii. dayes passed sens the said cytie of Mytylene rendred itself, they helde counsaill amonge themselfe for to determyne what they had to do. wherupõ Teuctaplus ỹ Helyẽ, did speake in this manner. Alcide & youe other my compaignions and collegues, whiche be here Capytaines of this armye for the Peloponesians, this is my aduyse, that we go straighte to Mytylene bifore that the Athenyans be aduertysed of oure commynge. For it is to bileue that we shall fynde many thynges yll warded and kepte, as it comonly chaunceth in a towne newly takenne, and specially on the sea side, wherby they doubted not that anye succours shulde comme, and we be very stronge. It is also to beleue that their souldyars be disparsed and ronne out of order throughe the lodgynges, as men haue accustomed, whan they haue the victorie. wherfore I thinke and haue good hope that if we go to lande there by night, & assayle thẽ soubdainly, wyth the ayde of thẽ of the towne (if there be any that be affectioned to our partie) we shall haue honnour of oure enterpryse. And we oughte not to feare the daungier. But oughte to remember that, that is comonly said of the feates of warre, whyche ys that they be varyable. There ys no other matter, but by those meanes, as I do shewe youe. For if the Capytaine do kepe hym self at his defence, and espieth his ennemye and canne assayle hym vp his aduauntaige, he commeth oftentymes to the beste of his enterpryses. Thus didde speake Teuctaplus. But yet neuerthelas, he coulde not drawe Alcidus to his opynyon. Some other bannished from Ionũ and from Lesbos, which were in that armye, shewedde the sayde Alcidus, that fithens he feared the daunger to goo to Mytylene, he shulde go to take one of the Cyties of Ionum, orelles the cytie of Cumes in the countreye of Eolide, from whence they mighte goo and cause the Ionyans to rebelle agaynste the Athenyans, for they thoughte, that they shulde goo into none place, where they shulde not be receyuedde at theire wylle and plesure. And by thys meanes, that they shulde take fro the Athenyans a greate reuenue, that they leuyed vpon that countrey, and also shulde recouer vnto them, that, whiche shulde be sufficient for to entertayne and paye their armye, if they tarryed there any tyme. And also they sayed, that they had esperance, ỹ

Clarus.
Myconus.
Embatus.
The spe kinge of Teuctaplus.
Cuma

Pilluthnes wolde tourne to their parte. But Alcidus was not of this oppynyon, Pilluthne.
nor yet of the othere bifore. And vnto his, the gretest parte of them, that were in
that same counsaille, did agre. whiche was, that sithens they had failed of the en-
terprise at Mytilene they shulde wythoute longer taryinge, retourne into their
countrey. whiche thinge they did. Beinge than departed from the porte of Em-
batus, they came to arrywe at the Isle of Myonesus, whiche is bilonginge to Myone-
the Teyens. At whiche place he caused to be slayne manye prysonners that he sus.
had taken in that same sayling on the sea. By reasone wherof, whan he was arry-
ued at Ephesus, the Imbassadours of the Enyens, that be in ỹ Isle of Samos, Ene.
came vnto hym, and shewed him that the lybertie of Grece was not well maig-
teigned to kille them, that were not ennemys, and had not taken armure against
them, but were allyed onely with the Athenyans throughe necessitie. And that if
he contynued so to do, he shulde neuer withdrawe the confederates frome the
Athenyans to the allyance of the Peloponesians, but rather their frendes wold
bicome their ennemys. Throughe whiche declaration, Alcidus gaue lycence to
many prysonners, that he yet had of Chio and of other places, whyche he hadde
takenne ryghte easely and wythout resistence. For that, that whan they diddе see
the shippes vpon the sea, they fledde not awaye bifore them, but came towardes
them, thinkinge that they had bene Athenyans. For they neuer thought that the
Athenyans kepinge the sea, the shippes of the Peloponesians euer durste passe
Ionii. After that, Alcidus departed in haste, and as flyinge frome Ephesus. For
he was aduertised, that he, yet beinge at ancre at Clarus, was sene and discoue-
red by two ships commynge from Athenes. To wyt, by that same of Salamyne
and by that other of Parale. wherfore, fearynge to be pursued by the armye of Parala.
sea of the Athenyans, he went into the depthe of the sea, to the intente not to ap-
proche to any lande with his good wille, vntill he arrywed in Peloponese. Herof
were aduertised Paches and the Athenyans on all sides. And specially, by one cer
tayne messenger, that was sente by them of Ethreus. For the cytes of Ionii, that
were not closed with walles, were in greate feare that the armye by sea of the Pe-
loponesians, passynge a longe their countrey, though they were not willinge to
arrest or tary there, that yet they wold lande for to pillage the townes, that they
founde in their waye. Likewyse the ship of Salamyne and that same of Parale
affyrmed to haue sene the armye of thennemyes at Clarus. For thys cause, Pa-
ches sayled for to pursue Alcidus, and followed him with the greateste diligence,
that he might vnto the Isle of Latmos. But senge that there was no hope to Lat-
tary him there, he retourned backe. And he thoughte that he had gotton inoughe mos.
that he founde them not in the meane sea, for than he shulde haue bene forcedde
to haue assaulted them, and to kepe great watche ouer them. And in retourning,
he wente vnto the cytie of Notion in the countrey of the Colophoniens by this
occasion. The Colophoniens holdinge that same cytie, Itamenes and certayne Notion.
strangers wyth him, had by meanes of one debate that was amonge the Cite- Itame-
zeins occupyed the forstres of the towne, whiche was in fourme of one Castelle, nes.
separated from the walles of thother body of the towne. And afterwards, about
that same tyme, that the Peloponesians was last entred into the countrey of A-
thens a great noise was afreshe moued, betwene them, that were comme newly
to inhabitt in the cytie, and the auncyent Cytezeins. Throughe occasion wherof,
they that kepte the towne forstefied themselfe vpon the walles, that departed the
towne from the castelle, and hauinge with them souldyars estraungers, whiche
Pilluthnes and the Acardyans had sent them, they accorded with thē that were
in the Castell. holding the partie of the Medes, in māner, that all togither shuld

gouerne

gouerne the estate of the towne, and the other, that wolde not holde that partie, they fledde out of the cytie and sent vnto Paches, requirynge of him succours. who, beinge arryued before the towne causeth Hippias to be called vnto him, who was cappytaine of them that kepte the castelle, that he shuld come to speake with him vpon suche suertie, that if he wouldenot do that, whiche the sayde Paches shulde wille hym, he wolde sende hym ayaine hoole and saulfe wythin the walle. like as he dyd. But whan that he was aryued before him, he cauled him incontinently to be warded and kepte wythout byndinge or chayninge him otherwyse. Afterwarde right soubdainely he cauled his people to marche againste the walles and rampares of the fort, where the Icardyans and the strangers were. who doubted nothing. And soo they were taken by the assaulte, and all putt to death.

Hippias After he cauled Hippyas to be brought within the towne, wythout doyng hym hurte. But whan he was wythin, he cauled hym to be slayne wyth arrowes, and rendered the cytie to the Colophonyens, they beinge put fourthe, that had taken parte wt the Medes. Afterwardes, Thathenyans that were founders of that same cytie, cauled all the Colophonyans that were founde in their obeyssance to assemble themselfe togither. And sent them to inhabitte there accordinge and ensuing their lawes. At departure from Notiõ, Paches returned vnto Mytylene, & brought agayne to the obeissance of the Athenyans, the cyties of Pyrreus and Eresse. And found Salethus, who had hydde himself in the towne of Mytylene. And sent him to the Athenians wyth the Mytylenyãs, that he had sent to Thenedon, with all the other, that he coulde vnderstand to haue bene the authors of the rebellyon. Afterwardes he sente away the greatest parte of his armye, that he had brought thider, and with the reste taryed there to gene order to the cytie of Mytilene, and to all the Isle of Lesbos. whan they, that Paches had sente, were arryued at Athens, the Athenyans cauled Salethus incontinẽtly to dye, though that he promysed to do many thynges. And amonge other, that the siege whiche the Peloponesyans did holde yet before Platee, shulde be rayssed. For the othere prysonners, the matter beinge put in deliberation of the counsaille, yt was with greate anger determined to cause to dye not onely thẽ that were thider brought, but also all the Mytylenyens, excepte the wemen and childrene, frome fourtene peares downewarde, whiche shuld be sklaues and bonde men. For they estemed the faulte of the sayd Mytylenyans, to be incremissible and not to be forgeuenne. For that that they rebelled, though that they were not entreated as subiectes, as the other were. And yet they had greater despyte, for that the shippes of the Peloponesians had had the audacytie for to comme to succoure the sayd Mytylenyans, to passe the sea Jonum with greater daunger. whiche was a tokenne that the sayd Mytylenyens hadde pourposed, and by longe circumstance prouyded afore, for that same rebellyon. So they dispatched a galley to signefy to Paches the decree of the Senate, of Athenes, and to commaunde him to execute yt. Yet the morowe after, they abhorred and repented themselues, consydering the cruelitie of the decree, And they thoughte it to haynous to destroy and kylle all the people of a cytie, and not to extinquisshe them, that had bene authors of the euill of other. whiche thinge, beinge knowen by thambassadours of the Mytylenyẽs and by the Athenyans that fauoured them, they wente with all diligence to the chiefesse of the cytie, and wyth greate wepinges and lamentacions, perswadedde them gentely to putt the matter ones agayne into deliberation. For those principallesse were well aduertysed, that the mooste parte of the people desired that it might be spokenne of agayne. So they cauled the counsaill to assemble, whereat

Cleon. were spokenne many oppynyons, but amonge othere (Cleon, sonne of Cleuntus

whole

whose oppynon was cõlented to the day bifore. That all the Mytylenyãs shuld dye) a man roughe and byolent and that had greate authorytie amonge the people, did speake in this manner.

¶ The narration and proposi-tion of Cleon vnto the counsaille of the Athenyans.

☞ The.vi. Chapter.

I haue oftẽtymes knowin, that the meane estate ought not to rule. But yet I haue knowin more in their variation. whiche I wylle shew you in thys matter of the Mytylenyans. For yone thinke, that oure allyes goo as frankely and without deceite in busynes towardes youe, as youe go towardes them. And ye parceyue not, that the faultes that youe commytt, do suffre youe to be seduced by their speakynges and persuations, orelles by greate pytie doo putte youe in daunger. And also youe gette not, for all that, their good wylle. And ye consyder not that the empyre, that youe haue, ys but veray tyrannye, and that they that obeye youe, doo yt againste their wylle, and also they woille not be longer obedyente, for that youe pardonne the faultes that they haue donne againste youe. And that your force and the feare that they haue of youe, do make them obeillant, and not the goodnes and mercy that you vse towardes them. But the woorste that I see in oure affayre ys thys, that in matters determynedde and concludedde, there ys no fyrmenes nor stabilitie. And we vnderstande not, that there ys better gouernemente in a cytie that vseth his lawes fyrmely and wythoute reuocation (yea though they be euyll) than in that same, that hath good lawes and doth not kepe them inuiolablie. And that ignorance wyth sobrenes and grauitie is more woorth, than knowlaige wyth inconstancy and rashenes. And that the people, that be somwhat grosse & more slacke of vnderstandinge, doo admynistre well and conducte better an estate, thã they that be more hable and sharper wytted. For thies woll alwayes be wyser than the lawes, and shewe in all matters, wherof ys questiõ, by force of eloquẽce and of well speakynge, that they knowe more, than the othere. knowinge that in no othere matter they canne somuche shewe the excellency of their wytte, as in those that be of greate importance. whereby many inconueniences haue oftentymes chaunced to cyties. where as they, that truste not somuch to their knowlaige, woll not be wyser than the lawe, and also knowinge that they be not eloquente ynough to aunswere, & to sturre to all reasons with sayre wordes: study more to iudge by reasone, and to come to the effecte, than to debate the matters by argumentes & cõmunication. wherby matters haue bene the better gouerned for the more part. In this manner it is cõuenyent lordes not trusting in our eloquẽce & habilitie, not to perswade our people otherwyse, than we know for the trouthe. And as for myselfe, I am in the same oppynon, touchinge this matter, as I was yesterdaye. And I am abashedde of theyme, that haue cauledde thys matter to be putt agayne into deliberation, and by this meane suffre the tyme to be losteand ronne to the profitte of them, that haue offendedde youe, and not to yours. For in delayinge of the punishemente, he that hathe receyuedde the offence, dothe aswage hys anger, and ys not afterwardes so sharpe to reuenge yt.

where as whan menne take vengeaunce in their heate, they execute it the better accordinge to the demeritte. And also, I am ambassheddе, that there may be any that woll say the contrary to that, that hathe bene concluded. And will parforce themself to shewe, that the iniuryes and offenses of the Mytylenyens, be profitta table vnto vs, and that oure welthe redoundeth to the Calamytie of our allyes. For certaynely, whosoeuer wylle maignt aigne that, shall shewe openly, aither ẏ he wylle (for the great confydence that he hath in his wyttes and in his speache) cause other to bileue, that they vnderstande not the thinges, that be clere and manyfeste: orells that by meane of some corruption, he wyll deceyue youe by his eloquence and sayre speache. By suche meanes and dilations the cytie doth profitte other, but she putteth herself in daunger. wherof you the other are the cause, that naughtely introduced and brought in, thies disputations, and haue bene accustomed to be regarders of woordes and harkeners of dedes, perluadinge your selfe, that the matters must chaunce, like as he perswadeth youe, that speaketh beste. And youe holde for more certayne that, whiche youe heare spokenne, than that you haue sene. For you suffre yourself to be led ⁊ deceiued by artificial speakings. And likewise you ar easy to be decepued by newe woordes, ⁊ harde to execute ẏ, whiche hath bene ones approued ⁊ concluded. And by this meane, you arne subiectes to vayne thinges, and tary to longe in your auncyente customes. By meanes wherof, euery of youe parforceth himself and studieth to knowe to preache well. And those that haue not this eloquence, woll followe them that haue it, for to shewe, that they vnderstande no lesse the matters, than they. And moreouer if there be any one that speaketh any thinge subtill and apparante, youe ar ready to prayse hym, and to saye, that youe hadde thoughte almuche, before that he hadde spokenne ẏt. where youe be slowe and nyce to prouyde for thinges, that myghte chaunce in that, whereof is spokenne. Serchinge by a manner to speake an othere thynge than that, whereof ye intreate. and vnderstande not sufficiently the matters present. Suffrynge youreselues to be decepued throughe the volupte and delectation of youre eares, as they do, that amuse themselfe sonner to heare the sophistes and logycyans to dispute, than to heare speake of the affaires of the cytie. From whyche errour, I wyll take payne to wythdrawe youe, in causinge it to appere vnto youe, that the cytie of Mytylene is that same, that hath done youe a singuler outrage and displeasure. For if there be any cytie, that for that he coulde not endure your Empire, or that were constraynedde by your ennemys, that doeth rebelle agaynste youe, I am of opynyon that ẏt shulde be pardoned. But if they, that holde an Isle and a cytie very stronge wyth walles, whyche feare he nothynge but on the sea syde, and also maye well defende itself, hauynge good nomber of shippes tacledde, and that be not oure subiectes, (but be by vs honnored beyonde and aboue all oure confederates) haue done it: what maye a man iudge anye othere thinge, but that it ys a veray imagination against vs. And that ẏt maye be better saied that they haue moued warre, than to saye, that they be rebelledde agaynste vs. For thole maye be sayed to be rebelles, that were constraigned by any violence. And that, whyche more ys to be detestedde and abhorred, ẏt suffyled not them to make vs warre wyth theire owne force, but they haue attempted vtterly to destroye vs, by the meane of our mortall ennemys. wythoute hauinge feare, or consyderinge the greate calamytees that be chaunced vnto othere, that rebelled againste vs in tymes paste, after that we had reduced them to oure subiection. And also not fearynge to putt themselfe into newe daungers, where they were in reste and in greate felicytie. And the audacyte, that they haue hadde to enterprysе this warre, declareth that they haue

greater

greater hope, than power, and lesse power than wylle, wyllynge to preferre theire puyssance before reasonne. For wythoute beinge in anye thynge offendedde by vs, they haue takenne armure agaynste vs, for no othere reasonne, but for the hope, that they haue hadde to vanquisshe and ouertreade vs. So chaunce the yt oftentymes (chefly in cyties, that in shorte tyme doo comme, vnloked for, vnto greate felycitie) that they become insolente and prowde. And that the prosperyties, that happen to men, by reasonne and after the common course of thynges, be moore fyrme and stable, than those, that chaunce by fortune and beyond thopynyon of the people. And by manner of speakynge, it is more difficile and harde for men to conserue and kepe themselfe in prosperyties, than to defende and warde themselfe in aduersities. For thys cause, it had bene good for the Bytylenyans, that we hadde not more honnoured nor esteemedde them, than oure othere allyes and confederates. For than, they shulde not haue fallen into so greate oultrecuidance and presumptyon. Also it is a naturall thyng to contẽpne them, to whome a man is bounde, and to haue in admyratyon them, wyth whõ they be not bounde. Lett vs procure than that thies here be punished according to the greatnes of theire myssdedes, and lette vs not pardonne all the people, by imputynge the faulte vnto a small nombre. For they haue all wyth one accorde takenne armure agaynste vs. For somuche as if anye particulers wouldde haue constrayned them to do it, they mughte haue fledde and haue hadde recourse vnto vs. And if they so hadde doone, they myghte, nowe haue returned into their cytie. But they louedde more, to putt themselfe in daunger and proue fortune, at the appetite of the lesser nombre, and by thys meane rebelledde altogiders. Youe ought lykewyse, as touchyng the surplusage, to haue regarde to the consequence of oure other confederatees and allyes. For if we punnyshe not them more, that rebelle agaynste vs wyllyngly, than those, that doo yt by force and constraynete, there shalbe noo cytie nor towne, that for the leaste occasion in the worlde, woll not enterpryse to do yt. Understandynge, that if yt take good effecte, they shall abyde in lybertie, and if yt take yll, they shalbe acquytedde good chepe. By meanes whereof, we shalbe in daunger to lose, in all the cyties, that we haue, bothe the reuenue, and also the parsonnes. For thoughe we shall well take agayne a cytie, that rebellethe: yette shall we lose oure reuenue for a longe tyme. durynge whiche oure forces shalbe one agaynste the othere. And if we can not retoner yt, wee shall haue theyme there for ennemys, besydes the othere, that wee nowe haue. And moreouer the tyme, that wee shulde vse for to warre agaynste oure ennemyes, we muste employ and occuppe to reduce and reformme our subiectes. wherfore it is not expediẽte to geue them hope, that they may obteigne grace or remyssyon of vs by faire persuations, nothere for monney and corruptyon, vnder coloure that they haue offendedde by mannes fraultie. For they haue not endommaged vs agaynste their wylles: but rather wyllynglye haue conspyred agaynste vs. And that faulte ys worthye of mercye and grace, that ys not commytted of a determyned wylle. By whyche raysons, I haue frõ the begynnynge resisted thys waye, and also nowe do speake agaynste it to my power. That you reuoke not that, which you haue ones concluded, and that you offende not euen at ones in three thynges, whyche all three bee commonly ryght daungerous and pernicyous in a comon wealthe. to wytt, in mercy, in voluptuousnes and in facilitie or gentlenes. For merry shulde be vsed to them, that do the lyke, and not to them that haue yt not, but rather haue brought themselfe in necessite to be your perpetuall ennemyes. And our Oratours & spekers, ỳ take so great pleasure to know well to persuade: shall haue lycence to shewe the force

of their eloquence in other matters of lesse importance, and not in thies, where the cytie (for a small delectation, that yt shall haue to heare faire speakinges & disputations) may incurre a great daunger. And yet shalbe neuerthelas reputed to haue spoken well. And as concernynge the vse of equitie and gentlenes, that shulde be done to them, whome we maye truste to be in tyme commynge, good and of a good wille. And not to them, whoe, after we shall haue pardonnedde them, shall contynue styll our ennemyes. And to conclude my speakinge in fewe woordes, if you woll bileue me, youe shall do to the Mytylenyans, that, whiche iustyce requireth. And that shalbe profitable vnto youe. And if youe doo yt not, youe condempne yourself, and yet do not gratefie them. For if they here haue had iust cause for to rebelle, it must be confessed, that we rule vniustly. And though it so were, yet muste youe, sithens youe woll rule, take punishment of them here iniustly for your profitt, or elis departe yourself from your dompynyon. And beyng eskaped the daunger, lyue as wyse men and iuste people. But if youe woll perseuer in your seignyory, ye muste recompense them accordinge to theire desarte. And make them to vnderstande, that youe haue the harte no lesse offended and pricked to reuenge you, being eskaped the daungere, than they haue had to sturre youe, and to conspyre agaynst youe. callynge to your remembrance, what youe haue to bileue of your selues. consyderynge what they woulde haue done vnto youe, if they mighte haue had the victorie. Specyally that they haue bigonne to offende youe. And they, that without cause do iniurie and offende other, do theire beste therin vnto the laste poincte, and go aboute to destroye them vtterly. Fearynge the daunger, wherin they shulde be, if they, that they offende, might eskape. Insomuch as euery man that parceyueth himself to be wronged by hym, that had no cause therto, if he may skape it, he reuengeth himself more angrely agaynst him, than he woulde do agaynst his mortall ennemy. Be not than traytours vnto your self. But consyderynge the inconueniences that haue very nighe chaunced vnto you by this matter, euen as you haue aboue all things desired to take thies here: sens that youe haue taken them, render vnto them like punishemente. And suffre not yourself so muche to relente and wax gentle, for the estate and suertie wherin the thinges nowe be, that youe forget the wronges that haue bene done youe. But punyshe well thies here, accordinge to their deserte, for to geue perpetuall example to other your allyes, that if there be any one, that rebelleth, it shal coste him his lyfe. For whan they shall knowe it, youe shall take no more payne to fight agaynst them, where youe ought to defende your frendes. Thus spake Cleon. After whome Dioditus sonne of Eucrates stode vp, who, at the consultacion the daye before, had chiefly spokenne agaynste them, that wolde that all the Mytylenians shulde be slayne, and did speake in the manner that followethe.

Diodotus.

¶ The proposition and oppynyon of Diodotus, contrary to that same of Cleon.

☞ The.viii. Chapter.

I prayse not the oppynyon of them, that reproue thys, that men putt agayne into deliberation the matter of Mytylene, and that thinke yt not good, that men consulte many tymes vpon waightie affaires. But me thinketh that there be two thynges much contrary to good counsaille. To wytt, hedynes or haste, and wrath or anger. For the one doth thinges

folishely

folisshly, and the other furyously and rashly. And also me thinketh, that he that wyll empesche and lett men to shewe thinges by woordes, ys wythoute vnderstandinge. Or that he hath some conceites and deuyses, that be not wel knowin. for if he thinke ỳ the things to come, which be not yet parceued, may be otherwise vnderstand than by woordes, he hath no vnderstandinge. And if he woll perswade any dishoneste and euill matter, & for that, that he thinketh, that he cannot make it good by woordes, wol assay and choke with iniuries and villenies those, that wyll saye the contrary, it is a great signe, that he affectith or fauoureth the matter. But yet they be more to blame that charge the againesayers, ỳ corruption. For if a man obiecte againste him, whose oppynyon the greatest parte of the counsell haue not alowed, that he vnderstandeth not well the causes, he shalbe reputed onely ignorant, and not a noughty parsone. but whan it is obiected, that he is corrupted and brybed, though men allowe his oppynyon, yet shall he be neuerthelas suspected. And if it be not holden, he shalbe not onely reputed ignoraunte but also an noughty parsone. whereby, the publique welthe shall sustaigne dommaige, for that the people dare not speake nor counsaille freely for feare thereof. And it semeth, that it shuld be better for the wealthe of the comon weale, that there were no man in the cytie that had the vnderstandynge and knowlaige to speke wel, than ỳ there were any, as if by this, the people had lesse occasions to offende, whiche is hoole contrary. for a good cytezeine that speaketh his oppynyon, ought not to empesche nor feare the other, that they shulde not speake againste hym, but in all equalytie and modestie shewe by reasone that hys oppynyon is the better. And moreouer me thinketh that a cytie that gouerneth itselfe by reasonne, ought not, nother to do more honnour to hym that counsaillethe welle aboue all the othere, nor yet lessen hym of that, whyche he hadde biforе. And likewyse shulde do no shame to hym, whose oppynyon was not allowed, and yette lesse to punishe him. For by that meane, he, whose iudgement shalbe found good shall not care to saye any thynge, but that, whyche he thinkethe to sarue him to get the honnour or fauour of the people. And by lyke raysons he, whose oppynyon ys not approuedde, shall not be moued to chaunge yt for to gratefye the multitude. wherin we do clene contrarye. For if there be anny that maye be charged to haue bene subourneddе or brybed by gyfte or by promes, thoughe that he haue good oppynyon and counsailleth the wealthe of the cytie: yet throughe suspytion of the sayd corruption (wherof there is none apparance) we wol reiecte and forsake yt. And whatsoeuer thynge he sayth, be yt good or euil, yt is suspected. wherfore it is necessarye that he, that wyll persuade any thinge to the comunaltie, alwell good as euyll, vse lyes and cautels, wherby it followith, that bicause of thies disguylings & chalenges, no man may profyyt him, that shuld speke of an open and manifeste matter, except he deceyue. For if any geue hym any thynge openly he shalbe suspectedde that he was wyllynge to gayne yt. whyche is not raisonne. For yt ys expedyente that we that be in this offyce, and that haue the charge for to delyberate and determyne greate and waightieste affayres, shulde parceyue further, than youe othere, that mynde not but thynges presente and at hande. Consyderedde specyally, that for that, whych we saye, we muste shewe raysonne, where as youe that heare vs, do render no accompte of that youe heare. And if it were ordeynedde that he that heareth and suffreth himselfe to be perswaded, shuld be asmuch punyshedde, as he that speaketh and perswadethe, certaynelye youe shulde iudge wyth the more modestie and more raysonne. But whan the matters be desperate vnto youe, youe punyshe throughe anger and wrathe, hym onely, that hath geuen the counsell, & not youe the other, ỳ haue followed it

And yet in that doinge youe treſpalle aſmuche, as he that hath ſpokenne yt. As touchinge me I intend not to ſpeake in the fauour of Mytyleniens for to ſpeake againſte or for to accuſe any parſonne. And if we be in our good wyttes, there reſteth no queſtyō of their myſdede, but alonly, to conſulte well for our ſelues. For albeit, that it appereth vnto vs that they haue treſpalled, yet woll I not counſaille that they ſhalbe put to dethe, except it be erpedyente for vs. And likewiſe, if they merytte to haue grace, I wolde not be of the oppynyon that it ſhulde be extended vnto them, excepte it might be profytable vnto vs. And forſomuche, as oure conſultation is more to haue regarde vnto the tyme to come, than to the tyme palled, & Cleon hath ſaid that it is requiſitt, for to wythſtand the rebellyōs from thenceforth to follow, that thies here ſhulde be punyſhedde by death, I am of a contrary oppynyō & that it ſhalbe better for vs to do otherwyſe. And therfore I pray youe, that for the coloured raiſons of this man here, proponed in his oppynyon, for to enduce and perſwade youe to follow it, that youe wil not to reiecte the vtilitie of myne. For I parceue well, that all hys reaſons, beinge conſonant to rigoure of iuſtice, they maye more moue youre hartes and thoughtes (whiche be nowe full of wrathe and anger) than myne. But it muſte be conſidered, that we be not here for to debate iudicially with them, & for to knowe what reaſone and iuſtice wyllethe, but we be for to adwyſe amonge ourelelues, what ſhalbe moſt to our profite. Nowe youe knowe, that in many cyties, payne of life is ordeyned, not onely for ſogreate offenſes, but alſo for muche leſſer. And yet neuerthelas there are people that putt themſelf in daunger of that payne, truſtinge that they ſhall eſkape yt. And there was neuer manne enterpryſed ſuche pretenſes and rebellyons, that thoughte not that he mighte achene them. And there was neuer cytie that rebelled, that thoughte not to haue greater force and greater prepayratyon, than yt hadde of itſelfe, or of his frendes and allyes. But it is a naturall thing to men for to offend, and there was neuer law ſo rigorous, that coulde let it. Although that newe paynes and punyſhmentes haue dayly bene made & added for offenſes, to ſee, if by feare therof, the people might be withdrawin from treſpallinge. And alſo it was not without reaſone that in the begynnynge, the paynes were more lighte and eaſie, than they nowe be. Whiche, throughe the contynuall tranſgreſſion of the people, bene in a manner at this preſente all broughte to the extremeſt punyſhement. And yet notwithſtādinge, we kepe not ourſelues frō offending. wherfore there muſt aither be yet found ſome payn more fearefull, orelles this here, woll not kepe men from treſpallinge. For to ſome, pouertie geueth audacite to do ill. ſome other, by meanes of their riches, bicome inſolente, ambycyous and couetouſe, and the other haue otherpaſſions and occaſions, which ſturre & induce thē to offende. And in effecte euery one is drawin by hys inclynation and diſordered appetite, ſo vehemently: that ſcarcely he may reſtrayne nor moderate himſelfe for feare of any daunger, that may chaunce. There be on the other parte two thinges, whyche greately do hurte men, to wytt, hope and loue. wherof the one leadeth them, and the other actōpaigneth them. thone lertheth meanes for to execute their ymaginations, and the other perſwadethe the proſperitie of fortune. And though thies twoo thynges be not ſene wyth the eye, yet they arne more puyſſant, than the payne that is ſene. There is yet an other thynge, whiche helpeth and ſerueth marueilouſly, to incyte and prouoke the affectyons and wyttes to wytt, fortune. which by repreſenting ſome occaſion vnlooked for, although it be not ſufficiente, bringethe oftymes the people into great daſger. And yet more the cyties, than the particuler parſonnes. Forſomuche, as there is queſtyō of greater thinges, to wyt, of lybertie or to encreaſe their empire.

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And moreouer euery man, parceyuyng hym selfe to haue the confederatyon and compaigny of one people, hath greater hope of hym selfe. And for conclusyon it is a thynge impossyble and wythout raysone to thinke, that whan humayne nature is pricked and sturred by a vehement inclination to do any thynge, he canne be wythdrawen from it by force of lawes or by any other dyffyculte. Wherfore it is not mete, that we ordeyne payne of deathe for offenders, vpon confydence, ꝙ that geueth securitie and assurance for tyme to comme. Also it is not mete, that we take frome them, that hereafter shall rebelle, hope of mercye, and lycence to repente them selfe, and to purge them incontynently of theyr myslede. And that it maye be so, presuppose that there maye nowe be some other cytye, that maye be tourned agaynste youe, and that knoweth wel that it can not resiste you. But hath sufficyent, wherewith he maye satisfye the expences, that we shall make to recouer it, and to paye vs the trybute for the tyme to comme, yf we take it by composytyon. And yf the same do vnderstande that there is no hope of marcye of youe to be had, woll it not prepare it selfe yet more strength to resiste youe & determyne to endure all extremyte of assiege, rather than to render and yelde yt selfe? Now than remẽber, whyder it be all one that a towne rendreth it self vnto youre wylle incontynentlye, or a very longe tyme after hys rebellyon. And what charge and what dommage it shalbe vnto vs, whan they shall forsake to be reduced to oure obeysance, to haue them by length of siege, and yet whan we shal haue taken them, that we destroye them, and by that meane lose our reuenue, by meane wherof we shall be egall to oure ennemyes. Truly we ought not to procede here to the punyshment of offenses, as iudges to oure owne dommage, but we ought to remember for the tyme to comme, howe we maye drawe and recouer the reuenue and trybute of oure cytyes, in mulctynge them moderatly, and to kepe and conserue them, more by gentlenes and good intreatinge, than by rygoure of lawes. Wherunto we do nowe intende to do the clene contrary. For yf any people, that were franke and free, hath bene by force brought into our seruytude and subiectyon, and myndynge to recouer their lybertye do rebelle, as reasonably they maye do, and afterwardes hath bene recouered and brought agayne, youe woll that all seuerytye be vsed agaynste him. Certaynely I am of contrary opynyon, and thynke that the free people, that do rebell, shulde not be sharpelye punyshed, but be well kepte by good meanes, that they do not rebelle, and to intreate them in suche sorte, that they maye haue no occasyon to haue suche wille. And consyder moreouer what faulte youe shall commyt, in followynge the opynyon of Cleon, youe perceyue that the people, of all the confederate cyties, be affectyoned to youre estate, and that they tourne not to youre ennemies, although they be puyssante. Or yf any of the sayde cytyes do tourne frome youe, the cõmõ people hateth them, that haue bene the cause therof. And wyth thys confydence of the loue of the people, youe go aboute to make your warre. Nowe yf you kyll all the people of Mytylene, whiche haue not consented vnto the rebellyon (but whan they myghte haue taken armure, and founde thẽselfe most stronge, haue receyued you into theyr towne: furste you shalbe ingreatefull and oultragious vnto them that haue well acquyted themselfe towardes youe, and afterwardes youe shall do that, that youre ennemyes desyre. For whan they shall haue drawen one cytye of ours vnto theyr partye, all the people shalbe theyrs. Vnderstãdynge, that yf they come into youre handes, almuch shall they be punyshed that shall not haue offended, as they that shall haue done the worste that they might. Where, thoughe they had offended, youe shulde haue dissymuled and wynked at it, to the intent that that, which we yet reteigne vnder the forme of a fellowlike

lyttynge, ſhulde not be tourned into hoſtyltie and enmytie. And in my opynyon it ſhulde be more profytable for vs, for the conſeruatyon of oure empyre, to indure to be outraged and iniuryed with our knowlaige, than to cauſe oure people to dye, whan it is not expedyent. Althoughe we myght do it by iuſtice. And it ſhall not be founde veryrable and true that Cleon hath ſayde, that one ſelf vengeaunce maye be bothe iuſte and profytable. And ſythens that ye perceyue, that that, which I haue ſpokenne is for the beſte. I am of aduyſe that wythout groundyng youe vpon any ſwetenes or benignyte (where vnto I woll not that ye haue regarde for the thynge that I perſwaded youe but for the weale of the cytye onely) that ye kepe yet this people here, that Paches hath ſent pryſonners, for to ordeyne hereafter therevpon all at leaſure. And touchynge the other, that youe ſuffre them, to inhabyte the cytye of Mytylene. For that ſhall ſerue youe in tyme to comme, and nowe feare youre enemyes. For ſomuche as he, that geueth raſonable counſayll, is more feared and more eſtemed of hys enemyes, than he, that by a raſhe crueltye dothe and commytteth inſolente and outragyous thynges. Thus ſpake Diodotus.

Howe the citie of Mitilene was in daunger to be vtterlye deſtroyed, and the punyſhment which it receyued for hys rebellyon. And howe the Plateans rendred them ſelfe to the wylle of the Lacedemonyans, wyth ſome other exploict of warre, that was done in that ſame yeare.

The.viii. Chapter.

After theſe contrary opynyons, there were many altercatyons among the Athenyans, ſo that whan it came to geue theyr voyces, they were founde equall and parted, aſmuche as thone ſyde, as on the other, but yet at the ende, that ſame of Diodotus was alowed. And ſo they diſpatched incontmently one other galley for to go wyth all dylygence to Mytylene, doubtyng that yf ſhe vſed not dyligence, the other, that was departed a daye and a nyght before thys, ſhulde preuente it. In ſuche manner, that whan thys laſt arryued, ſhe ſhulde fynde nowe the cytye extinguiſhed. For which feare thys latter galley was wayged and victuaylied by the Imballadours Mytylenyens. Who made greate promyſes to the maronners, yf they arryued ſoner, than the furſte. Which by thys meane, for to make extreme dylygence, ceaſed not daye nor nyght to ſayle. And in theyr ſaylyng, they dyd eate theyr breade, ſopped in wyne and in oyle, and alſo they ſlepte by courſe, ſo that the ſhypp wente wythout ceſſynge. And it chaunced them ſo well, that they neuer had one onely contrarye wynde, which was a greate fortune. By meane whereof, it ſomned alſo, that the furſte, þ caryed the euyll newes, dyd not make very greate dylygence, that ſame galley arryued very ſone after, that the other was aryued. And euen at the houre whan Paches redde the furſt cõmaundement, & prepared hymſelf for to execute it, the later was preſented, which empeſched the executiõ. In this manner the cytie of Mytylene was very nyghe to vtter deſtruction. And as touchyng thẽ, þ Paches had ſente as chief offendours, which were more than a thouſande, they were all iudged to deathe, accordyng to þ opynõ of Cleon. And alſo þ walles of þ citie of Mytylene, were beatẽ doune, & all their ſhippes were takẽ frõ thẽ, & moreouer there was no trybute impoſed or ſet through al the Ile of Leſbos, but it was all (except the citie of Methymne) deuided into thre. M. partes. Whereof they

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dyd geue and dedicate to the temples of the Goddes, thre houndred for ꝑ tenth, and to other they sent of theyr cytezeins by Lott for to mhabyte there. And dyd ordeyne that the Lesbiens shulde paye them for euery of the sayde partyes, two pounde wayght of syluer. And for that some, they were permytted to labour the sayde lande. Moreouer ther was taken, from the sayde Mytylenyans, all the townes and landes that they had in the mayne lande. Which afterwarde remained in obedyence of the Athenyans. Suche was the yssue of the rebellion of Lesbos. In that same sōmer Nycyas sonne of Nyceratus wente by sea wyth a good bende of Athenyens into the Ile of Mynouer. Whiche is ryght agaynste and harde by Megare. And there was a castell, that the Megaryens dyd kepe for a forte, whiche Nicias mynded to take, for to haue there a defence and recourse more nyghe, than that, whiche they had at Budore and at Salampne, and to the intent, that, whan the Peloponesyans shulde yssue into the sea, they shulde not hyde theyr galeys there, as the Corsaireens had many tymes done. And also to the ende, that the Megaryens shulde haue no more any meane to enter into the sea. And so he came furste, departynge from Nileus to sett hys shyppes before ꝑ castelle. Wherof he dyd beate doune wyth artyllerye, two towers, which were hygher than the dongeon of the sayd castell. And by thys meane he made, ꝑ the shyppes might passe woute daunger betwene the Ile and the sayde place of Nyceus. And moreouer he made a walle ouerthwarte the dystreate, from the mayne lande that came to aunswere to the Ile nygh ynough vnto it. Through which men sente succoure to the sayde Castell, for that they were maryshes. And after that he had made hys rampares and munytyons, wythin a verye shorte tyme he lefte hys garnysons at the defense of the walle, and retourned wyth the remenaunt of hys people. In that same sommer, the Plateans, beynge in greate neceslitie of victuayles, and seynge that they coulde not resiste the assaulte of the Peloponesyans, they made appoinctment with them. For also the Cappytayne and Lieutenaunt of the Peloponesyans, beynge approched nyghe vnto the walle, and seynge that they were so feble that they coulde not defende themselfe, wolde not take them by assaulte, for that, that he was commaunded by the Lacedemonyans to take it by compolytyon, rather than by assaulte, yf he myght. To the intente, that yf any appoinctment were made betwene the Peloponesyans and the Athenyans, by the whiche it shulde be ordeyned that the townes and cities that shulde haue bene taken by warre of the one syde and of the other, shulde be rendred: those Lacedemonians myght excuse themselfe, for none rendrynge of this, vnder coulour, that they gott it not by warre, but that it was rendred vnto the with their good wille. And so he sente an harault vnto them, by whome he demaunded, whyder they wolde rēder the towne & the people that were wythin to be at the wylle of the Lacedemonyans, and commyt vnto theyr discretyon, the punyshement of them, that shulde be founde coulpable, so that none shulde be punyshed, but that furste hys cause shulde be knowen and iudged. Whiche thyng they agrede vnto, seynge them selfe in suche extremytie, that they coulde no longer resiste. And by thys meane the Peloponesyans dyd take the cytye, and nourysshed the people that were wythin it wyth victuayles for certayne dayes, and vntyll ꝑ fyue iudges which the Lacedemonians had sente for this matter, were there arryued. who wythoute makynge any other particuler proces, caused all them to assemble that were wythin the towne. Afterwardes they demaunded of of them onely, yf sence the warre begonne, they had in any thynge well merited towardes the Lacedemonyans and theyr allyes. To which demaunde they requyred that it myght be laufull for them to aunswere more amplye by cōmō

deliberation.

Nycias Mynos.

Nileus.

Alstimachus. Lacon. Ammestus.

delyberatyon. Which thynge was graunted them. And so they dyd chose Alstimachus, sone of Alopolaus and Lacon, sonne of Ammestus, who was burgeois of the Lacedemonyans, and they dyd speake in thys manner.

The proposition and defence of the Plateans before the Lacedemonyans.

☞ The.ix. Chapter.

FOr the fayth and confydence, that we haue had in youe, Lordes Lacedemonyans, we haue committed oure cytye and our parsones unto youre power. Not lokynge, for suche iudgemente of youe, as we perceyue, that men wolde do unto vs, but some other more cyuile and more gentle. And also we loked to haue other iudges than you. And specially we hoped, yt it shuld haue bene lefull for vs to dyspute & debate oure reasone & our cause. But we doubte greatly that we haue ben deceyued of both our thoughtes. For we feare & not wout cause, that thys disceptacion & debatyng be upon our yse. And that youe comme not to iudge of our case by reasone. Wherof we see an euydent tokenne, by thys, that there is no accusation proponed agaynst vs, wherin we maye defende vs. But at oure request, lycence is graunted vs to speake, and your interrogation hath bene very brief. Wherunto, yf we wolde aunswere accordyng to the trouthe, oure aunswere shalbe contrarye and ennemye to oure cause. And yf we aunswere contrary to trouthe, it maye be condempned, as faulse. And notwithstandynge that we see our case in daunger and perylleritye on al sydes, yet be we cõstrained to speake. And also it semeth unto vs better to incurre the daungier by sayinge some thynge, than utterly to kepe scilence, and to speake nothynge. For yf they, that be in suche case, speake not that they myght say, they haue alwayes the harte dysspleased, and they thynke, that yf they had spoken, it shulde haue bene cause of their welthe. But nowe it is to vs ouer and aboue al the other dyffyculties a thinge ryght dyffycyle and harde to perswade you that, whiche we woll speake. For that, that yf we dyd not knowe the one the other, we coulde cause thynges to be wytnes unto youe whereof youe had not not knowlayge. But we speake before youe, that knowe the trouth of the boole. And we feare not that youe wyll impute it unto vs for offence, that oure vertues be lesse than yours, inlomuche as youe knowe vs, but we greatly feare, lest for to please other, a subdarne iudgement shall be pronounced agaynste vs, which is already determyned. Thys notwithstandynge, yet woll we parforce our selues, to shewe you the reasone and the ryght, that we haue agaynste the ennemitie of the Thebayns and agaynst you and the other Grekes, puttinge youe in remembraunce of oure seruyces and good dedes. And for to aunswere unto the ryghte brief interrogacyõ, yt is made unto vs, whyder duryng thys warre we haue in any thing merited well towardes the Lacedemonyans and their confederates, we aunswere youe, that yf you demaunde vs as ennemies, we haue done you no iniurie though we haue done you no pleasure. But yf you aske vs, as frendes, we thinke yt you haue more offẽded vs, than we haue offẽded youe. For that, yt we haue not begonne the warre, although that we haue not in any thynge yet broken peace wyth youe. And in tyme of the warre wyth the Medes, we alone of all the Beotyans came to assaulte the sayde Medes wt the other Grekes for to defende the

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lybertye of Grece. And notwythstandynge that we were people of mayne lande, yet dyd we fyght with them nygh to Artemisus by sea. And afterwardes whan they dyd fyght in oure lande, we were there wyth Paulsanias. And of all the other thynges, that were done by the Grekes in greate daunger, we were partakers further than ower puyssance stretched. And in partyculer, to you other Lacedemonyans, youre cytye of Sparte, beynge in great drede and feare, after the earthequake, whan the bonde men dyd flye frome Ithomus, we dyd sende the thyrde parte of oure people to youre succoure. Of whiche seruices to haue none remembraunce, shulde be a thynge to dyffycyle. Suche were our worckes in the begynnynge. And yf sence, we haue bene ennemyes, that hath bene through your defaulte. For whan we were inuaded by the Thebayns, perseuerynge in amytye and allyaunce, we had furst recours vnto youe, and youe repouised vs, saynge that youe were to farre frome vs, and shewed vs that we shulde haue recourse to the Athenians, whiche were oure nyghe neyghbours. Lyke as neuer by warre youe suffred any oultrage, so arne youe not to suffre for vs. And yf we hadde not bene wyllynge to haue departed frome the Athenyans, yet had we not done you iniurye. For consydered, that they had ayded vs agaynste the Thebayns, there where it was not youre commodytye to do it, it had not bene honnestye for vs, to caste them vp and forsake them, seynge chiefly, that they at oure requeste had receyued vs into theyr allyaunce. And also we haue receyued greate benefittes of them, and they receyued vs as theyr burgeoses. Wherfore it was reasonable ỳ we shulde obey them wyth our power. And yf youe and they (whiche be dukes & capytains of youre partyes, haue done any euyll thynge) haynge your allyes in your compaignie, the same ought not to be imputed to thē, that haue followed you, but to the Capytaynes, that haue conducted them to do it. And as touching the Thebayns, beslydes many oultrages, that they had done before, they dyd cōmytt the last agaynst vs, which hath bene cause of all these euylls, as youe do knowe. For they came in tyme of peace, vpon the daye of the solempne feaste, for to inuade our cytye. Wherby they receyued suche punyshment, as they deserued. Lyke as it was lawfull for vs, and permytted by the commone lawe and generall saufgarde, vsed amonge all people. By whiche it is lawfull for euery man to sley hym, that commeth to assaulte hym, as ennemye. Wherfore yf you woll punyshe vs for that cause, that shulde be agaynste all iustyce. And youe shulde declare youre selfe euyll iudges, yf that to make youre profyte of them, because ỳ they be youre allyes in thys warre, youe woll do iustice at theyr pleasure. And haue more regarde vnto youre profyte, than to reasone. And howesoeuer that ye woll haue regarde vnto youre vtilitie, and consyder these here, to haue bene profytable vnto youe in thys affayre, yet haue we bene muche more. And that not onelye vnto you, but to all Grece, whan that youe were in muche greater dangier. For at thys presente, youe haue bothe harte and puyssance for to assaulte the other, but than, the stranger kinge dyd laye the yoake of bondage to all the Grekes, haynge these here on hys partye. Whereby, reason wolde well, that youe shulde laye to the contrary of thys our myslede (yf there be anye thynge mysdone) the seruyce that oure cytezens dyd for youe. And the affectyon ỳ they maye shewe vnto youe, whiche you shal synde muche greater than the mysdede. And so muche the more, that at that same tyme there were few Grekes founde, that wolde put theyr vertue in daunger agaynste the forces of Xerres. And they were hyghly prayled, who beynge assawlted and assieged, had no regarde to their welthe, nother to conserue theyr parsonnes and theyr goodes, but delyghted more wyth greate daunger to enterpryse thynges worthy of memorye, among

whome

whome we were reputed and honnored as the principalleste. whereby we haue great feare to be destroyed and to perishe at this present, for hauynge wylled to do the lyke, to wyt, for followyng the Athenians iustly and accordyng to raylon, rather than youe cautelously and by deceitte. And neuertheles it is conueniente that one self iudgement be always geuen vpon one selfe cause. And not to place nor establisshe profyytt in any other thinge, but only in fayth & loialtie of frendes & allyes. For in knowing alwais their vertue, ỳ they haue shewed in thinges passed, you may establisshe yours profitablie, being present. Conslder moreouer that a great parte of Grekes do at this presente day, esteme and repute youe to be the true example and the mirrour of vertue & wysdom. wherfore you ought well to feare to geue an wrongful sentence against vs. For in that dounge (which cannot be hydde) ye shall purchase great blame, hauinge determyned and iudged of vs, ỳ be good people, otherwyse than accordyng to reason. euen youe that arne reputed the beste, and to haue sett in your temples the spoiles of them, that haue so well meryted towardes all Grece. And also yt shalbe alwayes greately imputed vnto you, to haue at the appetite and pleasure of the Thebains, vtterly destroyed the cytie of Platee. The name wherof, and for greate honnour and in remembrance of his cytezeins: your fathers dyd graue at the aulter of Apollo Delphicus. For we arne come to suche calampyte and perplexitie, that if the Medes hadde vainquished, we hadde bene destroyed: and hauynge hadde the victorye agaynste theym, we be at this presente vainquished towardes youe, that be oure greate frendes, through the Thebains. And so we haue incurredde two extreme daungers and calamytes, to wytt, to dye for hunger than, in resistinge to yelde vs at the wyll of the straungers, and nowe to defende oure lyfe in iudgemente. And we that haue more hartely tendredde the honnour of Grece, than our force mighte sustreigne, be habandonned, dilpyled and forsakenne of all. And there ys not one onely of all the Grekes, that were than presente, oure allyes, that maye ayde vs. And specially we feare greatly, that you other lordes Lacedemonyans, in whome wee haue putte oure principalle truste, be not stable and constante inough in thys matter. Therefore we praye you for the honnour and reuerence of the Goddes, wyth were than fauourers of oure societie and fellishyp, and in remembrance of all the seruices and merittes towardes all the Grekes: that you wylle appeale and mytigate youre hartes towardes vs. And if youe haue at the persuation of the Thebains, determyned any thynge agaynste vs, to reuoke yt. And the pleasure, that youe haue graunted them, to slaye vs all, repeale it for to saulue vs. In whiche dounge, youe shalle purchale an glorious and honnorable grace, in stede of an cruell naughtynes. And also yt shall not be youre shame, for to geue ioye and pleasure to an othere. For it is ryght easye for youe to slaye vs, but yt shalbe very harde afterwardes, to abolish the infamye, that youe shall incurre by that deede, for to slaye vs vniustely, that be your frendes, & not your ennemyes, but throughe necessitie. And in effecte, if you delyuer vs oute of the daunger and frome the feare wherin we be, youe shall iudge iustely. For lomuche specially, as we be yeldedde wyllingely into your power, commynge vnto youe, oure handes holdenne vp (in whiche case the lawes of Grece defende that men shulde be slayne) and also that wee haue alwayes and at all tymes, defarned well towardes youe. And that yt so is, biholde in oure lande the tombes of your cytezeins, that were slayne by the Medes, whych be by vs honnored euery yeare openly. And that not onely wyth vulgare and comon honors, but wyth newe habillementes and wyth all the frutes of oure lande, whyche we offer vnto them, as people, that be of one lande, that ys youre frende, & hath bene your confederate

and

and some tyme accompaignedde too the warre. whereunto youe shall doo the hoole contrary throughe euill counsaille, if youe woll slaye vs. For youe oughte to consyder that Paulanias buryed them in this lande, as in the lande of frendes, and amonge his allyes. wherfore if youe slaye vs and geue our lande to the Thebayns, what other thinge shall youe do, but deprive vs, youre ancesters & parentes of the honnors that they haue, and leue them in the lande of theire ennemyes that haue slayne them. And moreouer bringe into seruytude that land, in the whiche the Grekes haue recouereddde their lybertie. And also you shall leue the temples of the goddes desart and not inhabyted, wherin they haue made the vowes, by vertue wherof, they haue vanquishedde the Medes. And youe shalle take the furste aulters from them, that haue founded and edified them. whiche shalbe certaynely (lordes Lacedemonyans) a thynge abatinge and farre inconuenyent vnto youre glory, to manners and common lawes of Grece. For the memory of youre progenytours and oure kynsmen and meryttes, to haue slayne vs, wythoute beynge by vs offended, through the hatred of othere. And yt shulde be muche more conuenable for youe to pardone vs, and aswaginge youre angre and displeasure, to suffre yourselfe to ouercome by a modestuous mercy. Considerynge and settinge bifore youre eyes, what euills youe shall do and to what sort of people. And that suche calamyties do very often chaunce to people, that haue not deserued them. wherfore we praye you (lyke as bicommeth vs and as necessitie constrayneth vs) callynge to our aide the goddes of our particuler temples and those that be comon to all Grece: that youe vouchesaulfe to receue vs frendelye and to cease youre displeasure at oure requestes and declaratyons and haue remembraunce of youre auncesters. For whose memorye and sepulcres, we requyre youe, callynge theyme vnto oure ayde, euenne deade, as they be, that you wyll not to putte vs into the subiectyon of the Thebayns, nor delyuer your ancyente frendes into the handes of youre naturall ennemys. Aduertysinge youe, that the selfe daye, wherein we were in daunger to suffre extreme euyll, ys that same onely, wherein we dydde so manye fayre actes wyth your ancestres. But forsomuche, as, to a people that be in suche mysery and necessytye as we bee, it ys a mysserable thynge to make an ende of theire speakynge, thoughe that yt prenayleth nott to vse yt by necessytye, insomuche as afterwardes, whan they haue donne, they attende and looke for the extremytie of deathe: yet in ceasynge too speake, wee saye to youe, that we haue not rendredde oure cytie vnto the Thebayns. For rathere we wouldе haue endurede to dye by famyne, or by othere shamefull death. But it is to youe (lordes Lacedemonyans) for trouthe, to whome we be rendredde, puttynge oure truste in youre faythe. Wherefore if wee cannot obteygne oure requeste, reasonne wylle, that ye sette vs agayne in that state, wherin we were, to wytt, in daunger of that, which might chaunce vs, puttynge youe agayne in remembrance, that frome youre handes youe doo, not cõmytt into the same of the Thebayns, oure mortall ennemyes, vs the Plateens, whyche haue bene alwayes affectyonedde to all the Grekes and that haue rendredde themselfe vnder youre parte, and to youre mercye. Butt rathere to be authors of oure weale, to the ende that men may not say, that you that pretende to putte all the Grekes in libertie, haue vtterlye abolyshedde and extinguishedde vs. In suche manner spake the Plateens. Than the Thebayns, fearynge lest the Lacedemonyans shulde be mouedde wyth their speakynge to graunte theyme somme thynge, demaundedde to be lykewyse hearde. For somuche, that in theire oppynyonne, to muche audyence and too longe delaye was graunteddde

to the layd Plateens for to aunswere to the interrogation, that was made vnto them. And after that lycence was grauntedde them to speake, they beganne in this manner.

The oration and speakinge of the Thebayns, agaynst the Plateens, and howe they were destroyed and slayne.

The.r. Chapter.

WE hadde not requyred this audyence, lordes Lacedemoniens if this people here, hadde aunswereddе briefly to the interrogation made vnto them, and if they hadde not tourned their talke agaynste vs by chargynge and blamynge vs, and excusynge themselfe wythoute purpose, where no manne accusedde them, and highly prayenge themselfe, where no man blamed them. But nowe we be constrayned partly to denye and partly to faulsefie that, whyche they haue sayde. To the ende that their outrecuidance and presumptyon profyytte not them: and oure science and patience hurte vs. And afterwardes youe shall iudge, who shall haue sayde the trouthe. And furst the cause of oure enmytie muste be consydereddе. whyche ys for that, that hauynge foundeddе and peopled the cytie of Platee, the laste of all the othere, that be in oure contrey of Beoce, wyth certayne other townes, whyth we had wonne oute of oure sayde countrey, and peopledde wyth oure people, chaunge fromthence those, that were there before: thies here onely frome the begynninge disdaigned to be vnder oure empyre, and wouldе not obserue oure lawes and ordinaunces, whyche all the othere Beotians did holde and kepe. And parceyuing, that we wouldе constrayne them therunto, they rendred themselfe to the Athenyans. throughe whose helpe, they haue done vs very many dommages, wherof they haue bene well recompensed. But touchinge this, that they say, that whan the Medes entred into Grece, they onely, amonge all the Beotiens, wouldenot take theire partie, whyche is the matter, whereof they aduaunte themselfe, and that they reproche vs the more: wee confesse truely that they did not take parte with the Medes, forsomuche as the Athenians did not take it. But by the same reasonne we saye, that whan the Athenyans haue holden againste all the Grekes, they onely amõge all the Grekes, haue bene on their parte. And also it is to be consideredde, howe we did that than, and howe they haue at this presente, done thys. For oure cytie, at that same tyme, was not gouerned by a lawfull principalite of a small nomber of lordes, nor yet by the comon state: but by an othere fourme of lyuinge. whyche is ryght odyous, both to all lawes and to all cyties. And differeth not muche from tyrannye, to wytt, by the puyssance of certayne particulers, who, trustynge to enriche themselfe, if the Medes hadde obteigned the victory: constraigned vs to take their partie. whyche thynge neuerthelas the cytie for trouth did not vnyuersally. wherfore it shulde haue no reproche, not beinge than in her lybertie. But sens that it toke againe and recouered her lybertie, & her ancyent lawes, after departure of the straungers: It is to be consideredde ỳ whan the Athenyãs had assaulted Grece, & would haue subdued our cõtrey vnto their domynyon, & in dede, whan they occupyed one parte therof throughe occasion of cyuyll dissensions: we after the victory, that we had againste them at Cheroneus, haue not onely deliuered all the land of Beoce out of their seruitude,

but

but also nowe of a franke courage, we be ioyned wyth yowe to delyuer the remnant of Grece from seruitude. In contributinge as greate nomber of people as well fotemen as horsemen, as any other cytie of Grece. And this ys sufficyente for to purge and clere vs of the cryme, that they obiecte agaynste vs to haue taken parte wyth the Medes. But we will payne ourselues to shewe, that yowe Plateans haue more greatly offended Grece, and be worthy of greuous punishment. Yowe saye that for to reuenge yowe of vs, ye became allyes and burgeoses of the Athenyans. Than were it conuenyent, that yowe shulde haue aydedde the sayde Athenyans agaynste vs onelye, and not agaynste all Grece, consyderinge that if they woulde haue constrayned you to yt, ye might haue had the Lacedemonyans, that wolde haue defended and saued yowe, for the allyance chiefly, that was made betwene yowe against the Medes, wherof yowe make so great a buckler and defence. whyche also had bene sufficyent to defende you agaynst vs, if we wolde haue wronged you. wherfore wythoute any doubte, yowe haue wyllingly chosen the parte of the Athenyans. And after ye excuse yourselfe, sayinge that yt had bene shame for you to habandonne them, that merited well towards you. But it was muche more shame to yowe, to forsake for them, all the othere Grekes (wyth whome yowe hadde made othe and allyance) than the Athenyans alone. And them, that wolde haue delyuered Grece frome seruytude, than those, that wolde bringe yt into bondage. wherein ye haue not rendredde sarvyce egally, nothere withoute youre shame. Forsomuche, as if they come to youre ayde, beynge by yowe requyred, yt was to defende yowe, lyke as yowe yourselfe confesse. But ye arne comme to theirs, for to wronge othere. And yet neuerthelas, it is lesse dishonneste, not to rendre sarvyce and pleasure in like case, where one oughte to do it by good reasone and iustice, then onelye, to wylle, to acquite it with an euille and vniuste quarelle. Than, hauinge done the contrarye, yowe haue sufficyentlye declaredde, that the same, whiche yowe onelye, amonge all the Beotiens, didde in resistynge agaynste the Medes, was nott onely for loue of the Grekes, butt rathere for that, that the Athenyans did take the contrarye part. fauourynge alwayes that, whyche they haue donne agaynste all the othere Grekes. And nowe yowe wyll that those (agaynste whome ye haue bene wyth all youre power at the desyre and for the quarelle of othere) shulde dos yowe good. whyche ys a thynge vnreasonable. But rathere it is conuenient, that sence yowe haue chosen the Athenyans parte, that they ayde yowe, if they maye. And it auaileth not that yowe allege the confederation, that was made in that same tyme of the Medes, for to helpe yowe wyth. Consyderedde that yowe haue violatedde and brokenne yt, by geuinge ayde and succours to the Eginetes. And to certayne othere, that shulde haue bene subdewedde at the leage of Grece. And thys yowe dydde not, for anye constraynete, as wee dydde, takynge parte wyth the Medes: butt yowe haue done yt with youre good wylle, beynge alwayes in youre lybertie, and lyuynge after your lawes, lyke as yowe doo at thys present daye. And also yowe haue nott regardedde the laste requeste and sommons that was made vnto yowe byfore ye were allyegedde. to wylle yowe to be newter, and to lyue in reste and peace. Thanne, what be all those amonge all the Grekes that maybe more worthy to be hayred than yowe, that wolde shewe youre valyauntnes and employe all youre power to their dammage. Declarynge by thys clerelye, that if yowe haue at any tyme bene good (as yowe haue sayde it was not of nature. For the true inclynation of people is known whan yt ys permanente by nature: as yours hath bene, to perseuer wyth the Athenyans in thys vniust and dampned quarell. And it ys ynough for to shewe, that

we followedde the partie of the Medes, agaynste oure wylle, & that youe haue folowedde that same of the Athenyans, wyllingly. As touchynge that whyche youe haue sayde afterwardes, that we haue wrongedde and assaulted youe and your cytie vniustly, on your festiuall day and durynge the treatie of peace, we aunswere youe that euenne in this, we iudge that you haue more faillede and offended than we. For if whan we came vnto youre cytie we had geuenne it assaulte, or had destroyed your landes and houses beynge in the feldes, it mighte well haue bene sayed, that we did youe iniurie. But if any your citezenis that were moost noble and richeste of the cytie (for that they desyred to withdrawe you from the alliance of straungers and to come to the commen lawes of the Beotiens) came to requyre vs to go thyder, what iniurie haue we done? for if iniurie be therin committed, it ought to be rather imputed to them, that ledde our people, and not to them that were ledde, though that in our opinyon there was no offence naither on thone syde nor of the other. Considered that they þ were Cytezeins, as well as you, and had more to lese then youe, dyd openne vs the gates, and dydde lette vs into the Cytie (and that not ennemylyke, but peasablie) for to geue order, that those amonge youe, that were worste, shulde not be more euell, and they that were good shuld be honnored accordinge to their deserte. And so we came more for to moderate your wylles, then to extermyne & hurte youre parsons. And in reducyng you to the furst and auncyent fraternitie that we had togyders, we wolde that you shulde not haue had enmitie to any parson of the world, but that ye shuld haue lyued in good peace & amitie with all mē. And we shew well that it was our mynde, for whan we were within your towne, we did not any acte of enmitie, nother of violence to anye parsone, but we cawsed to be publyshed with the sounde of trompette, that all they, whiche wolde lyue after the common lawes of the Beotiens, shulde retyre vnto vs, wherunto ye agred wyllyngly, and came to treate and common with vs. But afterwardes, seing that we were in small nombre, you entreated vs not after that sort, yea, though ye than shuld & myght haue had colour to pretend that we had outragyously vsed you to enter into your Cytie, without knowlaige and consent of the people. For you dyd not perswade vs by wordes and exhortacions to departe out of your Cytie, and not there to innouate or establysh any custome, wythout setting vpon vs ennemylyke, as you haue done. But contrary to the apoyntement and conuenaunt that we had cōcluded togyders, ye came to assanlte vs furyously, & yet not withstanding, we aske none amendes for them that were slayn at that same conflycte, for it maye be sayde, that they in some maner were slayne by right of warre. But for them that yelded them selfe vnto you, and that ye dyd take lyuyng, promisinge to saue their lyues, we mayntaygne, that you cawsed them to dye vngratyously and noughtely, and that you dyd withoute any doubte, an vniust & vngentle acte, in thre maners within a very smal space of time. To wit in breakyng your promes and apoyntement, afterwardes in kyllynge them with whom you had made it, & thirdly by promising vs decentefully not to slay them: seynge þ we did no dammage in your land. And yet neuertheleſſe you haue audacytie to saye, that we do you wronge, and that men wold punyshe you agaynst reasone. Truely ye shalbe declaredde innocentes and absolued of payne, if these iudges here woll iudge vniustlye. But if they be good Judges, youe shall receiue punyshment for your myslydedes. which thynges we haue called to remembrance, Lordes Lacedemonyans, aswell for your interestes, as for ours, to wytte for yours, to the ende that condempnynge theyme, youe vnderstande to haue done iustyce. And for ours, to the intente that men maye knowe, that demanding

dunge & requiringe that they be punished, we haue in nothing cõspyred nor done any thynge worthye of reprehencyon. And yone ought not to be moued vnto pytie, for the vertues and ancyẽt glories of thies people here, if they haue hadde any. For suche thinges ought to helpe them, to whome men woulde do wronge. But vnto them that haue done any villaynous thyng, that same shuld double their payne, as to thies here, whyche nowe haue offended, wythout any reasonable occasion. Also the lamentations and pytefull rehersalles that they make, in requiringe to their ayde, the sepoulcres of your ancestors, and bewaylinge the lacke of their frendes, ought not to moue youe to pytie. For we do youe to vnderstande, that our yonge citezeins were muche more cruelly intreated by these here that slewe them. The fathers of whom, were partly slaine, in Coronie, bringinge vnto youe succour from Beote. And the other that remayne in their age, depryuedde of theire childrenne, desolate in their howses, requyre thereof muche more reasonably vengeaunce, than thies here requyre grace. For they be aboue all othere worthye of mercye, that haue sufferedde wronge agaynste reasonne. But they that haue done yt, do merytt, that they, whyche haue suffredde yt, shuld reioyce themselfe by seynge theire calampties. Lyke as thies be here, whoe, for their faulte, be thus habandõned, they beynge wylyngly departedde frome theire beste frendes and allyes. And hauynge iniuriedde vs more throughe hatredde and euylle wylle, than by reasonne, wythoute hauynge bene by vs in anny thynge offendedde. And yette they shall nott suffre all the payne, that they deserue thoughe they shalbe at the presente punyshedde ryghte sharpely. And thys ys not true that they allege that they yeldedde them selues wyth theire good wylles, holdynge vp their handes agaynste vs in fayghtynge, butt they be by expresse couenaunce, rempttedde to your iudgemente. wherefore the matters beynge suche as we haue sayde, wee requyre youe (lordes Lacedemonians) that youe woulde susteigne and helpe the lawe, which thies here haue offended, and to render vnto vs, that haue bene vnnustlye wrongedde, grace and reward, accordynge to oure demerytte, for the seruyces that wee haue done throughe oure industrie and trauaille. In suche manner that it be not sayde, that wee haue hadde the repulse of youe, throughe the woordes of thys people here And to shewe example vnto al Greece, that you grounde not youreselfe vpon woordes, but vpon dedes. For truly whan matters be good of themsell, there nedethe not manye woordes. But to coloure and mytigate a inysdede, it is very requysitt to vse artificiall and sturrynge woordes. And if those, that haue the authorytie to iudge, as it is wyth youe at thys presente, hauynge lomarely knowin the difficulties and doubtefull causes, woulde thereupon ordeyne at ones, wythoute puttynge agayne the matters into disputatyon: men shulde not study somuche to forge fayre woordes in villaynous thynges. Thus spake the Thebayns. After that the iudges Lacedemonyans, hadde heard bothe the parties, they determynedde to perfyste in theire interrogation, to wytte, if they hadde merytedde any grace of the sayde Lacedemonyans, duryng the warre. For somuche as yt semedde vnto theyme that in the tyme passedde, they were gouernedde reasonablye after the lawes and conuentyons of Pausanyas, vntyll they refusedde the parte to remayne newter, afore they were allegedde. And that sence they hadde refused yt, the same Lacedemonyans were not bounde by the sayde conuenauntes. And also the sayde Plateens hadde by that meane, yll acquytedde themselfe towardes theym. So they causedde them all to comme one after the other. And demaunded of them, as aboue. And seing that they answered nothing, they caused thẽ to be caried frõthẽs into an other place. where they al were slaine

wythout that any one eskaped. whiche were found of Plateens more than twoo houndred, and of Athenyans, that were come to their ayde, twenty and fyue, and the women caryed awaye pryſonners. As touchinge the cytie, the Thebains dyd geue it to the Megaryans who were dryuene from their cytie, through the deuiſions amonge them, and vnto other Platees, that had taken their parte: for to inhabitt there. But the yeare gone about, they plucked it downe from the bottome vp by the foundations, and buylded it newe agayne nighe vnto the temple of Juno, nerte the whyche, they made a palais, the largenes whereof, was twoo houndred fote, of all ſides, in forme of a cloiſter, hauinge houſes and habytations of all ſydes aboue and benethe, wherin they dyd beſtowe, all the plākes, the portes and the other faire ornamentes of the houſes, that they had plucked downe. And alſo furniſhed them wyth couches and beddes, and did dedicate all vnto the ſaid goddeſſe, to whome moreouer they edyfied a newe temple, all of ſtone entailled or karued, conteignynge an houndred foote of lengthe. Touchinge the terrytorie of the ſaid cytie of Platee, yt was lett to farme & to laboure for tenne yeres, to wytt, to the Thebains, one ſmall portione, & to the Lacedemonyans the greateſte parte. whiche they did take for to doo pleaſure to the ſaide Thebayns. For alſo by this ſame cauſe, they were ſo contrary to the ſayd Plateens. Thinkinge that the ſayd Thebains mighte helpe them greatly and do thē greate ſeruyce in that warre, whiche they hadde bigonne agaynſt the Athenyans. Such ende, toke the ſiege of Platee, foure ſkoore and thirtene yeares, after, that the Plateens had made allyance wyth the Athenyans.

the temple of Juno

Howe the Peloponeſians had an victory by ſea againſt the Athenyans and Corcyrians that toke their parte, by meanes of the deuyſion, that was moued amonge the ſayd Corcyriens.

The.xi. Chapter.

In thies enterfeates and buſynes, the forty ſhips, that the Peloponeſians had ſente vnto ꝑ ſuccours of Leſbos, parceyuinge the comming of the armye by ſea of the Athenyans, that came againſte them: they enforſed themſelfe to retire with the moſt diligence, that they coulde. Being chaſed by fortune of the ſea into Creta, & fromthens withoute order, makinge towards Peloponeſe, they encountred in their way nighe vnto Cyzemus, thirtene galleys, which were of the Leucadyans and Ambraſyans. wherof Braſidas, ſonne of Tallides, was Cappytaine, and for his counſeillour he had Alcidas who was comme thider to hym. For the Lacedemonyans, hauing failled thenterpryſe of Leſbos, renewed and ſtrengthenedde agayne their armye by ſea, and ſente them into Corcyre, vnderſtanding, that the towne was in deuiſion, & knowinge, that the Athenians had in all, but twelue ſhips in that quartier, which they kept at Naupacte. For this cauſe they ordoned to the ſayd Alcidas & Braſidas, that they ſhulde departe from the ſayde place, bifore the Athenians ſhulde parceyue yt, thinkinge that the matter ſhulde come to good effecte, through the diſſenſion, that was amonge the Corcyriens. By occaſion of thys, that thoſe amonge them, that were takenne by the Corynthians in the bataylle by the ſea, that was at Epidanne, beynge by the ſame Corynthyans ſente agayne vnto their houſes vnder coloure to go to ſeke the raunſonne that their frendes of Corinthe hadde aunſwered for them, whych amounted to foure ſkoore talentes: but

Braſidas. Tellides.

but for the trouth, to practyse the other Corcirians and to bryng agayne ȳ Citie into the obeysance of the Corcyziens, they dyd the best that they couide towardes the other Citezens for to cause them to departe from the allyance of the Atheniyans. So it chanced that duringe thys tyme, arryued two shyppes at the porte of Corsyze, the one sent by the Corinthiens and the other by the Atheniās. And in both of them were Imbassadours from the sayde two Cities for to practyse and get the Corcyriens, whiche were hearde, and had audyence the one after the other. And the conclusion and answere of ȳ sayde Corcyriens was that they wolde remayne allyes and confederates of thathenians accordynge to their pactes and cōuenauntes, and with the Lacedemonians they wold contynue frēdes, as they had accustumed. Which answere & deliberation was so made through the persuacion of Pithias. Who thā had greatest auctoritie in ȳ towne, and had made himselfe a burgeose of Athens. By occasion wherof, the other ȳ laboured to the contrary as we haue shewed, caused him to be called into Judgemente chargynge him that he wouldе brynge the Citie into subiection of the Athenians, But he was absolued and discharged of that accusacion. And anone after, he accused kyne of the sayde aduersaries, the rychest of all, chargynge thē ȳ they had raled downe the pales that were at the closture of the temple of Jupiter and Alcinas, in whiche case the penaltie was ordeyned by theyr lawe, to be one stater, for euery pale, which was to much for them to paye, for this cause being condēned, they withdrewe themselfe into franchise within the temple, for to obteyne a moderation of ȳ sayd penaltie. But Pithias did empesche the moderation, and exorted the other Citezenis to cause them to paye it with the vttermost. Than those that were persecuted, considering that he had the auctoritie in the senate and that so longe as he had it, thother wolde take no other parte but that same, that the Athenians dyd take, they assembled together in good nombre, & with their daggers entred impytuously within the senate, and so did slay Pithias and of the other aswel senatours, as priuat Citezēs, to the nombre of threscore. The other, that toke parte with Pithias, saued them selfe in ryght small nombre and rendred them into the shippe of the Athenians, which yet was within the porte. After that the coniuratours and conspicers had done this execution, they assembled and shewed them that ȳ, which they had done was for ȳ weale of the Cytie, and ȳ they shuld not be reduced to ȳ seruitude of the Atheniens, and in the remenante they ought to shewe themselfe newter betwene the Athenians and the Peloponesians, and to signesye them and make answere to them both, that they shulde not come into their porte, but peasablie and with one shyppe onelye, and that they, that shulde bringe any more, shuld be holden and reputed for ennemies, which decree being by them so publyshed, and the people constryned to confirme it, they sente certeyne Citezens to the Athenians to sygnifye vnto thē what was done and to shewe vnto them ȳ it was couenaunted that they shuld so do and also to perswade vnto the Corcyriens that had withdrawin them selfe thyder, that they shulde not purchase or procure any inconuenient, whereby trouble might chaūce vnto the Citie. But they being aryued in the Citie, were incontinently taken as sedecious people, to gyders with them, that had subourned and prouoked them therunto, and were sent prisoners vnto Egine. In the meane time, the princypall Citezeins of Corcyze, that toke parte with the Corynthyans, the galley and the Imbassadours of the sayd Corinthians being aryued, russhed and furiously dyd set apon the compynaltie of the Citie, which defendid it self, for a certayne tyme, but at the ende, they were vanquyshed and dryuen back, so ȳ nyght to night, they were constreyned to retyre into the fortresse, and to the hygh

the closture of the temple of Jupiter

highest places of the citie, in whiche places they beynge fortefyed, seased them selues of the gate hillaicquus. The other that had had victory seased themselues of the market place, rounde aboute the whiche, they had the more parte theyr houses, and of the gate, that is of the lande syde at the descente and going downe frome the saide market place. On the morow they had an eskarmuche wyth strokes of stones and dartes onely. And euery of the parties dyd sende into the feldes to practise and gett the sklaues on his partye, promysinge to geue them lybertye, who more redely did chose the parte of the comynaltye. But vnto the other, there came eyght houndred men wyth succours out of the quarter of maine land. And so they came againe to battaile, one only daye, betwene two thurste. In the whiche, the comynaltye had the victorye, aswell for that, that the place, wherin they dydde fyght, was most to theyr aduantage. As also for that they were more people in nomber. And moreouer the women of the towne, who toke theyr parte, ayded them marueloussly by an hardenes more greate, than theyr condition did suffer, in fusteigning the sturdynes and strengthe of the ennemyes, and casting tyles and stones frome the toppes of the houses downe vpon them. The principall Citezens, being than put into disorder and flyght, vpon thentringe of the night, and fearyng lest fourthwith the comynaltie with great crye & force wold come to gett the porte & the shippes which they had, & that doinge shulde slaye them all, they sett fyer in the houses that were apon the market place and aboute yt, aswell in theyr owne, as in the same of others for to empesche that the comunaltye shuld not passe that waye. By meane of which fyre, marchandises, of a right greate price and valure, were burned. And if the wynde had blowen againste the cytye, it had bene in greate daunger to haue bene vtterly and holy burned, and by this meane the strife ceased for that night. And they kepte them selues in armure, aswel on the one syde as on the other, euery man in his quarter. But the shippe Corynthyan, that was in the porte, vnderstãdynge that the comynaltye had had the victorye departed secretly, and lykewyse many of those, that came out of the mayne land to the succours of the principall Citezenis, returned priuely into theyr houses. The morowe after, Nicostratus, Duke of the Athenyans, aryued in the porte of Corcyre wyth twelue shyppes, and fyue hundreth mẽ. Mellenians, comyng frome Naupacte, who, for to reduce all the Citie into concorde, entreated and trauayled amonge them, that they shulde agree and be frendes, and that tenne, only of them that had bene the principalest of the sedition, shulde be punysshed, and that they neuertheles shulde not abyde Judgemẽte, but saue themselfe. And as for the rest that al the other shulde tary in the Citye, as before and that all wyth one accorde shulde confirme agayne the allyance wyth the Athenyans, to wyt, to be frendes of frendes, and ennemyes of ennemyes. After this appointement was so concluded and agreed, the principallest and chiefest of the people, treated wyth Nicostratus, that he shulde leue them fyue of the shyppes to defende, that the other partye shulde not ryse nor sturre. And moreouer that he shulde charge and take into hys other shippes, those that they shulde aduertise to be of the contrarye parte, and cary them awaye wyth hym, to thintente that they myght not make anye mutyne and insurrection, whyche thynge he graunted them. But so as they made the rolle of theyme, whome they wolde haue charged vpon the sayde shyppes, they fearinge to be caryed into Athenes withdrewe themselfe into franchise and sanctuarye, into the temple of Castor, and Pullux. And though that Nicostratus dyd put them in comforte and exhorted them to come

the temple of castor and pollux

wyth

with hym, yet coulde he not perſwade thē. By occaſiō wherof the people went e into there houſes, & toke all the harnes that they had, and had ſlayne ſome, that they encountred, yf that Nicoſtratus had not empeſched & letted them, whiche perſeaued by the other, that were of that bende, they withdrewe them ſelues into the temple of Juno, to the noumber of foure houndred, whereby the people, fearynge, leſt they wolde make ſome innouation and noueltie, he perſwaded thē ſo, that they were contente to be ſent into a Jſle that was forane mpſte the ſayde temple, in the whiche, they ſhulde be furniſſhed of that, that was neceſſarye for their lyuinge. The thinges being in ſuche eſtate, foure or fyue dayes, after that the ſayde Citezenis were caryed into the ſayde Jſlande, the ſhypps of the Peloponeſians that remayned in Cyllene, after theyr retourne from Jonia, whereof Alcidos was Cappytanie and his counſaillor Braſidas whiche were in noumber Lxii. arryued in the porte of Sybota, whiche is a Citie in the mayne land, and at the breake of the daye, they tooke theyr waye towardes Corcyre, whiche parceyued by the Citezenis, they were much aſtonyed, aſwel through cauſe of theyr Ciuylle deſſencions, as alſofor the comynge of the ennemys. And ſo they armed thre ſkoore ſhippes wyth theyr people and ſente them the one after the other to mete wyth the ennemys, ſo as they were charged. Howe be it the Athenyans prayed them that they wolde ſuffre them to go formoſte in the Battaille & that they wolde come after al togider. Nowe the Corcirians faillinge thus deſperſed and oute of ordre, after that they bygonne to approche and drawe nyghe vnto ȳ Peloponeſians, two of the ſame Corcyrians ſhipps came to Joigne wyth them and they that were wythin the other dyd fight togithers amonge themſelfes wythout anye order, whiche parceyned by the Peloponeſians they ſente twentye of theyr ſhippes againſte them, and the other made towarde the twelue of the Athenyans, amonge whome there was one of Salampne and an other of Parale. The Corcyrians, through the dyſorder that was amonge them, caſte themſelfe into a whele or roundenes. But the Athenyans fearyng to bee encloſed by the multytude of thennemys ſhippes, came not directly againſte the mayne flete, but charged vpon one of the Corners and ſo dyd ſincke one of theyr ſhyppes, and afterwardes they dyd caſte them ſelfe into a roundenes, and ſailled tourninge aboute the ennemyes truſting to put them in diſorder, whiche parceyued by the .xx. ſhippes that were gone againſt the Corcyriens, & fearinge leſt yt ſhulde happene, lyke as it chaunced vnto them at Naupacte, they came to the ſuccours of theyr compaignyons, and all Joigned togiders, they made directly againſt the Athenyans, who retired faire and eaſely. But as the peloponeſyans charged lyuely vpon them, the Corcirians dyd put them ſelues in flyght, & after that the conflict and battaile had contynued vntyll nyght, the Peloponeſians had the victorye. Than the Corcirians fearynge that the ennemys hauinge the victory wolde come to aſſayle them in the Citie, or that they wolde take vō them the Citizens that were ſente into the Jſle, or do ſome other enterpryſe vō them, they did charge and take in, the ſayde Citezenis, and caryed them agayne fro the Jſle into the temple of Juno, and afterwardes they dyd ſett watches in the towne. Neuerthelas the enemies, thoughe they hade the victorye, durſt not come againſte the towne, but wyth thirtene ſhippes whiche they had take with Corcyriens, they retired into the porte, fromewhence they were departed, nor alſo the daye folowinge they durſte remoue, although the Cytie was in greate trouble, and that Braſidas was of oppynyon, that they ſhulde haue gone thyder. For Alcidas that was of greater auctorytie was of a contrarye mynde, and they wente fromethence to lande at the promontorye of Leucymne, at whiche place beynge

beyng landed, they dyd many euylles in the lande of Corcyre. Durynge this tyme, the Corcyrians featinge theyr cummynge, had a parliamente wyth them that were retyred into the temple of Juno howe they myght defende the Cytye and wyth some of them they had so muche perswaded, that they had caused thē to enter into the shyppes, whereof they had armed thirtye, the best ỳ they might haue, for to wythstonde thennemyes if they had come. But they after that they had pyllaged & wasted the territorye vnto the south, returned vnto the shyppes and so sayled awaye. And the nyght folowynge, signe was made vnto them by his lyghts, that ther was departed thre skoore shypps Athenyans from Leucade, whiche made against them, lyke as it for trouth was. For the Athenyans vnderstandinge the dessencion and mutyne, that was in the cytye of Corcyre, and the arryuall of the shyppes that Alcydas cōducted, they sent Eurymedone, some of Thucleas wyth the sayde .lx. shyppes into that partye, wherof Alcidas & the Peloponesians beynge aduertised, they toke theyr waye coostyng the lande, for to go into theyr countrey wyth the moste diligence, that they coulde. And to thintente that it shulde not be perceyued, that they toke theyr course by the mayne sea, trauelled, by the distreate of Leucade, directly vpō the other syde. The Corcyrians beyng aduertysed, as well of the departure of the Peloponesians, as of the commynge of the Athenyans, set agayne wythin the cytie of Hyllena the citezenis, that were dryuene fromthence. And afterwarde caused theyr shyppes to departe, whiche they had charged wyth theyr people, and they sayled vnto the porte Hyllaquus, and in saylynge alongest the lande, they did put to death all thennemyes that they founde, whiche thinge they parceyuinge, that abodde afterwardes, they constraygned the Cytezens whiche they had caused to enter into theyr shippes, to go out of them, and they wente vnto the temple of Juno and perswaded them somuche that were wythdrawin thyder, that there were fyftye, that were contente to put theyr cause to Justice, & to come to defende theyr cause in Judgemente, the whiche al were condempned to deathe. Wherych thing they vnderstandynge that abodde in the temple, dyd euery one kyll them selues. Some hanged themselfe vpon trees, other dyd slaye the one the other amonge themselfe, other by other meanes, in suche maner, that there eskaped not one, & moreouer durynge the space of seuene dayes, that Eurymedon taryed there wt the three skoore shyppes, the Corcyrians caused all them of the Cytie to dye, that they toke for theyr enemyes vnder couloure that they wolde subuerte and destroye the common estate. Some ther were, which were slayne for particuler enmyncies, some other by reason of monye that was owinge them, by theyre owne debtours. And in effecte there happened in that same towne, all the cruelties and inhumanyties, that ar wonte to be sene in lyke case, yea and yet worser. For it was founde, that the fathere dyd kyl the sonne, and also men were slayne wythin the temple yt selfe, and also they drewe men out of the temples for to slaye them. Some there were whiche were chayned with yrons in the Chapel of the god Bachus, wherē they dyed wyth a violente deathe. So muche cruell was that sedycion and mutyne.

(:)

The conspiraties and partialyties, that arose, aswell in the Citie of Corcyre, as in all other cities of Greece, by meanes of the warre that was betwene the Athenyans and the Pelopone-sians, & the erecrable euilles ỳ therby chanced.

¶ The xii. Chapter.

That seditious and ciuile dissention semed somuche more cruell, for that yt was the furst, that chaunced in that same quartier, but afterwardes, it raigned in manner, through all the Cities of Greece. For the more parte of the people toke partie wyth Thatheniens: and the most honest, the same wyth the Lacedemonyans, whiche parcialitie and occasion of Ciuile dissention, they had not had afore that warre. But during ỳ same they ceased not to call to theyr ayde, those of the one parte, for to anoye the other For they that desired to haue mutation and change, were well apsedde to haue that coulour and occacion wherby many greate and haynous euilles chaunced in the Cities, and shall happen alwaies as longe as the people shalbe of such nature and inclynacion, whither they be the greatest, meaner, or of the other sorte, after that the cases of the mutacions and chaunses shall happen, whiche thinge chaunceth not in tyme of peace. For that, that the people haue better opynyon & wyl, aswel in publique matters, as in particular, not being constrayned to come to thies forced ennemyties. But warre, by bringing of lacke and necessitie of victuailes, and wythdrawinge the habūdance of all thinges, maketh herselfe maystres by force, and also easely draweth vnto her, the byolence and euyll wyll of many, for to pursue and folowe the condition of the tyme. Through suche meanes than, were, in that tyme vered and troubled, the estates and gouernours of the Cyties of Grece, by reason of the cyuill seditions. And whan it was knowin that an Insolencie hadde bene done and commytted in one place, the other toke courage, yet to do worse, for to make some newe matter, or to shewe that they were more diligente and inuentiue, than the other, orelles more insolente and desirous to reuenge themselfe. And all the euylles whiche they commytted, they disguised and named by newe and vnaccustomed names. For temeritie and rashnes, they named magnanymytie and noblenes of courage, so that the rashe were named vertuous defendors of theyr frendes. And slackenes and faintnes, they named an honest feare. And modestie, they named couered pusillanimytie or cowardenes. A hedlinge indignatiō, manhode and hardynesse. Prudente consultaciō and deliberatinge in causes, a fensed and clokedde deceate. And in effect he ỳ shewed hymselfe alwayes furious, was reputed a faythfull frende, and he ỳ spake againste hym, was holden for suspect. He, that well executed his enterpryses and vengeaunce, was reputed wyse and of knowlaige, and yet more the same, whiche preuented suche lyke mischefe of his ennemye, or that proupded, ỳ on his parte not one man shulde shrynke from the faction and deede, or els that shulde ones feare the ennemys. And in a totall some, he that was most prompt and redy to hurte an other, was most praysed. And yet more, he, that instructed other to do that to an other, that he thought not on. And also this compaigny and confederation was greater amonge the strange people, than amonge parentes, for ỳ they were moste ready to do eny enterprise wythout any refusal and excuse. For also they made not thies assembles and conspiracions by auctorite of lawes, nor for the welthe of the comon weale, but for a couetousnes against all reason. And the fayth whiche they kepte amonge themselfe, was not for any religion that they had

had,but for to continue that pestelence and that same cryme,in the comō weale. If anye of the compaigny sayde anye good and honest thyng to ꝑ contrary,they wolde not accepte it for suche,nother as commyng of a noble courage. But if they myght defende it wyth dede,they loued muche better to reuenge thē selfe than not to be outraged. If they made any appoinctemente wyth solempne othe:it endured,vntyl one of the partyes founde it selfe strongest. But for ꝑ least occasion that he coulde fynde his compayguion at his aduantage, he was more Joyefull to apprehende hym vnder coulour of that appoyntmente, than if he had defyed hym byfore,al well for that,that it was moore sure,as also that it semed vnto him a greate prudencie to haue ouercomed ꝑ stryfe,through malice. For also this thinge is more comone,that the vnhappy and euyll (whereof the nomber is infinite) may be rather called industrious,than the symple and innocent be named good. And also comonly the people be ashamed to be so symple, and reuoyde to bee vngracious. All whiche thynges proceded of auarice and couetice of other mens goodes. And there vpon arose the conspiracies and partakynge. For they that were Capitanes of the bendes for the cyties, dyd take euerye one an honest occasion of theyr partialitie,to wytt,they that sustayned ꝑ comon estate,sayde that it was a cyuill Equalitye. And they that maigntayned the gouernaunce of a small nomber of particuler people,sayed, that the rule of the richeste men,was that same,that ought to be preferred. And thus dyd euery one debate to maigteigne the comon weale as in wordes:but ꝑ ende of theyr debate and question,& of the effect of theyr victorye,was to enterpryse all cruell thynges,the one againste the other,by violence or by forme of Justice,and wyth punisshemente,not hauinge regarde to the comon weale,nor to that, which Justice required. But for pleasure that they had to see the euell,happene the one to the other,it was compassed by sautte condempnacyons and vyolente oppressyons beyng alwayes ready and disposed to execute soubdamely, theyr euyll intente wyth oute hauinge any regarde,to the relygion of goddes, in thinge that they had done nor what they had contracted. But he that vnder coulour of deceitful and crafty woordes,coulde best deceyue the other,was most estemed.

And if there were any that wolde be neyter wythout takynge the one parte or the other,he was ouerrodene by both the partes,the cause was for that,that he toke not theyr parte,or for enuy that they had to see hym in reste, and exempted from euills,that thother sustayned. And in suche manner, by meane of the factions and bendes,all the countrey of Grece endured all sortes of euylles. And the simplicitie(whereof the noblenes was chiefe parttaker) was exterminyed & persecuted wyth greate derisyon. And it was taken for an excelent thynge,to preuente the assaultes and enterpryses the one of the other. And if at any tyme they reconcyled themselfe togyder,there was no suertye in woordes,nor feare & reuerence to the othe,that they had made. But rather for the diffidence and mistrust that they had,the one of the other:they loued better to stande at theyr defence, fearynge to be circumuented,than to geue faythe to the promesses of theyr enemys. And chiefly the rudest and lesser hable people did verey often prounde better for theyr cause:than the more hable. For knowing the imbicilitye of ꝑ other and by that meane fearynge to be abused wyth theyr woordes and surprysed and circūuented by theyr subtyl wyttes they came furst rashely to the workes of ꝑ dede. Where the more wyse and more hable for the small estymacion that they had of the other,trustynge that by theyr wytte and malyce they wolde prouyde for thynges afarre of,and also wyllynge to execute theyr enterpryses,rather by counsayll and knolage,than by force,were very oftene circumuented and ouercome

come. Many ſuche examples of audacite and raſhenes were ſene at Corcyre. And moreouer they that were ruled and gouerned did all thinges, more by violence and by oultrage, than by reaſone and by modeſtie. Taking vengeance of the vniuſt puniſhmentes that had bene done vnto them or vnto their frendes. And likewyſe that, whyche the poore did that woolde haue enryched themſelf, or they which coueted the goodes of their neighbour. which they hoped to obteigne by eracte and vnlawfull meanes (whyche was one of the pryncipall cauſes of the ſayde euyls) & alſo thoſe, that were not moued by couetyce, but rather by indignation and ignorance: thinkinge that that was lawful, did all thoſe thinges cruelly and without any bzydle of reaſone. For that manner of inſolent & troubleſome lyuinge, did treade downe and vainquiſhe all lawes, and the cõmon and accuſtomed nature of men. And declared well that they did trangreſſe & violate them wyllingly, inaſmuche as it ſhewed itſelf more debile and weake, than angrie and wzathfull, and more puiſſante, than all the lawes, ennemye of theyme that had mooſt goodes, preferrynge vengeaunce before iuſtice, and rapyne before innocentie, and enuyinge the power, there as in nothinge they coulde hurte yt, corruptinge and violatinge for deſyre of vengeaunce, ỹ diſpoſition of the lawes. wherin all men ought to haue hope of helthe and cõfort, without reſarninge to themſelf any other meane to helpe themſelf in any aſſayt or daunger that might chaunce. Suche thinges were done, & perpetrated among the Corcyrians, furſte & before that it was in the other cyties, Eurymedon wyth hys people, being wtin the ſame. who afterwardes departed from thence. And after his departure, thoſe, of the cytie that were ſaued, whiche were to the nomber of fyue houndzed, toke the walles, that were in the mayne lãde. And by that meane enioyed their lands. And moreouer they wente to ouerron the Iſle, and did muche hurte & had great bowties and prayes of the inhabytantes therof, wherby the cytie came into great neceſſitie of victuaile. Afterwardes, they ſente Imbaſſadours to the Lacedemonyans and to the Corinthians, demaunding of them ſuccour for to reenter into the cytie, but ſeinge that they could haue none from thence, wythin a tyme after, they aſſembled a certayne nomber of ſhippes and fouldyars ſtrangers, with the whiche they entred into the Iſle, and were there in all about fiue houndzed. And after ỹ they were landed, they did burne their ſhippes, to the ende that they ſhuld not hope to retourne. Afterwarded, they wente to wynne the moũte of Hiſtonus. wherin they fortefyed themſelfe wyth walles, ſo that they gouerned the terrytorie, and did greate dammage to them that were wythin the cytie.

How the Athenians ſente their Armye into Sicille, and of that they dyd. and what happened vnto them alwelle in the ende of that ſame ſommer, as alſo duringe the wynter, and about begynnynge of the ſommer enſuynge, aſwell in the ſayd contrey of Sycill, as in Greece and in their owne lande. And howe the Lacedemonyans did builde the cytie of Heracleus. ☞ The. xiii. Chapter.

ABoute the ende of that ſame ſommer, the Athenyans ſente twentye ſhippes into Sycille, vnder the conducte of Laches, ſonne of Menalopus, & of Coziaphades, ſonne of Euphiletus, for that, that the Syracuſains had warre agaynſt the Leotins. which Syracuſyans were allyed in Greece, wyth all the cyties of the countrey of Dozya, excepted the Camerins. And the ſame Doziens hadde made allyaunce wyth the Lacedemonyans, before that the warre bigan, though they came not therunto. And in Italie they had ỹ Locriãs for their allyes. As touching the Leontins, they had in Greece, the

Chalcydes and the Camerins, and in Italie, those of Rhege whych were of their nation. who, as allyes of the sayd Leontins, sente to the Athenyans, aswell for thauncyente amytie, that they had wyth theyme: as also for that, that they were Joniens, prayinge them that they wouldе sende some nōber of shippes for to defende them against the Siracusians. which did kepe them from the vsuage both of the sea and also of the lande whiche thinge the Athenyans graunted, and sente them shypps vndre coloure of frendeshipp and affynytie that they had togither. But for ỹ trouth, it was onely for to defende, that no victuales shuld be brought from that quarter into Peloponese, and for to espie if they had any meane, to subdue the Isle of Sycile. The shippes of Athenyēs bemge than arryued at Rhege, they begonne to make warre, in compaignie of the Rhegins. But sone after, the wynter came vpon them, whiche caused it to cease. At beginning wherof bigane agayne the pestylence in the cytie and countrey of Athens. whych was neuer clerely ceased but onely for certayne seasons. But at that tyme, it contynued all the hole yeare. And before, it had endured in one course, two yeares longe, which was the thinge that most enfeabled and destroyed the power of the Athenyans. For their dyed of that pestilence more than fore thousande and foore houndred fighters wyth ordenance, and thre houndred horsemen, besides the remenant of the people, that was innumerable. There was also greate Earthquakes at many tymes, aswell in Athens, as in Eubee, and likewise in the countrey of Beoce, but aboue all in Orchomenia. In that self wynter, ỹ Athenyans, that were yet in Sycile, & the Rhegins wyth their thirty ships, inuaded the Illes, that be called the Illes of Eolus, for that, that in sommer tyme men mighte not passe there, for that there was no freshe water. And the same Illes be inhabited wyth Liparias, that were of the countrey of Cnydus. But principally they kepte themself in one of the same that is called Lipare, whyche is not very greate. And frōthence they passed to the othere, to wytt, Didymus, Strongilus and Hierus, for to laboure and sowe them. In whyche Isle of Hierus, the people of the countrey bileuedde that Vulcanus dwelled and vsed hys forge. For somuche as in the nighte, men might see a great flambe of fyer to aryse, and in the day, a greate smoke. All whiche Illes be situated in the coste of Sycile, and of the lande Mylena, and they dyd than take parte wyth the Siracusains. By reasone wherof, the sayd Athenyans and Rhegins wente to ouercomme them. And seing, that they would not geue vp, they destroyed all their landes. Afterwards they returned vnto Rhege. And it was the fyfth yeare of the warre, that Thucidides hathe wryttonne. At begynnynge of the sommer followynge, the Peloponesians & their allyes made a freshe, their assemblie for to enter into the countrey of the Athenyans, & came vnto the destreate of Peloponese, vnder the conducte of Agide, sonne of Archidamus, kinge of Lacedemonyans. But parteyupnge the earthquakes that daylye chaunced, they retyred, wythout entrynge into the sayd countrey. whyche earthquakes were so greate, that in the countrey of Eubeus, the sea did so strongelye checke and beate aboute the towne of Orobie, that it ouerflowedde all the lowe parte of the towne. And although that it wythdrewe afterwardes frō one parte therof, yet it remayned in an othere parte, and euerlens hath remayned there. By whiche ouerflowyng, all the inhabitantes of that same towne were drownedde and perysshed. Those relarueddе, that founde the meane to wythdrawe themself into the height of the cytie, and the like allumiō and ouerflowing happened in the Isle of Atalantus, nighe vnto the lande of Locriens. In the whych a castell, that the Athenyans there had, was in parte ouerflowed & beaten downe. And of two shippes, that were there in the poorte, the one was clerelye fruchedde in pieceas

The Ilands of Acoly.

Lipara.

Didima

Strongile.

Hiera.

Vulcanus.

Agis.

Orobie.

Atalāta.

and

And likewyse vnto ỳ towne of Paperethus, there came a goulphe of the sea, (& yett wythoute annye Earthquake and ouerflowynge) that dydde beate downe one parte of the walle, togider wyth the palais and many othere howses. Of the whyche alluuyons and ouerflowynges the Eearthquakes (as I thynke) were the cause. For on that syde, where it moste troubledde and quaked, yt chaledde and repulsed the sea from it. whyche, retournynge agayne wyth greate force and violence, caused the alluuyons and ouerflowynges. In the same sommer many exploictes of warre were donne in Sycille, aswell by the straungers as by them of the countrey, and chiefly by the Athenyans and their allyes. wherof the moste notable and thole, that I haue had knowlaige of, were, that Charicles, duke of Athenyans beinge slayne in battaile by the Syracusians, Laches, who was cayptaine of the shippes, went wỳ hys people againste the towne of Mylus in the countrey of Messanyens, in whiche, he hadde twoo compaignies of Messanyens, whyche haupnge made twoo embushementes agaynste the sayde Athenyans and theire allyes, weere repoulsedde and putte to slight. And manye of theyme slayne. wherewyth they of the towne were so afrayde, that the sayde Athenyans and theire allyes, comminge bifore that same towne, they fell to a composition. By whyche they rendzedde the Castell. And pzompsedde to serue and ayde agaynste them of Messane. whyche Messanyens, parceyuing that power to cõme againste them, rendzedde theymselfe likewyse by composition, Geuynge hostages and all othere manner of suertye. In the same sommer, the Athenyans sent .xxx. shyppes aboute the countrey of Peloponese, vnder conducte of Demosthenes, sonne of Alcisteins, and of Pzocles, sonne of Theodozus. And three skooze other they sente agaynst ỳ Ile of Melus wyth two thousande souldyars vnder conducte of Nyctas, sonne of Nyceratus, for that the Melyans refusedde to obey to thole Athenyans, and to contribute to their warres. And soo they constraignedde theym to comme thider by compolycion, after that they hadde destroyed theire landes. And fromthence they passedde into Ozope whyche is appoint and forayne nempste the sayde Ile in mayne lande. In whyche place beinge arryuedde, at the entrynge of the night, they came all in armure out of their ships and went agaynste the cytie of Tanagre in the countrey of Beoce. Into whyche place came on thoder syde (euenne at one tyme) all the people of Athenes vnder conducte of Hipponicus, sonne of Callias and of Eurymedon, sonne of Thucles, who beinge all toynned togider, planted their campe bifore the towne, where they dydde abyde that same daye, and dydde all kyndes of euyls in the countrey and rounde aboute yt. And the morowe after, they of the towne, issuinge fourthe wyth certayne succour that was comme to them from Theme, they repoulsed theyme shamefully and slew a great nomber of them. And of the harnes, that they toke from theyme, they rayled vp a tokene of victozy bifore the towne. Afterwardes they retourned thider fromwhens they came, to wit, the one, to the shippes & the othere to the cytie. And they that retournedde to the shippes, after that they had pyllaged the sea coasts in the countrey of Locrians, they retourned into their quarter. In that same time, the Lacedemonyãs did build the cytie of Heracleus, in the countrey of Trachinie and peopled it wyth their people for this occasion. The Mylyens be deuyded into three partes. wherof the one be the Paraliẽs, the other the Hyeryens and the thirde the Thrachynyens. Against which Thrachynynes, the Oetes theire neyghboures hauynge warre they were frome the begynnynge of oppynyon, to call the Athenyans to theire ayde. But not trustinge assuredly vnto them, they sente lykewyse to the Lacedemonyans, Tisamenus, their amballadour. with whõ, they of Dozie, which is the Metripolytain cytie of

Peparethum.
Charicles.
Mylos.
Demosthenes.
Pzocles
Oropus
Tanagra.
Hipponicus.
Eurimedon.
The foundatiõ of the cytie of Heracles.
Milienses.
Oetei.
Tisamenus.

the Lacedemonians sente also theyr Amballade, for that they also were vexed, and troubled by the saide Oetys. The Lacedemonyans hauynge thā harde that same Amballade, determyned to sende of theyr people for to buylde ẏ sayde habytacion, aswel for defence of the sayde Trachiniens & Doriens, as also for that it semed to them, that it shulde be muche commodious for the warre that they had against the Athenyans, for there is but a veray smalle sea to passe frome thence, unto Eubee, and also they may easely make ther theyr Armye by sea agaynst the Eubeens, and also it shulde be a recours unto them, whā they wolde go into Thrace. For whiche reasons, they sett all theyr studye for to buylde the sayde habitacion. And after that they had demaunded counsell of the god Apollo in the temple of Delphos, they sente thyder a great nomber of labourers, aswell of the countrey, as of the places nygh adioynyng. And also they caused it to be publyshed through all Grece, that it shulde be lawfull to all them ẏ wolde go theder for to inhabytt there, excepte the Joniens, and the Acheens. And they gaue the charge & commissiō, for to builde ẏ sayde colonie & habytaciō, unto thre of theyr Citezeins to wyt Leontes, Alcidas and Damagonces. who hauinge, departed the quarters amonge them: that were come, incloſed the towne wyth walle on all sydes, whiche at this present is called Heracleus, distante frome the mountes Thermopyles, forty stades, and wythin halfe a stade nygh to the sea, And also they prepared and bygonne to make pierrs for to kepe shippes nygh to the Thermopyles and the destreate therof, for to be in greater suertye. The Athenyans frome the begynnynge had some feare of that same newe cytye, understandyng that it had bene buylded forayenst the Ille of Eubee, for that that there was a vyght small space of the sea, to trauers fromthence, unto the towne of Cenee, whiche is the sayde Ille of Eubee. But yet it chaūced otherwyse, than they loked for. For they had no damage by meane that the Thessalenyens, that ruled in that same countrey, and they of the territorye, for whome the cytie was buylded, fearynge to haue neighbours more puissant than themselfe, bigonne to vexe and trouble the newe Citezeins, so that in contynuance the more parte were constrayned to habandone the place. And wher as in the beginninge the cytie was strongly peopled for that, that the people were gone thyder from all costes veray wyllyngly, thinkinge that it shulde be a sure & stable place beynge founded and builded by the Lacedemonyans, yet in small tyme ther remayned but a small nomber of thē, wher of the chiefest, that those Lacedemonians had sente thyder was gretly in faulte, aswell for that, that they discouraged many of them, as also for that they entreated them rudely in manye thynges wherby they were more easly vanquisshed by theyr neyghbours.

Leon.
Aladas.
Damagon.

Thermopyle

Coenii,

Howe Demosthenes Duke of Athenians, beinge bifore Leucade departed frō thence to come to make warre agaynste the Etholians. And howe he was by them ouercome, and some other thynges that were done by the Athenyans in Sycille.

The.xiiii. Chapter.

Ellomenus.

IN that same somer, and durynge ẏ tyme that the Athenyans were bifore Melus: thirty shippes, that wente sayllyng aboute the cōtrey of Peloponese, came furste to lande nighe to Ellomene in the countrey of Leucade. And there layde a lytle embusshement, by meanes whereof

wherof they dyd take certayne of the men of warre, that were there in garnison, and afterwardes wyth all their armye, came before the cytie of Leucade, hauing all the Acarnanyans in their compaignie, reserued those of Enade, those of Zacynthe, and those of Zephalenie. And they had moreouer fiftene shipps wyth Corcirians. whyche altogider being in so greate puissance wasted and pillaged al the contrey and all the lande of Leucade, aswell nighe, as farre of, and chiefly the temple of Apollo, whiche was topgninge to the cytie. And yet notwythstanding, the cytezeins, for the euyll that was done in their lande, wold not ymefourthe, but kepte themself sure wyn their cytie. whyche seynge the Acarnanyans, made great instance to Demosthenes, duke of the Athenyans, that he would assiege & locke them in wyth walles. Hoping that the towne might easely be takene. And by that meane, they shulde be in suertie, for that the Leucadyans were their ancyent ennemys. But Demosthenes, who for that tyme gaue more credit to the Mellenyans, was by thē perswaded to leue ẏ enterpryse & to go to make warre against the Etholiens, hauing so great an armye, aswell for that, that they were mortall enemys of Naupacte, as also for that, that they sayde, that in vainquishinge and subdewynge the sayd Etholyens, they shulde after reduce and bring easely all the remenaunt of the countrey of Epyre, to the obeyssance of the Athenyans. And although that the sayd Etholians were a great nomber of people & good warryours, yet it semed to the sayd Mellenians, that they might easely be vainquished, aswell for that their townes were not closed wyth walles, and also were farre distant the one from the other, wherby they myght not easely succour the one the othere: as also for that they were all ill armed and after the slightest manner. And their aduise was, that the Apadotes shulde be furst assayled, afterwardes the Ophioniens, and consequently the Eurytanyens. whyche is the greatest partie of Etholyens. whyche be people, in manner sauaige and wylde of manners, and of language. And they be commonly called Omophages whiche is almuche to saye, as eatynge rawe flesshe. For hauynge subdued them there, it semedde well, that the othere myghte afterwardes be easely subdued. To thys counsaille Demosthenes consented, aswell for the credytte, that he gaue to the Mellenyans: as also for that it semed well to hym, that hauynge the Epirates vō hym and the Etholyens, he myghte wythoute othere armye of the Athenyans, come by lande to warre against the Beotiens, taking his waye through the contreys of Locres, of Ozoles & of Cytynyans, and by the quarter of Dorie, whiche ps on the lefte hande of the mounte Parnasus, and discendynge from thence into the countrey of Phocyens, who be topgninge to the countrey of Beoce, the which he hoped to induce & intreate to geue hym passage and ayde, for the auncyente amycie, that they had wyth the Athenyans, orels to constraigne them therunto, by force. Upon this enterpryse, he than wythdrewe all his armye trō before Leucade, and went from thence by sea in to Solye, maulgre and agaynst the wyl of ẏ Acarnanyens. Unto whome, hauinge cōmunycated and reherssed his enterprise, and semge that they allowed it not to be good, but rather were angry agaynste him, for that, that he had not assieged Leucade: he wēt wythout them to his said enterpryse vō the rest of his armye, wherin were onely the Cephaleniens and the Mellenyens with thre hondred Athenyans marrōners, ẏ he had in his shippes. For ẏ .xx. shipps with the Corcyrians were alreadye departed. And he wence trō Menone, which is in the coūtrey of Locriens, who were confedered vō Ozoles, & were obliged and bounde to the Athenyās to sarue them wyth their power, whā they shulde make warre in the countreys Mediterranie. whiche succours semed to be muche vtile and profytable to that enterpryse, for that, that they were

Deniades. Zachynthii. Cephalēnes. Eurytanes. Omophagi. Cytinei. Parnasius. Solion. Oenoe.

neyghbours of the Etholyans, and armed themselfe all in one facion. And moreouer they knewe all theyr countrey and theyr maner of fyght. And Demosthenes made his assembly in the temple of Jupiter Nemeus, in the which as men saye, Hesiodus the poete was slayne by the paisãs, wherof he had no doubt. For that, that it had bene shewed hym afore, that, that shulde happene vnto hym in Nemea, wherby, he thought that the Oracle mente and vnderstode of the cytie of Nemea. But experyence sheweth that it was in that same place that was surnamed Nemyan. From that selfe place departed Demosthones at the breake of the daye wyth all his Armye, for to enter into Etholye. And the furst daye he dyd take the towne of Potydanie, the seconde, that same of Crosilyon, and the thyrde, that of Tithyon, in the which he soiourned a certayne small tyme, and fromethence sente the bowtye that he had taken vnto the Cytie of Eupolion, in the countrey of Locres, haupnge in wylle, after that he had subdued all the rest of the countrey and that he shulde be returned to Naupacte, to go fromethence also to subdue the Ophionyens, if they wolde not yelde with theyr good wyll. But of that same preparacion, the Etholiens were sufficiently aduertised, and that from the tyme chiefly that he hade enterprised for to ouerronne thẽ. wher vpon incontynently, as they were entred into theyr countrey, they assembled to guther from all partes, and chiefly came thyder, those of Ophionie, which be in ỹ vttermoste parte of the countrey nygh the Goulphe of the sea, ỹ is called Maliaquus. And lykewyse the Bomiens and the Galliens durynge this tyme that they assembled themselfe, the Wesseuens, folowynge the counsaylle, that they had geuen to Demosthenes, perswadinge hym that the sayde Etholiens were easye to vaniquishe, they counsayled him to go as soone as he myght, to wynne the townes and vyllages of the countrye, byfore the enemys were all assembled. Enluyng which counsaille, and trustyng in his good fortune (for somuche as hetherto nothinge had chaunced hym to the contrary) wythout tarying succours of the Locriens, which myght haue bene verye necessarye for hym, for that they were people of trect, lyghtly armed, he wente agaynst the towne of Egytie, the which he dyd take wythout resystyng, for that that the inhabytãce had forsakẽ it and were retired into the mountaignes, that be aboute the towne, whiche is situated in a hygh place, aboute foure stades, frome the sea. Nowe there was armed the other Etholiens and were lodged in dyuers quarters of the sayde mountaynes, all the whiche, at one fronte, came to assayle the Athenians and theyr allies on all sides vỹ greate strockes of shotte and casting with the hande. And when the same Athenians, charged vpon them, they retired. Afterwardes when they withdrewe themselfe, they folowed them, and this manner of feightynge endured a longe tyme, wherin the Athenians had alwaies the woorste aswell in assayllinge as in defendinge. yet so longe as theyr people of shott, had wherewyth to shoote, they defended themselfe indifferently wel. For the Etholiens, that were yll armedde, whan they perceyued the sayde people with shotte to drawe nighe, they retired. And after that the captayne of those people wyth shoote were slayne, the other that nowe were trauayled and wery ed, being also ouercome by the enemyes, they returned and put themselfe in flight, togethere wyth the remenaunte of the Athenyans and of theyr allyes. And in flyinge they came to reste and passe throughe thee roockes, where no waye was. For Crenon Wessenyan, that was theyr guyde, was slayne. By meane wherof there was manye deade in the flyghte. For that that the Etholyens, whiche were lyghtly armed incontynently ouertoke them spetyallye those that knewe not whythere to flyee. And for that, that one parte was sayde

by

Jupiter nemeus
Hesiodus
Potidanya
Crosilyan.
Tithion
Eupolio
The goulphe Malyacus.
Agitum
Chromon.

by pallynge thwart a woode, they put fyer wythin it, and were all burnedde. So that there was no manner of flynge and of deathe, that was not thanne sene in the hoste of Athenyans, And with greate payne, a very small nomber of theyme, that escaped from that battaille, might saue themselfe in the place of Eneone, in the countrey of Locres, from whence they were departed. And there died of the confederates a veray great nomber, and of the Athenyans fyre skooze, all ponge menne, and of the beste warryours that they had, togiders wyth pzocles, one of the beste Dukes and Cappytains. After that discomfiture, they, that were vainquished, confessinge to the ennemyes the victozye: recouered their deade. And retourned (that done) vnto Naupacte. And from thence to Athenes. Retarued Demosthenes, who taryed there and in places nighe adioygninge, foz feare that he had of the Athenyans, by cause of that ouerthzowe, that he had hadde. In that same sommer tyme the Athenyans, that sailed aboutes Sycile, beinge comme by sea agaynste the Locryens, and hauinge wonne one conflicte againste him at the entry of a passage, whiche they kepte, they did take one of their townes that ys sytuated vpon the ryuer of Haleces, named Peripolyon.

The ryuer of Haleces Peripolion.

Howe Eurylochus duke of the Peloponesyans, hauinge fayled to take the cytie of Naupacte, at the perswation of the Ambzacyans, enterpzyledde warre agaynste the Amphilochyens and the Acarnanyens. And howe the Athenyans purefyed the Isle of Delos.

☞ The.rb. Chapter.

NOwe had the Etholiens, after that they vnderstoode the enterpzyse of the Athenyans agaynste them: sente their messengiers to the Lacedemonyans and to the Cozynthiens, to wytt, Tolophus of Ophione, Bozrades of Eurytanie, and Tylander of Apodotie, foz to requite and demaunde their succours agaynste the armye of the Athenyans, that was come to Naupacte. whiche Lacedemonyens sente them three thousande of their allyes, all well armed. Amongeste whome, there were fyue houndzed of the cytie of Heracleus, whiche they had newely builded and peopled. And they gaue the pzyncipall charge of that armie to Eurylochus and appointed to hym, foz compaignyons, Macarius and Menadatus, all which three were Spartayns. who hauinge assembled their armye at Delphos, Eurylochus commaunded the Locryens and the Ozoles, that they shulde sende hym their peole, foz that, that he wolde take hys waye from thence, foz to go to Naupacte, and also would gladly wythdzawe the sayd Locryens and Ozoles frome the amytie of Athenyans: hauynge nowe already wythdzawne to hys partie, the Amphilles. who, foz the hatred and feare, that they had of the Phocyens, were the furste that yelddede, and hadde geuen hostages and pledges. And also they had induced and bzought the other, that were afrayde of the commynge of the sayd armye, to do the lyke. And specially the Myonyens, whiche were there neighbours on that side, where the lande of the Locryans is wozste to go vnto. And after those there, the Ipnesiās, the Melappens, the Tritaniens, the Tholophonians, the Hessees, the Chalees & the Eanthiens. Al the which came to that army with the Peloponesians. Some other wolde not come thider, but did geue onely hostages and pledges, to wytte the Olpiens. And some othere wolde not do the one, noz thoder, to wyt, the Hye-

Tolophus. Bozrades. Tylander. Euriolochus. Mellarius. Menedatus.

Polis. niens, vntill that theire towne, named Polis, was takene by force. Hauyng than Eurilochus set in order all his case and sente his hostages and pledges into the
Cytinū. towne of Cytyme, in ỹ countrey of Dorie, he marched with his hoste throughe the countrey of Locryans, for to go agaynste Naupacte. And in tourneyinge he toke by force in the saide countrey of Locres, the towne of Eneone and that same of Eupolion, whyche wouide not obeye hym. Beynge arryuedde in the
Eneon Eupoliō lande of Naupacte, entred the succours of the Etholyens. And so they beganne to pyllage and waste all the saide lande and all the byllages, that were not walled. Afterwardes they wente before the cytie of Molictyon, whiche was a Colonie or habitacion of the Corynthiās, but neuerthelas they toke part with ỹ Athenians, and soo toke it by force. Nowe Demosthenes Athenyan was yet in that quarter of Naupacte, whoe kepte hymselfe there, after the lolle that he had had in Etholie. This same man, vnderstandynge the commynge of the enemys, wēte vnto the Acarnanyens and perswaded them so farre, that they did delyuer him a thousand mē armed, which he ledde by sea vnto ỹ citie of Naupacte, whereof he was in greate doubte for ỹ, that it was well walled & of so greate defence. But there was not many people wỹn it. Howbeit the Acarnanyans did this agaynste their wil, at ỹ request of the said Demosthenes, for the displeasure that they had against him for that he wolde not alliege Leucade. whan Eurilochus did vnderstād that the succours were entred into the cytie, & that by that meane he might not take it, he departed from thence with his armye and wente not into Peloponese, but into Eolide, whiche is at this ỹselente called, Calydon, and into Pleu-
Calydō. rone and other places nigh adioyngnige to the countrey of Etholie. And beinge there, the messengers of the Ambraciens came to hym, whyche shewedde hym that if he wouide, he might, wyth their ayde, subdue and gette the cytie of Ar-
Argos gos and the remenant of the countreye of Amphilochie, and afterwardes that same of Acarnane. And that done that he mighte easely bryngne to the allyaunce of the Lacedemonyans, all the countrey of Epire. For this cause, and vnder hope of thys enterprise, Eurylochus passedde not further into the countrey of Etholyans, attendynge the succours of the Ambracyens. And in the meane tyme the sommer passedde. At the entrynge of wynter, the Athenyans, that were in Sycile wyth theire allyes, and all those, that dydde take their partie agaynste the Syraculayns, came to allayle the Cytye of Nyse. In the Castell whereof, the Syra-
Nisa. culayns didde kepe theire garnysonne, but seinge that they couide not take it, they departedde. And in wythdrawynge theymselfe, the people, that were in the Castell, illuedde fourthe vpon the hyndermoste, and so dydde putte theyme into disorder and did slay a good nomber of theym. After that, Laches and the other,
Laches that were in the shippes, yssued fourthe into the lande of Locryens nighe vnto
Caici- the ryuer of Caicinus. At whyche place, they encountredde the Locryens, whyche
nus. Prorenus, sonne of Capaton, did conducte. who repouiled theym and toke three
Prore- houndredde of theym and spoyledde them. And afterwardes suffredde theme to
nus. departe. In that selfe same wynter, the Athenyans, ensuinge some oracle or aun-
Pisistra- swere of the god, didde purefie and dedicate the Isle of Delos. whiche a longe
tus. tyme afore, Pysistratus the Tyrante had pourged and purified, and yet not all.
The But only that partie, that mighte be sene oute of the temple, But than it was
manner hooly pourged by this manner. For they dyd take awaye all the sepulcres, that
of ỹ pur- they there founde. And made a decree and forbodde, that from thence fourthe no
ginge of humayne creature shulde be suffredde to dye nor to be borne in all the Isle. But
Delos. that they, that shulde drawe nigh to death, shulde be carryed into the Isle of Rhe-
Rhenia. nie. The whyche ys so nere to that same of Delos, that Polycrates, Tyrante of

Sampens,

Samyens, who gouerned many Ilandes of that sea, for that he was puissante wyth shippes, hauinge taken ne that same Ile, made a chayne that trauersedde and went thwart ouer from thence vnto the Ile of Delos. And consecratedde all the Ile to god Apollo. And after that last purification, the Athenyās dedycated in the honnour of god Apollo, one solempne feaste from fyue yeares into fyue yeares. Notwythstandinge that auncyentlypt was accustomedde ther to make greate feastes. wherunto came the Jonyans and the inhabitantes of other Iles nighe adioynginge, with their wyues and childzenne, lyke as they nowe doo in Ephesus. And there they vsed tourneyinges, wrastlinges and other exercises, and also almaner of playes wyth instrumentes of musicke, as it may appere by that, whiche Homere sayth in his Pzoheme of Apollo, wherin he maketh mention of himself, that he was blynded, and that he remayned in Chio. Yet afterwardes by succession of tyme the sayde tourneynges and exercyses ceased, and they wente no more thider, but wyth instrumentes of musicque, whyche the Athenyans & those of the Iles nighe adioynynge, brought thider to the solempne feastes. But than the Athenyans brought them vp agayne. And also added the courling with horses, whiche had bene there neuer before. Homerus. Chio.

How Eurilochus and the Ambzacians were by Demosthenes, by the Acarnanyans and Amphilochiens discomforted two tymes in three dayes, and of the slouthfulnes that the sayde Lacedemonyans vsed towardes the sayde Ambzacians.

☞ The.xvi. Chapter.

IN that same wynter, the Ambzacyans came into the Campe wyth their armye, like as they had pzomysed to Eurylochus. And being entred into the lande of Argos in the countrey of Amphilochie wyth three thousande faightinge men: they toke the towne of Olpas, whiche was situated vpon a poynced hill, and had a greate wall to the sea syde. whereupon the Acarnanyans, founders of that towne, did chose their tribunall, for to iudge and knowe of common matters, for that, that it was not distante fro the cytie of Argos, but the space of twenty stades. whyche parceyuedde by the Acarnanyās, they sente parte of their people for to succour and kepe the cytie of Argos. And wyth the othere parte, they wente to lodge themselfe in a place whiche is in the countrey of Amphilochie, named Crenus, for to defende, that the Peloponelians, that were wythe Eurylochus, shulde not passe into Ambzacie, and ioygne themselfe vp the Ambzacians, whom they knew not. And fourthwyth, they sent to Demosthenes, whyche was duke of the Athenyans in the countrey of Ethiole, that he shuld comme to them to be their capptayne. And to Aristoteles, sonne of Tymocrates & Hierophon, sonne of Acimnestus, that had conducte of twenty galleys wyth Athenyans, who than were aboute the countreye of Peloponese, that they shuld come to their succours. On the other syde, the Ambzacyans, that were at Olpas, sente to their cytie, that all the people shulde comme to their ayde, fearinge, that Eurylochus with the compaignie, that he badde, myghte not passe throughe the contrey of Acarnanyans and comme to ioygne wyth theym. And that by that meane, they shulde be by force constrayned to fight wythoute hym, orells to retyre wyth greate daunger. Beinge than Eurylochus and the Peloponelians that were wyth hym, aduertised of thenterpryse of the said Ambzacians they Olpe. Aristoteles. Hierophon.

they departed frome the place of Proschie where he had lodged his campe, for to come & ioigne with them. And leuing the way of Argos, he passed the mountaigne of Achelous and came through the quarter of Acarnania, where was no men of armes, hauing on the right hand, the cytie of Stratie, wherin was a good garnysone, and on the lefte hande the reste of all the countrey of Acarnanie. And whan he had passed, through Pythius, and through the confins and borders of Medeone, and after throughe Lymnee (whiche all were of the lande of the saide Acarnanyans) he entrede into the lande of the Argaens which were no more of Acarnanie, but were feends of the Ambracyans. And hauing trauersed ỹ moist Thyamus (whiche ys all sterile and barone) he came by night into the cytie fro Argie. And frome thence passed betwene the saide cytie and the countrey of Acarnanians priuelye and secreatly, in suche manner, that at the breake of the day he came to ioigne with the Ambracyans, and all togiders wente to lodge themselfe bifore the Cytie that ys named, Metropolis. Sone after, the twentye galleys withe Athenyans, that were in Peloponese, commynge to the succours of them of Argos, aryued in the poorte of Ambracie. And fourthewithe Demosthenes, withe two houndred souldyars Messenyans all welle armed, and three skoore Archers Athenyans, togider with them, that were for defence of the saide galleis, landed, & came to make a courte bifore Olpas. And on the other side, the Acarnanyans and one parte of Amphilochians (for the other parte was occupied against the Ambracyans) beinge arryued at Argos, prepared themselfe for to go to fight with the ennemy. And vnderstanding the cõming of Demosthenes, they came to ioigne vñ him, and made him their Capitain, vñ the cappytains, that they had of their countrey. who came to plante his cãpe nighe nough to Olpas, & to the campe of ỹ ennemys, so that there was but one valley betwene both, that defended & empesched them fyue dayes to fight. The firt daye they prepared themselfe for to geue battell on both sides. But for that the Peloponesiãs were much more mightie in nomber of people, than the other: Demosthenes fearinge to be inclosed vñ the multitude of enemys, dyd set, in a lowe way couered with thicke bushes, an embushemẽt of four houdred men all wel armed, & also armed lightlye. To whom he cõmaunded, that whan they shulde see that the battayle was bigonne, they shulde issue fourthe and come to stryke with great force vpon the backes of the ennemys. And vñ the reste he ordeyned his battaille as he thought good, and put himself in the righte wynge with the Messenyans, and a small nõbre of Athenians that he had. And on the left winge he putte the Acarnanyans euene as they were armed togithere wyth the Amphilochians, whiche were all people of shott. On the other side the Peloponesians and the Ambracyans were all myngledde, the one wythe the othere, resarueddе the Mantynyans, whyche were all togider on the lefte syde, not at the extremytie and wythe the poynete, but more forewardes. For in that wynge Eurylochus hadde bestowed hymselfe wyth the people dyrectely agaynste Demosthenes, who was in the ryghte wynge on the othere syde wyth the Messenyans. The battaile than beinge bigonne, and they that were in the ambushemente, parceyuynge that the Peloponesians that were on the lefte hande, enuironedde and wente aboute to enclose the Athenyans that were on the other syde on the ryghte wynge, came to charge vpon them at their backes, so that they causedde them to forgette their vertue, and dyddeputte theym into dysorder and flyghte. And so shewedde the waye to the greatesse parte of the othere, that were wyth theym in the ryghte wynge, to flye as they dydde. For seing that same bende that Eurylochus conducted, which was ỹ strongest, in disorder: they lost their courage to defende themselfe. And yet neuer-

Achelous. Stratos. The mounte Thyamus. Argia. Metropolis.

neuerthelas, the Ambracians, that were in the ryght wynge, repoulsed their ennemyes in theire parte, and chased them to the cytie of Argos. For also the same Ambracyans be better warryours, than any of their neighbours. But as they returned frome the chase, seinge theire compaignyons almoste all destroyed, and thennemys, that came strayghte vpon theym: they retyred wyth greate payne and danger into Olpas. And also there were many slayn for that, that they kept not order, reserued the Mantynyans, which kepte alwaye their order, in retiring themselfe. And the battaille cessed nighe vpon the night. The morowe after, Menedeus, that was that night chosen capytayne in stede of Eurylochus that was deade, founde hymselfe in greate difficultie and perplexitie of that, whiche he had to do. For throughe the destruction that had bene great on his syde, he sawe nott the meane to defende the towne beinge assieged by sea & by land, nother to retyre wythoute greate daunger. For thys cause he sente to Demosthenes and Capytains of the Acarnanyans, for to demaunde the corpses of theire men that were slayne, and also that those, that were in the towne, men of warre, mighte depart from thence wyth their baguage saued. who rendred vnto them their corpses, and caused those to be buryed that were slayne on their parte, which were about thre houndred. And afterwardes they dyd sett vp their Trophee in token of victorye, but as touchinge the lycence to depart, they woolde not graunte it openly, but refused and denied it generally to all. Notwithstandinge they graunted yt secretely to the Mantynians and to all the Peloponesians that were of any estimation. Wyndinge by that meane, to separate the Ambraceans frō all the souldiors straungers and also to diffame the Lacedemonyans and Peloponesians vnto all the Grekes, as faynte harted & traitors, to make their appointcremente, wythoute comprehending therin their allyes. Than they, that were in the town, haunge engraued and buryed their deade, with the most hast that they might, those that had obteigned lycence to departe, treated togithere secretely the manner of their departure. Durynge this tyme, Demosthenes and the Acarnanyans were aduertysed that the Ambracyans, whyche were departed from their cytie for to comme to the succours of their people, that were at Olpas, accordinge to the comaundement geuen vnto them at the begynning, lyke as hath bene before sayde: were vpon their iourney for to come thider, throughe the countrey of Amphilochiens, wythout that they had knowlayge of the newes of the destruction of their sayd people. So he sent parte of his menne to kepe the passages and the stronge wayes. And the remenant of hys people, he ordened for to succour them there, and to sett vpon the sayd Ambracyans, whan they shulde passe. Betwene bothe, those, that had treated to go awaye, issued oute of the towne in smal bendes, faigninge to go to gather herbes and woode in the feldes, & whan they were a lytle departed from the towne, they set themself to ronne againste the campe of enemyes. whiche seinge the Ambracyans, that were lykewyse come fourth for to gather herbes and woode, folowed them, as faste as they myghte for to ouertake them. But the souldyars Acarnanyans, whyche knewe nothynge of the secrett appointcement, that Demosthenes and their Capytains hadde made wyth the Peloponesyans, thinkinge that all those, that issued fourth of the towne, departed frothence wythoute lycence and wythout appointement: prepared themselfe to followe them. And for that, that some of the Capytains that found them there, woulde haue empesched them to ronne vpon the Peloponesians, saynge that they had saufconduict, there were of them that enforced themself to strike them, and made their weapons ready agaynste them, thinkinge that they hadde deceyued and betrayed them. Yet vnderstandinge, that, the Peloponesians and Menedeus.

Manty-

Wantynyans alonely, had the saulfconducte, they suffred vnto them to passe & kylled the Ambraciens. But there was greate questyon & difficultie to discerne the one from the other, so that in the same tumulte, there were slayn about two houndred. The other saued themselfe wyth greate difficultie wythin the towne of Agride. whiche was nerte vnto them there. whome Salynthius, kynge of Agriens, did reteigne as their frende. In this meane tyme, the other Ambraciens that came to the succours of thies here, arryued at one place named Idomene, whyche hath two hilles or toppes. The greatest wherof, those, that Demosthenes hadde sente bifore did take and occupie in the night seasonne, wythout that the Ambraciens did apperceyue them. who did saise themself of the lesser, wher they kepte them all that same daye and night following, without doubting any thynge. In the meane tyme, Demosthenes, beynge aduertised of their cominge, departed from his campe after supper at the entrynge of the night wyth al hys hoofte, wherof the one half he ledde wyth hym. And the other halfe he cauledde to go through the mounteignes of Amphilochie, & vsed soo good diligence, that at breake of the daye he came to ruffche vpon the sayde Ambraciens, whome he founde yet all slepinge, as people assured, and that knewe nothing of that, which was happened. But thought at the begynning that they had bene of their owne compaigny. For that, that Demosthenes, the better to deceyue them, had caused the Mellenyans to marche bifore the othere, and had commaunded them, that they shulde speake in languaige Dorique with thofe, whiche they founde furfte in the watche, whiche thinge they did. So that the said ennemys thoughte, that they had bene their owne people, the rather for that, that they couldne not wel see them, infomuch as it was not yet day, vntill that the bend of enemys were aryued. And they than did stryke vpō them all at ones, and did slay a great parte of them. The other did flye by the mountaignes, of whome yet the more part was slayne. For that they founde the Amphilochians that hadde gotten and kepte the passages. And forsomuche as they were lyghtely armed, and thies here well armed, they ouertoke them incōtynently. And those that kepte the other pathes, clymed vp to the highe rockes and Cauarns, and cast themself downe, backwardes. Some there were that wente to the sea side, that was there very nigh, who beinge followed by their ennemys, and seing the galleys of the Athenians, which sailled, costing the lande, they did cast themselfe into the water, and swymmed to yelde them vnto the sayd galleys. For though they did knowe that they were vesselles of the ennemys, yet they had rather fall into their handes (albeit that they had declared to be slayne of them) than into the handes of the straungers or of the Amphilochiās that were their mortal enemys. The Ambraciās being in this manner in disorder, were as in a maner all slayn. And a very small nōber saued themself wythin the towne of Olpas. After that destruction, the Acarnanyans, hauinge spoyled their deade, and set vp theire Trophee in tokene of victory, they retourned to Argos, towardes whome, came, the morowe following, a herault sente from the Ambraciens that were saued wythin Agryde. For to demaunde the corpses of their people that had bene slayne at the furst discomfiture, whan they yssued oute of Olpas, wyth the Peloponesians wythoute saulfconducte. who, seinge vpon the campe, the dead in so greate nombre, was greatly abashed, howe it might be that they were so many, not knowinge any thinge of the laste murther, and thought that they were the corpses of their allyes. Than one of the ennemys, thinkynge that he was come for them there that had bene last destroyed at Idomene, demaunded of hym, wherfore he made so greate admyration, and howe many people he vnderstode to haue bene slayne of his. And

Agrais. Salynthius. Idomene.

Olpa.

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he answered, that aboutes two houndred. Than the othere sayde vnto him, thou seist welle that there be in thys same trophe the armes not of two houndredde, but of a thousande and more that haue bene slayne. Truly sayed the herauldе, thies be not than of those that were in oure bende. But they be trulye sayth the other, euen the same, that were yesterday slayne at Idomene. Howe so sayde the Herault, we did not fyght yesterday, but thies here were slayne before yesterday, yssuing out of Olpas wythout saulfconduct. By my sayth sayd the other, we did fight yesterday against thies here, whych were come from Ambracie for to come to the succours of them that were at Olpas. Which thing, being vnderstode by the Herault, & knowynge the greate losse that the Ambracyans had had, he was so astonyed that he retourned wythout pursuing further for the recouery of the dead. For also for trouthe, this was one of the greatest destructiõs that chaunced in all that same warre, specyally in one onely cytie and in so fewe dayes. And also I am not mynded to set the nombre of the dead, for that, that it semeth vnto me incredible, and greater, than is conuenable to the greatnes of that same towne. One thinge I knowe verey well and for mere trouthe, that if the Acarnanyans and the Amphilochians had bene wyllynge to bileue and credyt Demosthenes and the Athenyans, they hadde euenne at the same tyme, takene the cytie of Ambracie by force. But they feareddе, leste if the Athenyans shulde take it, that they shulde be tomuche harde and straighte neighbours for them. After this victory, they departed the bowtie or praye bitwene them. Whereof they didde geue the thirde parte vnto the Athenyans, and the other two, they distrybuted amonge the cyties. But that, whyche the Athenyans had therof, was not greately profytable to them. For in their retournynge by sea, the most parte was taken awaye from them in their iourney. And thre houndredd complete harnoys, that be yet sene hanginge in the temples of Athens, were those, whiche Demosthenes alone had for his parte, whyche he dyd geue, after, that he was retourned. whych thing he dydde more assuredly by meanes of that victorye, than he durste haue done before, by cause of the ouerthrowe that he had hadde in Etholie. After that the twenty galleys of the Athenyans were retourned to Naupacte, and Demosthenes wyth the bende vnto Athens: the Acarnanyans and the Amphilochiãs made appointement wyth the Ambracyans, by meane of Salynthius, kinge of Agriens, for an houndred yeares to comme, and gaue suertie to the Peloponesians, that were retyred into Agride, confusedly or myngled togyders vñ the Ambracyans for to retourne. And the fourme of the appointemente was this, that the said Ambracyãs shuld not be bounde to make warre vñ the Acarnanyãs against the Peloponesians. Nor the Acarnanyãs vñ the Ambracyans against the Athenyans. But only they were bound to ayde themself, the one the other, for the defence of their lande alonely, & moreouer that the Ambracyans shuld rendre & restore to the Amphilochiens all the townes and landes, that they helde of theirs & that they shulde not geue any ayde, supportacion or fauour to the Anactoriãs, who were ennemys of the Acarnanyans. Upon thys condition they ceased from warre, on the one syde and on the other. Anone after arryued Xenoclides, sonne of Eutycles vñ thre houndred men, that the Corinthians had sent to succour the sayd Ambracyans. who vñ greate difficultie had passed through the coũtrey of Epyre. Thus passed the things that were done at Ambracie. In that same wynter, the Athenyans that were in Sycille, being landed and entred into Hiemereus on the sea syde, and the Sycilyans on the coste of the mountaignes, and hauyng ther e made somme bowtie and praye, and fromthence hauynge passedde by the Iles, Eolydes: they came agayne to Rhege. In whych place they founde Pythodorus,

whome the Athenyans had lent for to be Cappytaynes of that same thair armye. in stede of Laches. For the souldyars Athenyans, that were in that same armye and also the Sicilians that were with them, had demaunded of the Athenians, greater succours, for that, that the Syracusains beynge mightyer than they by lande, yt were necessarie that they shulde be soo mightye by sea, that they might defende themselfe, frome beynge outraged. For this cause, the Athenyans had charged fourty shipps w̄ men for to lend thider, thinkinge that that same warre shuld be the soner synyshed. Whereof they had onely sente, one lesser parte bifore by Pythodorus, for to see and understande the estate of causes, & after they shuld sende hym Syphocles, sonne of Sestratides with the remnaunte. Beynge than Pythodorus arryued and haynge takene the charge of the armye, he wente frō thens to succour the cytie of Locres, which Laches had taken. But he was encō-tred and vanquished by the Locryens. & so retourned. The furst sprynge tyme ensuinge, ꝑ fyer yssued out of the mountayne of Ethna, which is the greatest, that ys in Sycille, lyke as it had oftentimes done in tymes passedde, and yt burnedde a litle of the terrytory of Catagna, which is situated vnder the said mountaigne. And by that that the people of the countrey did say, yt was fyftie yeares passedde, sens the fyer came fourth in that same sorte. And yt was the thirde tyme in all, that that had chaunced in Sycille, sens that the Grekes were come thider for to inhabyt furst. Thies be the thinges that were done that same yeare, whiche was the furte yeare of that warre, that Thucydydes hath wrytone.

☞Here endeth the thirde boke of the historie of Thucydydes, and the fourth begynneth.

Of certayne exploictes of warre that were done betwene the Athenyans and the Lacedemonyans. And specyally, howe the place and Islande of Pylus was assieged by the Peloponesians, and how the truse was made betwene them that were in the armye.

☞The furst Chapter.

IN the beginning of the somer followynge, whan the corne begynneth to eare, tenne shippes of the Syracusains and almanye of the Locryans dyd take the cytie of Messine in Sycille, from the Athenyans. Through conspyratie of the Cytezeins, that had called them thider. whiche enterprise the sayd Syracusains dyd, for so-muche, as seinge that same towne to be very propyre & mete for the sayd Athenyans for to enter into Sycille, they feared that by meane thereof, they wouldе lande there wyth greater strengthe, and fromthence wold come to assaille them and the Locriens: to haue meane for to assaille on bothe sydes theym of Rhege, that were their ennemys. whyche thynge they dyddeincontynently after, and also to the ende, that they shulde not geue succours to the sayd Messenyans. And moreouer they were therunto sollicyted by certayne cytezeins of Rhege, who beinge bannyshedde and fledde from their cytie, were retyredde to Locres. For the sayde Cytie of Rhege hadde longe bene in greate deuysyons, by meanes whereof, they couldе not than defende them agaynste the sayde Locryens. who, seinge the

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the opoztunytie, came then to assaile them and aftere that they had ouerronned and pyllaged deall thair terytoze, they retyredde wyth theire men on foote by lande into theire countreye. Foz the shyppes wherin they were come, were gone to Pillena foz to ioygne with the other, that shulde be there assembled foz to make warre on that side. In that selfe seasone, biloze that the coarne was rype, the Peloponesians entered a fresh into the lande Attique, vnder the cõducte of Agis, sonne of Archidamus, kynge of Lacedemonyans and pyllaged yt after the accustomedde manner. On the othere side, the Athenyans sente foozty shippes wyth newe strength vnto Sycylle, whereof they commytted the conducte to Eurimedon and to Sophocles wyth the other that already were there. Among whom, was Pythodozus, and commaunded them in thair waye to geue comfozte and succoure to the Cozcyziens agaynste thaire banyshed men, whiche kepte them selfe in the mountaignes and warredde vpon them wythout, and also agaynste the shyppes that the Peloponesians hadde sente agaynste theym, that were in the saide cytie, trustynge to take it by famyne foz that, that it nowe was in great skarcytye of vyctualles. And also grauntedde to Demosthenes, who hadde seng hys retourne frome Acarnanie tarryedde at Athens wythoute any charge, and delyeredde greately to haue some, to vse the saide foozty shyppes aboute Peloponese, as he shulde thincke good. Beynge than arryued in the countreye of Lacaonie, in passynge theire iourney, and vnderstandynge that the saide Peloponesians shyppes were alreadye arryued in the goulphe of Cozcyze, they were of dyuers opynyons amonge themself. Foz Eurymedon and Sophocles were determyned to go fourthwythe to Cozcyze. But Demosthenes saide that they shuld furste go to take Pylus, and hauinge geuen ozder there, to drawe vnto Cozcyze, and yet neuerthelas, seinge that the other two persysted and contynewed in their opynyõ, he commaunded them so to do. In thys debate, there came soudaynly a tempeste of the sea, that constrayned them to drawe to the sayde place of Pylus. And than Demosthenes shewede vnto theme that yt was nedefull to close that place wyth a walle, sayinge, that yt was the pzyncypall cause that he was come wyth them foz, in that voyage. And mozeouer that yt was beary easye to do, foz there was power, stones and matter foz to acheue shozтely their wozke. And that the scite of the place was stronge, and also had aboute yt a greate desarte countrey. Foz fromthence vnto Spartus, there were well fooze houndzed stades. And ys sytuated in the terrytozye, whiche was sometyme of the Messenians, and was callede Seraphalie. To thies reasones, the other two aunswered byme, that yf he woulde grounde vpon ẏ, there were aboute Peloponese many pzomontozyes, that were desarte, whyche yf he wolde foztyfie, shulde be to make the cytie of Athenes emptye of monny. But neuerthelas he replyed vnto theme, that the same there was of an other ympoztance, than the othere, foz that, that yt had a good hauone, and mozeouer that the Messenyans, that had some tyme kepte yt beynge sett into yt agayne, myght do greate annoyance and dysplaseures vnto the Lacedemonyans, by cause of theire communycacyon of language, and shulde kepe the place dylygently and faithfully. And yet notwythstandyng, seynge that he coulde not persuade yt, nother to the souldyars in gennerall, noz wythe the Cappytaynes, wythe whome he had debatede the matter a parte: at length he helde hys peace and dydd speake no moze. But durynge the tyme that they tarryed theire ydle and vnoccupyede, attendynge that the sea was appeasedde, the souldyours deuysedde a gayne amonge themselfe. And desyere tooke them to enclose the sayde place wyth walle, and so they determynedde to do yt. And hauynge no malons noz yzone tooles foz to cutte the stones, they toke the

Agis. Eurimedon. Sophocles. Pythodozus.

stones that they sowde vpon the place, & sett them one vpon the other, so as they might best bewe them, and ioygned them togider with earth in stede of morter. And for that, that they had no baskettes nor other instrumentes for to carry it, they did beare it vpō their back. Holding their visage downe towards the grovnd to the ende that they might carry it ꝑ better. And for to kepe it there, they ioigned their handes behinde vpon their backes. and in effecte they vsed all industrie & diligence, that they coulde for to fortefie the place with sides, ꝑ it might be assailed before that the Lacedemonians coulde send thider succoures. For on some sides it was not to be battred nor to be taken. Now ꝑ Lacedemonians did celebrate a veary greate solempne feast in the cyte, whan they were aduertised of the same chaunce. through occasyon wherof they did not greately passe on it. For it semed well to them that after they hadde acheued and fynished their feaste, whan they shulde go to that parte, that the ennempe woolde flye frome thence: or if they defended themselfe, that they shulde take them veray easely. And on the other part, theire armye that was yet in the lande of Athenes, dyd somewhat retarde and slacke theym: in suche manner, that the Athenyans hadde respyte to fortefie the place on the lande side. And hauyng therin trauailled the space of fire dayes, they left Demosthenes there wyth fyue galleys for to kepe it. And they with the other wente their way towardes Corcyre and towardes Sycille. During this tyme, the Peloponesians, that were in the lande of Athens, vnderstanding the takinge of Pylus, came agayne diligently into their lande. aswell for that, that it semed to the Lacedemonians and to Agis their kynge, that they had warre euē in their house, ꝑ enemys being at Pylus as also for that they were entred to sone into ꝑ lāde of Athens, to wyt, before ꝑ corne was rype. through occasiō wherof, they had great lacke of victuailes. And moreouer the tēpests had bene, during the tyme ꝑ they were there, more great, thā the season required. By meanes wherof, the men of warre were all troubled. wherbyit happened, that though some other yeares, they had made no greate taryinge in that lande, yet that same yeare they made yt more shorte. for they taryed there, but fyftene dayes. In that same seasonne, Symondes Duke of Athenyans, hauyng assembled a certayne small nomber of their menne of warre, that were in the garnysonne in the countreye of Thrace, and a good nomber of their allyes estrangers, toke by secrett contract, the towne of Eone in the countrey of Thrace. whyche was a Colonie or a towne founded by the Medes, but than was theire ennemy. Notwithstandynge the Chalcydes and the Beotyans, beinge aduertysedde of the case, came to the succoures of the towne, and fourthwyth dydde chase hym away wyth great losse of hys people. The Peloponesiās, being retourned out of the countrey of Athēs, the Spartans and their next neighbours assembled togiders incontinently for to go to recouer the place of Pylus. But ꝑ other Peloponesians went not thider so sone. For that, that they were but newely come out of the countrey of Athens. And yet neuerthelas it was commaunded by generall decree & proclamacyon in all ꝑ countrey of Peloponese, that euery man shulde sende to the succoures of Pylus, and also commaunded three skoore shyppes that were aboute Corcire, ꝑ they shuld come to that partie. Which passing by the distreate of Leucade, vsed so good diligence, that they arryued at Pylus, before that the Athenyans shippes, that were at Zacinthus, did perceyue theym. And on the othere side by lande the armie of ꝑ saide Peloponesians was there ready. But yet that notwithstandinge, before that the said shyps arryued, Demosthenes had sent two brigantynes to Eurymedone, & to the other that were at the sayde place of Zacynthus, that they shulde comme to succoure him, shewynge hym the daunger, wherein he was. who, immediatly,

as they

as they had the newes, toke their iourney for to come thider. During this time, and before that they arryued, the Peloponesians prepared themself to assaile the place, aswell on the sea syde, as on that same by lande, trustynge to take it easely. bothe for that, that the walle was freshly & newly made, and also for that, that there were small nomber of people to kepe it. And yet neuerthelas for that they doubted that the shippes wyth Athenyans, that were at Zacinthus shuld come to succoure theym, they determynedde, if they coulde take the place before the succours came, for to inclose the entrye of the hauon, in suche manner that the sayd Athenyans shippes shulde not enter therin, whyche thinge semed vnto them very easy to be done, for that, that there was directly against the rocke, wherupon was syruated the place of Pylus, a small Iland named Factoria, whiche extended all alongest the hauon, and by that meane made the hauon suer. And neuerthelas the entringes therof was straight, so that on the towne side, where ỹ Athenians had made their rampars, there could enter but two ships on fronte, and on the other side towards the lande, eyght or nyne. which Iland was holy baraine, & by that meane not inhabited, and in maner not frequēted, conteigning fiftene stades or forlonges aboute. Than for to empesche and stoppe the entrye of the sayd hauonne from the Athenians, they bestowed suche nomber of shippes ther, as they thought necessary for to occupy all the fronte. whiche had theire former parte of the hauonne and the remenant wythin. And moreouer fearynge that the sayde Athenyans shulde lande people wythin the sayde lytle Iland, they sette there one parte of theirs. And the other abodde in the lande, to the ende, that the ennemyes might not lande, nother in the land, nor in the Iland. And to the rest it was not possible to succour the place by any other wayes. For on ỹ other side, by the whiche it was enuironned vō the sea, there were no good depthes where the shippes might arryue surely. And by that meane they thoughte, that wythout faighting and wythout puttinge themselfe into daunger and hazart, they might take that same place in shorte tyme, beinge ill furnished of victuailes and of people. Nowe they had ordeyned, that for to bestowe and putte wythin the sayde Iland, a certaine nomber of all the cōpaignies, shuld be taken, that shuld be changed euery daye. And so it happened, that the laste that were sente thyder, were to the nomber of foure houndred and twenty, of whome Epitadas sonne of Molobee had the charge. Demosthenes, seinge that the Peloponesians prepared themselfe for to assaylle aswell by sea, as by lande, prepareddе hymself to defende. And furste he cauledde the galleys that remayned wyth hym to retyre vnder his rampares and incloseddе them wyth pales. And he armeddе the marronners that were wythin them wyth mischeuous targottes or shieldes made in haste, the more parte of wyllos. For in suche a desarte place, there was no question or hope to haue armure. And the same that they had there, had bene gottone by force, from a galley and in a brigantine of the Messenyans, that they had takene, passinge that waye wyth forty men of the saide Messene, wyth whome they sarued themselfe at that nede wyth the othere. Hauynge than placeddе one parte of hys people, aswell armed as naked, to the keppynge of the places ỹ were assured, by reasone that the place, was not to be gottone or gone vnto, and the other parte, that was greater, to the defence of the quartier that he hadde fortefied towardes the lande: he commaunded them, that if the sote men came to assayle them, they shuldе defende themselfe and repoulse them. And he wyth three skoore of the beste armed and a nomber of people wyth shott, issuedde fourthe of the place, and wente oute on the sea syde, where he thought that the ennemyes woide parforce themself for to lande and to passe throughe the rockes and harde

places: on whyche the walle of the towne was moste weake and feable, for to battre and breake it, if they coulde. For it was not greately forcedde to make a stronge walle on that syde, not thynkynge that the ennemyes shulde euer haue bene strongest by sea. And he knewe well, that if it were the strongest, so that men myghte bythat coste goo into the lande, the place shulde be loste. For thys cause he wente to that syde of the sea for to defende yt, wyth the nomber of people as afore, whome he orderedde and sette battaylie, the beste that he coulde, and afterwardes dydde speake vnto theym in this manner. It is nedefull for me that youe, the othere that be putte in thys daunger wyth me, do shewe youreselfe sage and dyligente to consulte all the difficultees and all the daungers, wherein wee be. But it is necessarye that we mynde to assaille valiantely oure ennemyes with a good couraige and wythe a good esperance to repoulse theym, and to escape frome all the daungers, wherein we be. For somuche as in all causes of necessitie, as thys same is at thys presente, men muste not ofttymes serche after reasone, but they muste be soubdaynely hazardedde. And yet I doo see in oure assayze manye thynges that be for oure aduantage, if we wyll to stande to theym and forsake not, for feare of the greate nomber of oure ennemyes, the commodities, that we haue agaynste them. For I esteme one parte of the place that we holde to be, not to be comme vnto, and sufficyent for to ayde vs, if wee woll defende yt. But if we habandonne and forsake yt (howe dyffycyle and harde soeuer it be) it shalbe easye to wynne, not beynge defendedde. Trewe it is, that we shalle haue the ennemyes somuche more sharpe to fyghte wyth, if we sette on theym whanne they be landedde, for that they shall parceyue that they maye not retyre withoute greate daungier. But consyder youe, that soo longe as they abyde in their shippes wythout landinge, they be easely resisstedde. And if they do lande, thoughe they be in greate nomber, they be not to be feared. For somuche as the place is very difficille and vnealy for them, and the platt, where they muste fight, shalbe fyghte strayght and very lytle. And by that meane, if they come on lande, the nomber shall in nothynge sarue theyme for the incommoditie and difficultie of the place. And if they cary vpon their shyppes, of force they muste fyghte in the sea in whyche fyght there be many difficulties. Wher fore I compense and esteme to be egall almuch, the difficulties & dangers that they haue as our smal nombre. For thys cause I praye youe (my frendes) that bringinge to youre remembrance, that youe be Athenyans, & lykewyse that you be people all experymentedde to fyght wyth shyppes and on lande: youe woll consyder that he that remoueth not for feare of a wawe or sourge of the sea that maye comme, nothere of shypp, that maketh vnto hym: shalle neuer be repoulsedde frome one suche a place as thys. And lykewyse that youe wyll stande by it and repoulse youre ennemys in thies rockes and harde passages, and defende and kepe thys place, togyders wyth youre parsones. The Athenyans discouraged, beinge recomforted by thies shorte encouraigings and declarations, disposed themselfe to defende euery one in his quarter. On the other syde the Lacedemonyans, that were in campe on the lande side, came to assayle the rampares, and on the sea syde, those that conducted the shippes, whyche were .cliii. in nombere, wherof Thrasymelides, sonne of Cratesicles Spertayne was Capptayne, came to inuade the quarter, where Demosthenes was wyth his men. The Athenyans also defended themself very manfully on both sides. And as touchinge the quarter by sea, the Peloponesians came wyth small nomber of shippes by tournes or courses, one after the othere for that, that it was not possible to bringe thyder a greate nomber for to lande in the place, where Demosthenes & his people were for to repulse them, if it were possible

The oracyon of Demosthenes. to his souldyars.

Thrasimelidas

possible. And amonge othere Brasidas, who was Cappytayne of one of the galleys, seynge that the place was difficile and daungerous to abooarde, and that for that cause the patrons of the galleys durste not approche, fearynge to bruse the vesselles: cryed wyth a lowde voice. It is greate shame to spare youre vesselles, where you see bifore your eyes those, whych haue forteried yours, euen your lāde with walles. And commaunded them that they shuld rusche to lande, & in breakynge their said vessels, they shuld sett on their ennemys & not to be agreued to lose their shipps for to do service to the Lacedemonians, who had done them so many playsirs. But rather that they shuld fasten them on some parte that they might abooarde & going a land might wynne the place and the ennemys. Insayinge thies wooardes, Brasydas constrayned the patrone of the galley, wherin he was, to rusche against the lāde. But parforcing himself to lāde by a plāke of a ship, he was by the Athenyans hurt in many places of his bodye, so that he felle backwarde amongeste the rowers, starke deade. But his shielde did fall into the sea, and afterwardes was caste by the wawes on lande. Whiche afterwardes the Athenyans dyd hange in the trophe or token, that they sett vp for that same victorye. The other Lacedemonyans had a tyght good wylle to lande, but it was comuche daungerous, aswell for the difficultie of the place, as for the greate defence that the Athenyans made, wout feare of any daungiers. And fortune was so farre ledde on both sides, that the Athenyans empesched or letteddе the Lacedemonyans to enter into their lande, or into that same, specyally of Laconia: and that those Lacedemonyans forced themselfe to lande in their proper lande, whiche was than in the handes of ennemys, though that in that season by the common reporte, the Lacedemonyans were more puissant and more exercysedde in fyghtinge by lande, and the Athenyans in the same by sea. And the same endured all that same daye and on parte of the daye followynge, not contynually, but at dyuers tymes. The thyrde daye the Peloponesians sent one part of their shipps into Alinus for to fatche woode and stuf for to make and rayse vppe a walle against that same, that hadde bene made by the Athenyans aboute the poorte, trusting, that they might by ỳ meane beate it downe wt Engynes or instruments, though yt were than byghe, for that, that yt myghte be battredde on all sydes. But thys indurynge, arryuedde the succours wt shyppes of the Athenyans, that were at Zachinthus, to the nombre of lx. by meane that there were comme to the succurs somme frome Naupacte, and four frome Chio. whyche seinge the lande and the Illande shut or locked vp wyth fote men of the enemys and their ships, beinge wythin the poorte, not wyllynge to yssue fourthe, were in doubte what they shulde do. Yet they wente to ancre nighe vnto the desarte Illand, and ther remaynedde that same daye. The morowe followynge they yssuedde into the mayne sea wyth all their shippes in battaille for to fighte, if the ennemys wolde haue yssuedde oute of the poorte, and for to sett vpon and assaille theym wythin that poorte, if they wolde not yssue fourthe. But those ennemyes, nothere yssuedde fourthe at large into the sea, nor also fournyshedde the entrynge of the poorte, so, as they hadde determined at the begynnyng. But wythout remouinge frome lande, replenishedde their shippes that were by the sea syde, and kepte themself all ready to fyght wyth them that entredde into the poorte, whych was sufficyently greate. Whiche knowin, the Athenyans came wyth force of oores directly against them from sides of the entrynges of the poorte for to charge vpon the galleys of the sayd enemys that were formest in the sea, & soo dyd put them to flyght. And for that, that the place was straught and narrow, they did breke one great parte therof & did take fyue, whereof one was take wt the people in it.

And moreouer they purſued the other that were retyred towards the land, wher of they dyd breake ſome that were emptie, and faſtened them, and caried them awaye wyth theirs in the ſight of the Peloponeſians. who, ſeinge that, and hauinge to great ſorowe for that ſame loſſe, & ſpecially that their people that were in the Iſlande ſhulde be loſte, did caſte themſelfe on their fete, all armed, as they were, into the ſea and came to wythdrawe their ſhippes for to kepe them that ỹ Athenyans ſhulde not cary them away, with ſo greate courage, that it ſemed to euery one of them that al was loſt, through his fault, if he went not thider. And ſo the tumulte was great on both ſydes. And in all partes newe and contrary to the accuſtomed manner, both on the one parte and on the other. For the Lacedemoniãs through the feat ỹ they had to loſe their people, did in maner, as to ſay, light frõ the land in the ſea. And the Athenians for the deſyre ỹ they had to enſue their victory, did light out of their ſhips hand to hande, as though they had bene on lande. And fynally after a longe fight, wherin there was a greate nomber of dead & hurt men on both ſydes, they retired and departed. And yet ỹ Lacedemonyens ſaued all their ſhips, except the fiue, that were taken at the beginning. And euery man beinge retourned into hys campe, the Athenians did reſtore vnto the other their deade. And after ſett vp a Trophe in ſigne of victory. And that done they enuironned and compaſſed aboute all the Iſlande wyth their ſhippes, wher in the four houndred & twenty Lacedemoniens were. whome they kept and did holde as captyue and takenne. On the other ſyde, the Peloponeſians that were from all partes arryuedde for to ſuccour Pylus: kepte the towne alſieged in the quarter towards land. whan the newes of this ouerthrowe were vnderſtanded and declaredde at Sparte, it was determyned by the counſaille, that the officers of the cytie ſhulde go vnto the places for to viewe and deſcryue, and afterwards to aduyſe what was to be done, like as they were accuſtomed to do, whan they had receyued anny greate loſſe. who hauinge viewed the whole, and conſidering that there was no remedy to ſuccour their people that were in the Iſlande, and that there was danger leſt that they ſhulde be either takene, or dead through famyne, or by force: conſyderedde the greate nomber of people that were agaynſte them, they concluded to treate a peace wyth the Cappitayne of the Athenyans. Duringe the whyche, thoſe Lacedemonyans ſhulde ſende vnto Athens, for to treate the appointement. Hopinge by that meane to recouer theirs. And ſoo the truſe was accepted by the Athenyans vpon ſuche cõditions, that the Lacedemonyans ſhulde geue and delyuer them all the ſhyps, wherwyth they had foughte at Pylus, and all thoſe that had bene there aſſembled out of all the countrey of Laconie, and that they ſhulde nother aſſayle nor doo annye dommage vnto the walles and rampares, whiche the ſayd Athenyãs had made at the ſayd Pylus, by ſea, nor by lande. And by this meane that the Lacedemonyans ſhulde ſuffre them to cary by ſea vnto their people, that were in the Iſlande, dailly, a certayne quantytie of breade, of wyne and of flefhe. To wytt, ſomuch for euery free man, and the half for the ſklaues, and as touchinge the fleſhe to be at the diſcretion of the Athenyans. Wythoute that, that it was lieſull vnto them to carie thider, nor any ſhypp to paſſe thider, ſecretly. And yet neuerthelas that the Athenyans ſhulde kepe watche aboute the Iſlande, that none man ſhuld departe from thence. But this notwythſtandinge it ſhulde not be laufull for them to innouate any thing, nor to attempte agaynſt the campe of the ſayd Peloponeſians by lande nor by ſea. And in caſe, that of the one ſyde or of the other by anny manner, there chaſced any breache or contrauẽtion, great or lytle: the treueſe ſhuld not be towards them vnderſtanded to be broken. The whych ſhuld contynue vnto the reſt, vntil

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the Ambassadours of the Lacedemonyans shulde be retourned from Athenes. whome chose same Athenyans shulde cary and bringe agayne with one of theire galleis. And at their retourne, the treuese shuld be vnderstãded to cease. In which case, the Athenyans shulde restore to the Lacedemonyãs the ships that they had delyuered and geuenne them in that self sourme, that they had receyued them. In this maner the treuese was concluded, and in execution thereof, the Lacedemonyans delyuered to the Athenyans aboute.lx. galleys. And afterwardes the Ambassadours of the Lacedemonyans were sent vnto Athens. who beyng there gryued did speake vnto the Athenyans in the manner as followeth.

¶ The Oration of the Lacedemonyans to the Athenyans, and the aunswere that they had, and howe the treuese failing, they begaune warre agayne.

☞ The.ii. Chapter.

THe Lacedemonyans haue sente vs hither (lordes Athenyans) for to appointe & treacte of their people, that be in the Ilande. Perswading themselke that that, whych shal redounde to their profit in this matter, shall also redounde to your honnour. And we will not make vnto you longer oration, than we haue accustomed. For our manner of proceding is, not to vse many wordes, where as is no great matter. And also whan the case and the tyme requireth it, we speake longer. to wytt, whan it is nedefull to shew by wordes, what is to be done. wherfore we pray you, that if we speke a lytle more longe, ye take it not to euill intent, & thinke not, that in shewing you, that youe shulde mynde to aduyse & consult well of the matter, whereof is question: that we go about to teache you what youe haue to do, as though we repute you ignorãt people. And for to come vnto the matter, it is in your power to make your great profitt of that good aduenture and prosperytie, that is chaunced you by hauing our people in your power. For youe may therby acquire and gett greate glory & great honnor, if you haue regarde, not to do, as many do, & haue not experymented, what is of goodnes & of euill. For whan a good aduenture had chaunced vnto them, vnloked for: they set their fantasie to greater thinges, trustyng that fortune shulde alwayes contynue. But those, that haue oftentymes experymented the varyation and chaunge of humayne chaunces, thinke most reasonably therof. And trust not somuch to the presente prosperyties. which thing is very cõuenient for your cytie, & also for ours, for the longe experyences of things, that they haue had. And although that youe vnderstãde it sufficiẽtly, yet ye se the experiẽce therof in this presente case. For we that obteigne & haue presently the pryncipall authoritie & dignitie in all Greece, come hither for to demaũde of you that, which lately was more in our power to geue: as it semed vnto vs. And also we be not come to this inconuenient, through fault of men of armes, nother through presumption of our power. But (lyke as it happeneth in worldly chaũces) we haue bene frustrated & deceyued of our opynyon, in that, wherin all lyuinge creatures be egalle, to wytt, in thinges dependinge of fortune. wherfore it is not nowe nedefull, that for the present prosperytie and for the encreace of the puyssance, that hath chaunced you at this present: youe conceyue opynyon, that it ought to endure perpetually. For all sage and aduysed men do holde it for mooste certayne

that

that there ys nothinge so vncertayne, as worldely felicitie. and by this meane be alwayes more constant and determined to beare and endure all suster chaunces and all euills. And so noo man shulde perswade himselfe, that it may be in his power, to make warre at his pleasure whan he thinketh good: but so as fortune permytteth him. And such people, as take not greater courage for the prosperity that happeneth vnto them, fayle not veray oftene. For that, that in the greate felicytie they be alwayes in feare. And if youe at this present do so vnto vs, truly ye shall fynde goodnes thereby. But if youe do yt not, but rather refuse the parties that we do offer youe, and afterwardes any inconuenient do happene vnto you, such as may dayly chaunce, thincke not, that youe can kepe that, which you haue at this presente gottene. Where as youe may, if youe wil, leaue a perpetual memory of your puissance and of your prudencie. For youe see that the Lacedemonyans prouoke youe to make appoynctment and ende of warre, offeryng you peace, allyance, amytie and all other manner of familyaritie and benyuolence. In recompense of whiche thinges, they demaunde of youe theire people, that be in the Iflande, and yt semeth to them that the same ys profittable to bothe parties. To witte, to youe for to eschue the hazarde by that meane, that maye followe, wheder that they saue themself, either by any occasion and aduenture that maye happene: or if they be takene by force, to incurre a perpetuell enmytie, which cannot so easelye be quenchede. For that, that whan one of the parties, that maketh warre, ys constrayned by the other, that hath had the better, and is founde to be strongest, to promys and swere any appoynctment for his aduauntage: suche appoynctemente ys not so furme and so durable, as yt shulde be, whan he, that hath had the victorie, being in his power of suche appoynctment, woulde graunte and agre to make yt honeste, and more modeste, than he, that had bene vanquished, did hope of. For he, that perceueth curtoisie, woll not studie to breke his promys, as made for feare and constraynete. But hauinge knowlaige of the curtesie, that the other hath vsed, he woll parforce hymselfe to kepe that well, which he shalle haue promysede, and shalle haue shame to fayle thereof. And this same courtoisie vsed comonly the couragious men to them, that were moste puissant, rayther than towardes theym that were meaner or egalle wythe them. For it ys a naturelle thynge to pardone hym easelye, that rendereth he and yeldeth him selfe wyth hys good wylle, and to persecute thole, that be rebelles and outcragyous, though that yt were not purposed, and that there myghte be danngere therein. Nowe, as touchynge thys presente chaunce, certaynelye: yt shall be a good and honnourable thynge, aswelle for youe, as for vs, yf we make nowe a good peace, better, than euer was in any tyme byfore, rather than we shulde receyue suche outrage of youe, as by meane whereof, we be constrayned to beare vnto youe perpetuelle hatrede and rancoure, aswell in common, as in particuler, and that byfore that you lose the facultie to please vs wyth thynges, that we do requier of youe. Wherfore in the meane seasone whilest the yssue of the warre ys doubtfull, lett vs make appoynctment. Youe, wyth youre greate glory and oure perpetuell benenolences: we in eschewing a small shame, with an tollerable and meane losse. And sens that we haue chosene to haue peace, in steede of warre, we shall be cause to make an ende of all the greate euylles and trauailles in all Grece. Whereof they shalle geue youe the charge and the blame, if youe refuse this same. For vnto thys houre presente, they make warre withoute knowynge, who hathe bene the authoure or promotour thereof. Lykewyse, whan the appoynctemente shall be made (whiche ys nowe for the moore parte in youre power) they shall repute theymselfe to be therefore bounden vnto youe. If youe

knowinge

knowynge that it is in your faculte and power to make the Lacedemonyans (who require your thereof) ponre entier and perpetuall frendes, woolde chose to do vnto theym curtoisie, rather than rudenes. And consider, what goodnes may come therof, for as you knowe, whan this same bene accordedde by youe, all Greece, that is inferiour to youe and to vs, shall approue and ratefie yt. Thus spake the Lacedemonyans, thinkinge, that the Athenyans had bene before desirous of peace, if they myght haue obteigned it of them. And by thys meane that they shulde be all aised to haue yt, by delyuerying the people, that were in the Islande in their power. But the Athenyans, perswadinge theymselfe, that by receyuing of the sayd people allieged, they myght alwayes haue a better appointctment wyth the sayde Lacedemonyans: they wold haue greater parties of them, chiefly through perswation of Cleon, sonne of Cleenetus, who had at that tyme greate authorytie among the people, and a great grace to speake. By whose oppynyon, it was answered to the sayd Imbassadours, that furst & bifore all things, they, that were in the Islande, muste render themselfe wyth their armure, & shuld be brought prysonners vnto Athens. And that done, whan the Lacedemonyans had rendred vnto the Athenyans, Pyle, Pege, Trezene and the countreye of Achaie, whiche, they had not loste by warre, but by the former appointctment, that they had made wyth the sayd Lacedemonyans, whan they were very lowe: had bene constraynedde to leaue and forsake them: the saide prysonners might be restored, and some reasonable appountment made to the contentacyon of both parties. The Lacedemonyans sayd nothinge against this answere, but they wylled certayne notable parsons to be deputed, wyth whome, they might debate vpon the hole matter. And afterwardes therin to be done, so, as shulde be adupted by them to be reasonable. Whereunto Cleon did holy replye, sayinge, that he knewe well that they had not had nother than, nor bifore, any good quarell, sithes that they mystrusted to debate bifore all the people, but wolde speake therof in small compaignie. wherfore he was of oppynyon that if they hadde any thinge to speke (whyche they iudgedde to be reasonable) they oughte to speake it bifore all men. whiche the sayd Imbassadours wolde not do. For they did knowe well, that it was not lieful nor conuenyente for them, for to speake bifore all the people. And also for that, that in so dounge, if haumge regarde to theire necessitie, and to the daunger wherin their people were, they woulde haue consentedde to any thinge disaduantagious vnto them, they parceyued well, that comminge to the knowlaige of their allyes, it shulde engender greate displeasure vnto them. wherfore, knowynge that they coulde not obteigne of the sayd Athenyans any reasonable thynge, they departed from Athens, wythout any conclusion. After their departure, the treuese were incontynetly eryyed that were made at Pylus. By reason wherof, the Lacedemonyans demaunded that the Athenyans shulde render to them the shippes, that they had delyuered by the treatie of the treuese according to that, whyche therby was appoyncted. But the said Athenyans refused that to do, sayinge, that the sayd Lacedemonyans had done agaynste the sayde treatie, forsomuche as they had made assaultes vpon the garnysons of the sayd Athenians. And charged theym wyth some thynges, where there was no apparance of raysonne, but all theire foundation and grounde was for that, that in the sayde treatie it was concluded, that if one of the partyes dyd sayle or do againste anny thinge therin, howe lytle soeuer yt was, that they shulde not helpe themself with the sayd treatie. And whatsoeuer declaration or doleaunce that the sayd Lacedemonyans coulde make for to shewe that it was agaynst all reasone, and against the fayth, whych they had promysed, yet they coulde obteigne none other thing.

And

And so they prepared thēselfe to warre, on both sydes. And made all their strēgthe for the feate and affaire of Pylus. In whyche place the Athenyans kepte twoo galleys for ordenary watche, aboute the Iſlande both day and nyghte, compaſſinge it aboute at all tymes, whan the wynde was not behement and highe, for than they kepte themſelf on the shoore of the ſea. And alſo there was ſente afreſh, to their ſuccours and ſtrength, twenty other galleys, ſo that they were in all. lxx. On the other ſide the Peloponeſians had their campe in the firme lande, and aſſailled oftentymes the walles of the towne, and alſo eſpyed and wayted contynually, if they might haue any meane to ſaue their people, þ were in the Iſlande.

Of thinges that were done after that tyme in Sycile, alwell by the Athenypans and theyr allyes, as by them of the contrary parte.

The. iii. Chapter.

After the tyme that the thinges were ſo done at Pylus, as we haue wrytton̄e: the Syracuſains and theire allyes in Sycille, hauinge afreſhe ſtrengthened their armye by ſea wyth ſhippes (which they had made all newe) and alſo wyth thoſe, that the Meſſenyans hadde ſente them, made them warre from the ſame place of Mylena agaynſt the Regians, at the ſollicitinge and purſute of the Locryans. who, for the ennympytie that they had agaynſte them, were nowe entred into their coūtrey wyth all their puiſſance by lande. And it ſemed to the ſayd Syracuſains that it was expedyente to aſſaye and proue the fortune of the battaylle by ſea, for that, that the Athenyans hadde not at that tyme any greate nomber of ſhippes in Sycille. But it was to bileue that after that they vnderſtode, that thoſe Syracuſains did enforce thēſelfe agayne, to ſubdue all the Iſlande, they woulde ſende thider a greater nomber. wherfore they thought, that if they had the victorie by ſea (as they hoped) they myght eaſely gette the towne of Rhege, afore that the ſuccours of the Athenyans ſhulde be comme, aſſaulinge it by ſea, and by lande. And that done, holdynge the ſayd cytie of Rhege, whiche ſtandeth vpon a rocke or promontory on the ſea, frome the coſte of Italie, and kepynge Mylena, whyche is dyrectly agaynſte yt on the other ſyde of the ſea, in the Iſlande of Sycile: they myghte eaſely defende, that the Athenians ſhuld not paſſe through the diſtreate of Far: that ſeparateth Italy, from Sycile, whyche is called Charibdis. And it is ſaide that Ulyſſes paſſed that ſame way, commynge from Troye. And not wythout cauſe it is ſo named, for ſomuche as it ſalleth ympetuouſly and furyouſly, through the ſtraites, that be betwene the ſea of Sycille, and the ſea named Thirrene. And the Syracuſains came thider aboute nyght, wyth their allyes, haupnge in al a few more, than thirty ſhippes, for to geue the battaille, to the Athenyans, who hadde. xvi. of theirs and eyght of the Rhegyans. But the Athenyans had the victorie. And did putt the Syracuſains to flyght. who ſaued themſelf euery man the beſt that he coulde at Mylena. And yet neuerthelas there was no loſſe, but of one only ſhip, by reaſone that the nyght departed them. And after that ſame victory the Locrians, that kepte their campe before the cytie of Rhege, dyd rayſe it vp, & retourned into their countrey. But ſone after, the Syracuſains and their allyes aſſembled agayne theire ſhippes and wente into Peloryde, whyche is in the terrytorye of Mylena, haupnge there their ſotemen. At whyche place, beynge alſo aryued the

Athenyans

Athenyans and Rhegyans, and seinge the sayd shyps of the Syracusains bolde, they came to assaille them. But hauing entred one of the same, and fastened it to one of theirs wt graspes of yron they losse theirs, howbeit the people that were within it did saue themselfe by swymmynge. And although that as the Syracusains that were nowe entred within it, did make towardes Myllena, the Athenyans came a freshe to assaille them, thinkinge to recouer the shyp, yet they were beaten of and repoulsed, and also losse one othere of their shippes. And by thys meane the Syracusains, though that they had bene vanquished at ỹ other battaile, wythdrewe themselfe with their honnor vnto Myllena, wythout hauynge more losse, than the ennemyes. And the Athenyans retired vnto Camerin, being aduertysed that a burgeois of the towne named Archias, wyth hys accomplices, Archias
wold rẽder that same towne fro the Syracusains. In thies countrechaunces al the people of Mellena yssued fourth, aswell by sea as by lande for to go againste the cytie of Naxe, in the countrey of Chalcyde, whyche is in the terrytorye of the sayd Mellanyens. And the Naxians, beinge the furst day yssued to mete them by Naxus.
lande, they were repulsed vntill wtin their portes. And the Syracusains did gene themselfe to pillage their landes aboute the towne, afterwardes, they assieged yt. And on the other side, the morowe following, those that were in the sea, sailed for to aryue, at the ryuer of Aceline, where they lãded, and made a great pray in that Aceline.
same quarter, whych parceyued, the Sycilians, that kepte themselfe in the mountaignes, assembled togider and came to discende into the countrey of Mamertayns: and frothence they came for to succour ỹ said Naxians. who, after that they parceyued them cõmyng, recouered their courage, & they, erhortinge the one the othere, thynkyng that it had bene the Leontyns and other Grekes dwellinge in Sycille that were come to succour them, they yssued afreshe out of the towne wt such strength, that they caused the Mamertayns to flye & dyd slay of them, more than a thousand, and the other had much payne for to saue theymselfe. For the straungers and paysans, that kept the wayes & passages, did kylle many of them. And the shippes, that were retyred vnto Mellene, saylledde euerye one into hys quarter. through occasion wherof, the Leontyns and their allyes wyth the Athenyans, enterprysed to assiege Mellena. For that, that they well parceyued, that it was sore decayed. And so the Athenyans came by the one syde of the sea to assiege the walles. But the Mellenians, with a bende of Locryans, that was remaynyng there, for to kepe the cytie vnder the conducte of Demoteles, sett vpon them, as Demoteles.
they were in the lande, put them to flight, and so did slaye many of them. whyche seynge, the Athenyans yssued out of their shippes for to comme to succour them. And charged vpon the Mamertyns, in suche sorte, that they repoulsed, and dyd dryue them backe euen into the the towne. Afterwardes, leauynge their trophee for a signe of victorie, they retourned to Rhege. After that, ỹ Grekes, that inhabyted Sycille, wythout anny ayde of the Athenyans, prepared and gaue themselfe to make warre, thone agaynst thoder.

Howe the Athenians hadde the victorie at Pylus.

The.iiii.Chapter.

THe Lacedemonyans than holdinge theire siege bifore Pylus, and their people wythin the Islande beinge assieged by the Athenyans, like as hathe bene aboue declaredde, the armye of the Athenyans was in greate perplexytie and necessytie of victuailles, and of freshe water.

for there was but one onely well, which was in the toppe and height of ꝑ towne of Pylus, whiche was also very smal. In such maner, that they were constrayned to dygge at the ebbyng of the sea, wythin the sande. whereout they dyd drawe suche water, as might be drawen out of suche a place. and as for the rest, the place where they kept their campe on lande, was verye small. and the shyppes were not seure in the rode. By meane wherof, some of them kept along the land for to recouer victuailes, and the other dyd ancre in the meane sea. And moreouer they had greate displeasur and wetynes, for that that the assayre indured longer, than they thought, frome the begynnynge that yt shuld haue done. For they thought ernestly that those that were wythin the Iland, not hauynge victuailes nor fresshe water, coulde not so longe defende yt, as they dyd, by the prouysion that the Lacedemonyans dyd ordeyne for to succour them. Who dyd yt to be knowen by publique and open proclamacyon, that whosoeuer wolde carrye to them that were wythin the Iland, meate, breade, wyne, flesshe, or other victuayles, shulde haue a certayne greate some of monnye. And yf he were a bondeman he shulde haue lybertye. By meane wherof, many dyd put themselfe in daunger to carry yt thyder. And cheifly the slaues, for the desyre that they had to acquire and gett lybertye. And they passed by the sea of Peloponese, into the sayde Iland by all meanes that they myght. and the more parte by nyghte, and by ꝑ coste of the meane sea, and principallye whan the wynde came frome the sea agaynste the land. For by the same, they came easely wythout beynge perceyued by the galyes of the ennemyes, that kepte the watche, for that that they coulde nott well kepe aboute the Iland, whan that same wynde reygned. And for them, that came vnto the Iland, yt was aduantagyous on that syde, for that that yt chased them vnto yt. And moreouer they, that were wythin the Iland, receyued them in armure. But all they, that aduentured themselfe to go thyder whan the sea was peasable and calme, were taken. There were also coyrasants of the sea, that passed vnder the water from the poorte, vnto wythin the Iland. And they toke them with a corde, made wythin of goate skyns & paper gryuded with honny and stamped wyth lyne sede. where wythe they of the Iland repasshedde themselfe and dyd so, longe byfore the Athenyans perceyued yt. But at lengthe perceyuynge yt, they sett there watches. And for effecte, euery one for hys parte vsed the beste dyligence, that he myght, to wytt, the one to bringe victuailes into the Iland, and the other for to empesche yt. In thys meane tyme the Athenyans that were in the cytie, vnderstandynge that their people whyche were alleged at the sayde place of Pylus, were in greate necessytie, and that those, that were in the Iland hadd victuailes, they were in greate care. For they doubted, that by the wynter, that came vpon them, their people shulde suffer muche, beynge in a desarte place, for that, that in that tyme yt shulde be verye harde to compasse aboute all Peloponese for to victuaile them. And yt was nott possible in that tyme of sommer that remayned and was to come, to furnysche themselfe of all that, that was necessarye for their sustynance. Also their shyppes had nother porte nor abydynge place, where they myght be in suertye. On the other syde, they perceyued well that whan they shulde discontynue and ceasse the watche aboute the Iland, they that were wythin yt, woolde saue themselfe in the same shippes that carryed them victuailes, espyinge the tyme, whan the sea shulde be roughe. And the thynge moste that they feared, was that they thought that the Lacedemonians, perceyuynge themselfe to haue the aduantage, woolde sende vnto theme no more to demaunde peace. Wherefore they repented themselfe rycht sooze, not to haue accepted yt, whan they required it. And forsomuch as Cleon perceyued well that they had opinio that he had bene cause of empeschyng it, he said ꝑ the affaires

of charmye was not in suche sorte,as they were done to be vnderstanded. And for that,that they,that had made reaporte,demaunded that men might be sent thider to parceue the trouth,it was determyned that he & Theogenes should go. But Cleon,parceuing that if they so did,they should be forced aither to say,as the furst:or that sayinge the contrary,they should afterwardes be foride lyars:he perswaded the people,whome he sawe well animated to that battaile,to sende some strength of people,aboue the nöber,that they had determyned. Seying ỳ it was better to do so,than to lose tyme by tarying for them,ỳ should be sent,vntill they were retourned. For in the meane time if it were so as the other did say,ỳ fresshe strength,that shulde be sent thider,might be arryued. And forsomuche as Nycyas,sonne of Nyceratus,who had ỳ cõduct & the charge of that army that was at Pylus,was his enemye:he said that if,sending that same succours,they ỳ had the charge of that affaire,were men of courage,they might easely take them,that were in ỳ Iſlande, & that if he were there,he doubted not,but that he wolde done do it. Than Nycias, parceyuinge that the people had nowe conceyued some displeasure vò the said Cleon,for that,that if he did knowe the thinge so easye as he said,they thought ỳ he should not refuse to go thider: and also seinge that the said Cleon charged him,he said vnto him. That insomuch as he founde the thinge to be easy,it were good,that he toke the charge to leade the rẽforte or fresshe strẽghe thider. And he remitted vnto him his place & hys puissance right wyllingly. And Cleon,thinking at the begynnynge that he did it not with good harte & ernestly, but iudgynge, that he wolde not do it,did not refuse it. But after that he parceyued,that the other persseuered, he excused himself,saying ỳ the other was chosene Cappytaine for that,and not he. Notwythstandinge whan the people did see, that Nycyas wolde wythout any sayninge leaue his charge to the sayd Cleon & Nycyas prouoked him to take it,(as euery cõmonaltie is ioyefull of a nouation & change) they commaunded the sayd Cleon to accepte it. who seinge that there was noo remedy to forsake it,sens that it was so offredde: he fynally accepted it. And said right gloriously,that he feared not the Lacedemonyans, and that he wolde goo thider vòout taking one man of Athens. But he wold cary the soldyars of Lemne and Imbrice,whiche were than in the cytie,all well armed, and some othere armed wyth targattes,whyche were sente from Ene,with a certayn nomber of Archers,whome he wolde take in other places,to the nomber of foure houndred. wyth the which,and thole that were already at Pylus,he auaunted himself that vòn twenty daies,he wolde bryng the Lacedemonyans that were in the Iſland, pryſonners into Athens,or els wolde slaye theym. At whyche so glorious speakinge,the Athenyãs did laughe:and yet they were glad therof,thinking ỳ one of two things should happene: aither that they should by ỳ meane be delyuered from the importunitie of Cleon, who was tedyous vnto them already, if he failled to do the thynge,wherof he auaunted hymself(as the moste parte thoughte,that yt should so be)or els if he did it,that he should bringe the Lacedemonyans into their power. Beinge than the thinges so deliberated and concluded in the assemblie of the common people,Cleon was by the voyce & opynyons of them chosene, made and created Emperour and Cappytayne of the armye,in stede of Nycyas. And he named Demosthenes to be his adioyned compaignyon, who was in the campe, for that,that he parceued that he was of opynyon to go to assayle, vòin the Iſlãde, thole,that were there. Also the souldyours, seyng the incommodytie of the place, and that they were more assieged, than thole, whiche they did assiege, desired to hazarde the matter. And this also gaue them courage therunto,that they parceued the Iſlãde to be already discouered in many places,where the woodes were

Theoge nes.

burned. whiche at the beginning, whan the siege was there layde, it was so thick with woode, by reason that no man had haunted it, that it was in a manner impossible to passe through it. whyche was the cause whye Demosthenes feared at the begynning to enter into it. For it semed vnto him, that it was the aduantage of them, that were wythin. for somuche as whan he had landed there wyth great puissance those, that were within hydde & in couert in dyuers places might doo greate dōmages to hys people, whyche he coulde not do vnto them that were bid through the wood, and dyd know ẏ passages & paths therof. And by ẏ meane the faults that his people shuld cōmyt, shuld be discouered. In suche maner, ẏ it shuld be in ẏ facultie & power of the enemys to yssue fourth of their embushmēt & come to assaile them whan they did se their aduantage. And though that they were repoulsed into ẏ thick woode & being but a smal nōber, yet shuld they haue the aduantage, for the knowlaige, which they they had of the place. And moreouer a certain nōber of the people that he had, could not cōme there, wher the greatest busynes shuld be. nother there, where succours shulde be let, for thimpeschement of the wood. And besides all thies reasons, that moued Demosthenes, yet the ouerthrowe, whych he had at Ethiole, whiche chaunced him partely by lyke occasiō of woode, caused him moost to feare. But it was happened, that some of of them ẏ were wtin the Iland, being come to the shore for to watche: did kindle a fyer for to sethe their meate, & that the wynde so aryled, that it kindled ẏ same fyer, in such sorte, that it did burne very farre into the Iland. By meane wherof, Demosthenes perceiued ẏ there was a greater nōber of people, than he thought. And seing also, ẏ thentrie shuld be more easie by meane of the said fier, he thought it beste to assaile them, as sone as he might, and so he prepared to do it, & had already cōmaunded them that were nere the Iland, to come to his ayde. And in ẏ meane tyme he was aduertyled, by Cleon, that he had the charge of the armye, & so he attended for him. And whan he was come, after that they had aduised togiders, they sent an herault to the Lacedemonyās that were in the campe before ẏ towne, for to knowe of them, if they would be content, to cause those, that were in the Iland, to render themself wᵗ their armure, vnder cōdition, that they shuld be well & suerly kept, vntill the tyme that it were determyned vpon thappoictement for all the warre. And vnderstanding by reporte of the herault, that they wold not accept the sayd partie they seiourned & taryed therupō, one whole day. And afterwardes cōminge the night, they best owed the most parte of their people wtin a small nōber of ships. whome, they dyd sett wtin the Iland about dawning of the day on both sides, to wit, on the syde of the hauone, & of the same of ẏ mayn sea. One part of whyche nōber, vnto eyght hondred or therabout incontynētly as they were lāded, did conne wᵗ most diligēce ẏ they could, against the thiefes that kept watche that same nyght, whiche were about thirty. For the others were ẏ most part in a place discouered, which was in a maner, in the middest of the Illāde enuironed wᵗ water & Epitadas their captain wᵗ them. One other part was at the other end of the Illāde on the side feō Pylus, which could not be assailed by the sea side, for that, ẏ the Iland was on that side high & steipe vp, in suche maner, ẏ no man could skale or enter there. And on the towne side it was vneasie to assaile, by cause of an olde castell that had sometime bene there made wyth a raw wall. which they wtin the Illande reserued for their sorte. if they were constrayned to habādone & forsake the reste. The affaires than being in this estate, as aboue, those that came to charge vpō the watche, came soubdainly vpō them & found thē sleping, so that before they could arme thēself, they were all slayne by meane that they feared not their lāding. And though that they had perceued the

galleis

galleys to compasse aboute the bankes & coastes of the Iland, yet they thought that it had bene those, ỳ kepte the watche, as they had nightly accustomed. After that, whan the daye beganne to be clere, the rest of the army, that was yet the in the shipps whyche were arryued at the Iland, that were to the nomber of foure skoore or theraboute, landed all in the Iland. To wytt, those whiche were at the furste siege, and those, that Cleon had brought, those remayned, that were lefte to kepe the campe and the muntyons. Amonge whome, there was about eyght houndred Archers and as many caryinge targattes lightly armed, whyche Demosthenes did appoincte all in that same sorte. For he did sett theym in dyuers bendes, the one distant from the othere, at two houndred men for the bende, & in some parte lesse accordinge to the capacytie of the places. And he cauſed theym to gette euery where the hyghest of the place for to do the mooste displeasure to the ennemys. Compalling them on many sydes, to the ende, that they shuld not knowe on what parte to tourne themself for the great multitude of people, that they shulde see charged vpon them on all parties. For if they tournedde agaynst them, that assayled them at their backe: they that were afore them, wold ronne vpon them. And the lyke thinge did those that were behinde, if they marchedde agaynste them that were afore. And whan they tournedde vpon them that were on the sydes, they were assailed both by those from afore, and also by those, that were behynde. And by that meane on euery parte where they tourned, they were alwayes compalled behynde wyth those that were lightly armedde. who didde attaynct and sett vpon them incõtynetly. And the Archers did hurte them afarre of wyth arrowes, wyth dartes, wythe stones, caste wyth hande, and with slinges. And also they kepte not their standinge whan men charged on them. For it is their custome to vanquisshe by flyinge, for that, that they did shote and caste without ceasinge. And whan the ennemys did retourne, they were at their backe. Suche order dyd Demosthenes kepe, aswel at the entry into the Iland, as also after that he was entred, in all that same fyght. whan Epitadas and those that were wyth him in middes of the Iland, whiche was the greatest nomber, parceued that their watche, and those that were in the former strength were discomfyted, and that all the company came hastely agaynste them, they dyd putt thẽself in battaille, and wolde haue marched agaynste the Athenyans that came in the fronte before them. But they coulde not come hande to hande, nother shewe their valyantnes against them. For the Archers & throwers, and those that were lightly armed, who came on the sydes and wynges, did empesche them. wherby, they parceyuynge that, marched not against the sayd Athenyans. But kept them selfe in theire order and remoued not, but whan the said light armed did approche nighe into them. For than they repoulsed them, but in their flyinge they alwayes defended them, and so were dryuen to saue themself through the rockes and straight places, and the Lacedemonyans that were strongly armed, coulde not followe them. In suche sorte they didde fyghte a certayne space of tyme, in maner of a escharmusshe. And afterwards the light armed, parceyuinge that the Lacedemonyans were already wery and slowe to follow them so oftene, did take more courage and audacytie, and shewed themself in greater nomber, for that, that they founde not the Lacedemonyans so sharpe nother so valliyant, as they thought them to be at begynnyng, whan they were entred into the Iland. For than they wente muche in greate feare against them, for the greate renomme of their hardynes, and so they rusched wyth greate cryes, all at ones vpon them, castynge arrowes stones and othere shotte, suche as they hadde euerye one in his hande. At whyche crye and manner of combate and fightyng, the Lacedemony-

ans, who hadde not bene therunto accustomed, were all astonied. And on thoder parte, the powder of the ashes, that came from the places where ẏ fyer had bene, was so greate in the ayer, that they coulde nother see, noꝛ by any meane anoyde the shot that was cast agaynst them. In maner that they were in great perplexitie. Foꝛ theire sallettes and cappes of yꝛone couldenot couer them fro the shott, theire speares were bꝛokene and krushed wyth stoanes that were caste agaynste them, and moꝛeouer they beynge envyroned and assayled on all sydes, dyd nott see those, ẏ assailed them, nother they coulde heare what thinge they were commaunded to do, foꝛ the greate crye ẏ themnymys did make. So that they knewe not what to do, and also did not se any meane to saue themselfe. Fynally ẏ moꝛe parte of them being alreadie hurt, they retyred all togeders towardes the castell, whiche was in the ende of the Illande, where there was one part of thair people. whiche parceyued by the light armed, they appꝛoched yet more boldely withe greate crꝛes and stroke of shott, and those that departed fro the trowpe, were slayne incontynently. But one great parte saued them self through the woodes, and came to soygne wyth them, that were at keppynge of the castell. And all togeder pꝛepared themselfe foꝛ to defende that syde thereof, that was assaultable. The Athenyans followed theym beary nighe. And neuerthelas seyng that they coulde not assiege the place on all sydes, foꝛ ẏ nature & dyficultie therof, best owed them selfe in a place moꝛe higher. Fromewhence wyth foꝛce of shott, and by all meanes that they could, they parfoꝛced themself to chase ẏ other out of the castel. But they defended themself beary hardely. In such foꝛte that the combate endured the greater parte of one day. Through occasion wherof, they were all ouercommed of the one part and of the other, wyth heate, dꝛough and trayuaile. Foꝛ the Lacedemonyans, had meane and power to defend themselfe, foꝛ that, ẏ they coulde not be envyroned noꝛ assayled by the sydes. The matters, beyng in thies termes, and the duke of Mellenyans, seyng that there was no ende, came vnto Cleon and to Demosthenes and sayde vnto them that they trayuailed themself in vayne to thincke to take themnymies in that same sorte. But yf they delyuered hym a certayne nomber of footemen light ly armed and of Archers, he wold take payne to enter secreatly vpon the ennymies at their back in some maner. Whiche thing they dyd graunt hym. Who, hauyng the people that he had demaunded, ledde them the most secretly that he coulde throughe the rockes and through ẏ brokene places of the Illande, tournyng vntill he came to the quarter, whyche was not kept noꝛ defended, foꝛ that, that yt semed to the Lacedemonyans, that yt defended yt self, by yt self, & wythe the most payne of the woꝛlde, he mounted & skaled vp to ẏ height. Wherby, the Lacedemonyans, seing them to be taken behynd them, were greatly astonyd & in maner withoute hope. And ẏ Athenians, ẏ assailed them afoꝛe, did all reioyce, as certayne of the victoꝛy. In this estate the Lacedemonyans founde themselfe enclosed & slayne on all sydes, as those, whiche did syght agaynst Perses at Thermopiles, if comparyson may be made of greate thinges, vnto small. Foꝛ as those being there surpꝛised by smal passages & paths of the mosteigne on all sydes, were al slayn: so thies, being here hurt on all parts, defended themself no longer. But perceyuing themself in so small nõber agaynst so great nõber of enemis, & being moꝛeouer faint & ouercõme wt famine, dꝛoughe and wyth trauaylle: lefte and habandonned the defenses. In suche mãner, that the Athenyans had nowe already gottone all the entrynges of the place. whych sene by Cleon & Demosthenes, & that, howmuch the lesse they defended thẽself, so muche ẏ greater nõber of thẽ was slain: they caused their people to retire, desiring rather to cary thẽ, ẏ were yet lyuinge pꝛysoners vnto Athens, if they wold render

themself

themselfe to their wil, than to slay them. And so they caused them to be cõmoned by the herault with a lowde voyce to do it. And whan one partie did caste on the grounde their shielde clappinge theire handes, whyche was a tokene, that they accepted the partie. And so made treuese for a small space. Duringe the whiche, they came to parliament, to wit, Cleon & Demosthenes for the Athenyans, and Stypho of Pharacie for the Lacedemonyãs, for that, that Epidatas, ỳ had bene their capitaine was deade, and Hippagretus, who was chosen in his stede, was hurte and lay on the groũde among the dead, though that he was yet liuing. For thys cause had the same Hippagretus bene chosene after the lawe and custome of the Lacedemonyans for to ordeyne and commaunde according to the chaũce and as nede shulde require. who, beinge comme to the parlyamente with the said Cleon and Demosthenes, sayde vnto them on the bihalf of them that were with him and of his, that bifore acceptinge the partie, they would therin haue the aduyse of their capytains & compaignions, that were in the mayne lande. And seing that the Athenyans wolde not agre vnto it, they called wyth a lowde voyce, the heraults that were wyth their said Capytains in the mayne land. And after that they had called thre tymes, one of the sayd heraulds came vnto them vpõ a ladder, who shewed them from the other, that they shulde deuyse and take partie in their affaire themselfe, so alwayes that they shulde not make anny shamefull appointement. And therupon hauynge consulted amonge them what they had to do, they rendred thẽselfe vnto their armure to the pleasure of the enemys. & were all that night & the day folowing, kept as pryseners. The other day after, the Athenyans hauynge sett vp their trophee in the Iland in token of victorie, departed the saide prisoners amonge the bendes, deliuerynge them in keppinge vnto the Capytaynes of that same bendes. And afterwardes preparedde themselfe to retourne vnto Athens. And rendred to the Lacedemonyans (who for that cause had sent their heraulte) the corpses of the dead. And of all the nõber of foure hoũdred & .xx. ỳ were passed into the Iland, there were foũde but two houndred & four skore, wherof there were syr skore of Sparte, all the other were dead. Of the Athenyans there was no great nõber slayne, for that, that there was no ranged battaille. The tyme, that the sayd Lacedemonyãs had bene in the Iland, tõ the same by sea, vntill this the last battaile: were thre skore & twelue daies. wher they had prouisiõ of victuailes during the .xx. dayes, that ỳ Amballadours went to Athens for the appoictmẽt. The rest of the time, they liued wt that, that was brought them secretly. And so there was founde in their campe wheate & othere victuailes, which they had yet in stoare. For Epitadas departed them so, as was requisitt for the necessitie. In this manner departed the Athenyans and the Lacedemonyans frõ Pylus, and euery one wẽte to his house. And the promes, that Cleõ had made ỳ to Atheniãs at his departure (though it were folish & glorious) was parfourmed & accomplished. For he brought the ennemyes prisonners to Athens within the space of twenty dayes, lyke as he had promysed. whiche was the furste thynge that happened in that warre agaynst the opinyõ of all the Grekes. For they neuer thought, that the Lacedemonyãs, nother for fampyne nor for other necessitie, that they might haue: wolde haue rendred their armure. But rather than they wold do that, to fyghte vntill the death. And if those that yelded themself hadde bene lyke vnto them that hadde bene slayne, they hadde not bene so rendredde. whereby it thereupon chaunccdde after that they were brought to Athens, that one amonge them beinge asked by an Athenyan, in manner of derysion and mockage, if those that were slayne of theire compaignie, were people of estymacyon: he aunswereddde hym in thys manner. That the distaff was muche

to be made of, if it knewe men of honestie, wylling by the dissaft to signefie the arowe and shott. And to say, that those that were dead of their cõpaignions, were slayne by strokes of shot so as they came at aduenture. wherefore it coulde not be iudged if they dyed villaynously or no. Being than the sayd prisoners brought to Athens, it was ordeyned that they shuld be kepte in good prysons vntill that some appointement were taksene wyth the Peloponesians. And if in the meane seasone, they came to ouerrome their lande, that they shulde be all slayne. To the reste the Athenyans did leaue their garnysone at Pylus. And moreouer the Melsenyens sente thider from Naupacte, some of their people, suche, as they thought moste conuenient and mete for to be in that same place. For that, that whã Melsena was in his entier, that same place, was of his terrytorye. And they that kept it, were robbars and theues, and wente pillinge and robbing the countrey of Laconie, and did there many other mischeues, somuche more easie, for that they did speake one self language. Of thys warre, the Lacedemonyans were astonied, for that they they were not accustomed to make it of like sorte. And also of this, that their sklaues rendred themself to the enuemys. So they sente secretely Imbassadours to the Athenyans for to vnderstande and knowe if they might recouer Pylus and their prysonners. But the Athenyans, who desired and affected greater thinges, after many goynges and commynges, sente them agayne wythout doynge any thynge. This ende hadde the affayres at Pylus.

¶ Of a victorie that the Athenyans hadde agaynste the Corynthians in their lande.

☞ The. v. Chapter.

Incontynetly after that victorye, that same sommer, the Athenyans wente agaynst the countrey of Corynthyans wyth foure skoore galleis, carynge a thousand fotemen, all Athenians. And in the other plat ships, they caryed two houndred warryours, beinge hoor semen. And beslydes this, they had in their compaignie the succours of Milesyans, of Andryens and of Caristians. Of the whyche armye, Nycias, sonne of Nyceratus, wyth two other compaignyons, was capytain. So they kept along the lande betwene Cherronese and Rhite. And parceued themself at dawning of the day to be forasempste one small mountaigne, named, Soligius. whyche, hauynge in tymes paste bene fortefyed, by the Dorpens, made there from warre againste the Colyans, that were wythin the cytie of Corynthe. And there is at this presente daye a Castelle, that hath the selfe name of the mounteigne, whiche is distant from the sea syde, wherby the galleys did passe, aboute twelue stades. from the cytie of Corinthe, aboutes thre skore, and from the distraict, twenty. To whyche distreate, the Corynthians that were aduertised of the commynge of the Athenyans, were all gone, reserued those, that inhabited wythout the sayd destroycte, on the coste of the syme lande. Whereof fyue houndredde were gone into Ambracya and into Leucade for to defende them. The other were al gatheredde togiders to deskrie, in what quarter the Athenyans wolde lande. But those same Athenyans, being in the night passed by, wythout parceyuinge, and vnderstandinge (by the signes that they, whyche were in the watche did make, that they were landed on the other syde of Soligius) they parted themself into two bendes, wherof they didde leaue

Andrii. Nicias. Cherronesus. Soligius.

leaue the one in Cenchrees for to succour Crommyon, if the said Athenyans dyd come to assaile yt, and the other halle wente to the succours of the other vpon ȳ coste, where the saide Athenyans were landed. Nowe had the Corinthians made twoo Capitaynes of that warre. Whereof they did name theone Battus, who was gone wyth one bende for to enter into the castell, whiche was not stronge of walles, for to defende yt: and thother, named Lycophron, went agaynst the Athenyans that were landed. And marched at ȳ arryuall, agaynst ȳ right poynct and wyng of the Athenyans, with whome were the Carystiens in the laste bende. and so be assayled them lyuely, and the battaile was veary sharpe euen hand for hand. But fynally, the Corinthians were repulsed vnto the mountaigne, where there was plentie of heapes of stones, of the walles beaten downe. From which place, hauynge the aduauntage they repulsed thennemyes wyth greate strokes of stones. And after ȳ the sayd ennemyes had retyred and recouered theire brethe, they caused their trompetts to sounde, and defended afresh agaynst them. And so bygane agayne the battaille hand to hande more sharpe than the furst. But they being in the most heate therof, came to ȳ succours of the sayd Corinthians, one compaigne of their people. By whose helpe, they repoulsed the Athenyans vntyll the sea, where the Athenyans afreshe ioygned themselfe togiders and repoulsed the Corinthians. In the meane tyme, the rest of the people dyd combate and fyght incessantly wythoute restynge, thone agaynste the other, to wytt, the ryght wyng of the Corinthians, wherin was Lycophron, agaynst the left poynte of the Athenyans, fearynge that yt wolde go to assayll the castell of Soligius. Thus the battaill longe endured, wyth owt knowlaige had, who had the better. But fynally, through the horsmen, whych came to the help of ȳ Athenyãs, the Corinthians were repoulsed and retired to the mountaigne. And there not being pursued, they vnarmed them selfe for to reste, and refreshe them. In this retreict many of the Corynthians were slayne, and amonge them, Lycophron. The other, beynge retyredde to the heighte of the mountaigne: didde fortefye theymselfe wyth the place. Also the ennemyes dydde not followe them. but gaue themselfe to spoyle the deade, and afterwardes, they rayled vp their trophee, in signe of victorie. Of all thys battaile the Corinthians, that were abiding in Cenchrea, couldse see nothynge. For that, that the mounte Oneus dydde empesche theire sighte. But neuerthelas seinge the duste in the ayer very thycke, and by that knowynge that they dydde fyghte, they came with all diligence to their succours, and lykewyse the olde people that remayned in the cytie. whome, whan the Athenyans did see cõmyng all against them, they thought that they were the neyghbours of those Corinthians that came to their succours out of the countrey of Peloponese. So they retyred into their shyps wyth the spoyle of their ennemyes and the corples of theire people, that were slayne: excepte twoo, whyche they couldse not fynde nor knowe. whome they recouered afterwardes by appoynctemente of the Corynthyans. Of whome were slayne in the furste battayll, two hounddred and twenty, and of the Athenyans aboutes fyftie. At departure from the sayde nyghe Illandes, the Athenyans wente fromthence into that same of Crommyon, the whych apperteigned to the Corinthians, distant from Corinthe, the space of fyue shore stades. and there they tarryed one nyght & a day. During which tyme they pillaged it holy. And afterwardes they went frõthence, to Epidaure, & frõthence they came to Methon, which is betwene Epidaure & Trezene, & did take the dissreate of Thetronese, wher as Methõis. which they incloled wt a wall, and put therin of their people in garnyson. who a long tyme afterwardes commyttedde robberies and pyllages in the lande of the sayde Trezenians and

Oneus.

Epidaurus.

Methone.

Troezena.

Epidaurs

Epydaurians & alſo of the Halyens. And that done, the ſayd Athenyans retourneddе into their countrey.

Howe they that were expoulſed out of Corinthe were taken by theym of the towne wyth the helpe of the Athenyans and afterwardes cruelly ſlayne.

The.vi.Chapter.

In that ſelf ſaylone, Eurymedon and Sophocles, beinge departeddе fro Pylus wyth the army by ſea, for to paſſe into Sycille, they came to lande at Corcyre. Beinge at whyche place, they iſſued fourth with them of the towne againſt the other cytezeins, that were dryuen and chaſed fromthence. who, beynge fortefied in the mounte Iſthone, had gottone al the countreye about ỹ towne, and did vnto them that were within, many dammaiges and diſpleaſures. So they repoulſed them and did take the rampares and ſtronge places that they hadde made, and conſtraigned them to retyre to a ſtraight place in the hieghеſt of the mountaigne. Beinge wherin, they rendredde themſelf vpon this condition. that they ſhuld render all the ſtrangers that were comme to their ayde to the wyll of the ſaid Athenyans and Corcyryans. And as touchinge thoſe, that were of the towne, they ſhulde be ſurely kepte, vntill that the ſaid Athenyans had determyned what they ſhuld wil to be done wyth them. So, that if one alonly amonge them were founde to haue done againſt the ſaid treatie, than it was brokene, as concernynge all the reſte. Enſuinge the which appoinctement, beinge ledde into the Iſlande of Ptychia, and the chief and prynceypall of the towne fearinge that the Athenyans woolde haue no pytie, and leſte they woulde condempne them to death: did imagyn this trompery and deceyte. For they ſente into the ſaid Iſlande ſome of the frēdes of thoſe, that were there. who dyd them to vnderſtande, that the Athenyans had determyned to render them to the Corcyryans, that were in the cytie. wherfore they ſhulde do well and wyſely to ſaue themſelfe. promyſinge to fournyſhe ſhyps for to do it. wherunto they accorded. And ſo as they were entred into a ſhipp, thinkinge to ſaue thēſelf, they were takene by the Corcyrians. And for that, that in ſo doing they had brokene the appoinctement, they were by the dukes and cayptayns of the Athenyans rempted to the wylle of the ſayd Corcyrians, although that they were aduertyſed of the tromperie and deceyte. But they did yt to the ende, that they ſhuld haue the better occaſion to delyuer them. For ſomuche as willing to departe frō thence into Sycille, they were angrie, that other people ſhulde haue the honnor to haue caryed to Athens, thoſe priſoners, which they had conquered & vainquiſhed. Beynge than the ſayd priſoners rendred to them of the cytie, they were altogither put vnto a great edyfice. And afterwards they cauſed thē to be drawyn oute by twentys, all bounde: and paſſed through the men of armes whych were ranged on both ſydes. And as they paſſed throngh the ſtreate, biſore they arryued at the place, where the ſayd men at armes were: thoſe that had anny particuler hatred againſte any of them, did pricke him, paſſinge by, with their glaiues. And ſpecially the ſargeantes did bounſe and beate them, whan they wente to ſoftlye. And fynally, whan they were arryued in the myddeſte of the men at armes, they were hackedde in pieces. In this maner were ſlayn at three tymes, to the nomber of three

Iſthone

Ptychia

of thre ſtoze, bifoze that the other, that were wythin the pryſon, did knowe therof. For they thought that they were cauſed to yſſue fourth, for to be caryed into ſome othere pryſone. But whan they were aduertyſed of the trouth, they began to crye and call to the Athenyans, that they ſholde ſlaye them theymſelues, if yt were their wyl, that they ſhulde dye. ſayinge that they wold not ſuffre other, but them, to enter into the pryſone, wherein they were, ſo longe as they had lyfe and body. whych ſeyng the Cozcirās they wold not breke vp ꝑ gate. But they ſkailed vpon the houſe and vncouered it on all ſydes, and after wyth ſtrokes of arrowes did ſlaye them wythin. But the pryſonners did defende themſelfe the beſte, that they could. And many among thē dyd ſlay themſelf w̄ their owne handes, ſome wyth the arowes, that were caſt at them, whyche they thruſte into their throtts, and the other dyd ſtrangle themſelf wyth the clothes of their beddes, and wyth cozdes and lynes, which they had made of their habilimentes. In ſuche maner, that alwell by day as by night (whiche came vpon them in thies counterchaunces) they were all deade. partely wyth ſtrokes of arowes, and partlye with theire owne hādes. And ꝑ morow after, whan it was day their cozpſes were carred vpon waynes out of the cytie and all their wynes that were founde wythin that ſame edyfice, were brought into ſeruitude & bondage. In thys manner thoſe, ꝑ hadde made the mutyne & ſedition in the cytie of Cozcyze, were ſlayne. And that ſame ſedition was by that meane fynyſhed ſo farre as touched this warre, whereof we ſpeake. For of the other, that had bene there bifoze, there remayned not one Iote, wherby any ſuſpytion might than be conceyued.

¶ Of many victozies and proſperities, that the Athenyans hadde in that ſame ſaiſone agaynſte the Peloponeſians, and chiefly in the Iſlande of Cythere and in Thyzee. and of ſome other matters.

☞ The. vii. Chapter.

After that, the Athenyans beinge arryued in Sycille, and ioigned with their allies, they biganne warre agaynſt their generalle ennemys. In that ſame ſomer, the Athenyans and Acarnanians that were at Naupacte, dyd take by trahiſone & ſleight the towne of Inactozye. whyche was ſytuated at the entrye of the goulphe of Ambzacie, belonging to the Cozinthyans, whyche the ſayde Acarnanyans dyd afterwardes kepe, and chaſed from thence al the Cozinthiens, and thys endurynge the ſommer ended. At begynning of wynter, Ariſtides, ſonne of Archippus, one of the Captayns by ſea of the Athenyans, who was ſente to their allyes, for to recouer of thē ayde of monney, wherat they were tared: encountred vpon the ſea nyghe vnto Eione, whyche is in the quarter of Strymone, a galley, wherin was a Perſian, that the kyng Artaxerres had ſente in Imbaſſade towardes the Lacedemonyans, namedde Artaphernes. And ſo he dyd take hym, togyders wyth the letters, that he caryed from the ſaid kinge, addreſſed to the Lacedemonyans, and caryed him to Athens. And the ſaid letters were than tranſlated out of the languaige Perſian, into Greke. whyche amonge many other thinges conteigned, that the kynge marualled greately of the ſayd Lacedemonyans and knewe not what they mente. For they hadde ſente many meſſengers, wherof the the one had neuer ſpokene, as the other. wherefore if they wolde ſpeake playnly and clerely, they ſhulde ſende ſome wyth the ſayde Artaphernes, that ſhuld do hym to vnderſtande, their mynde and wyll. Certain

Inactorium.

Artaphernes

dayes

dayes after, the sayde Athenyans sente the same Artaphernes to Ephese to their Imbassadours, which they sent towardes the saide Artaxerres. But being there, they hadde newes of the deathe of the sayed Artaxerres, and so they retourned him to Athens. In that selfe wynter, they of Chio were constraigned by the Athenians, to beate downe a walle, which they had newely made aboute the towne. For suspicion that the Athenians had, that they ymagined some reuolte & rebellió. Although that the said Chyās were thereof sufficiently discharged, & offred to geue such suerte as they might, in not dyng to doe agaynst the sayd Athenians. And in thies counterchaukes the wynter passed, whiche was the seuenth yeare of the warre, ỳ the Thucidides hath writtone. In beginning of the somer ensuyng, there was an eclips of the sonne & in the same moneth chaunced in Greece, a great Earthquake. And the outlawes of Mytilene and of the Iland of Lesbos, hauyng togiders a greate nõber of people of the mayne lande, whereunto they were retyred, & also of Peloponese dyd take the citie of Rhetoe, & anone after without doyng there any domage, did restore it, receyuyng two thousande Phocians sloters. And from thence they weare to the Citie of Antandros, whiche they did take by treasone of some that were in it. And their intent was to sette agayne at lybertie the other cities, that be called Actees, whiche were sometyme founded by the Mytylenians and was then ruled & gouerned by the Athenians: but principally they would kepe the citie of Antandros, for that, it was propice for them to make shyps, bycause of the woode and other matter that was founde there: and also in the Iland of Ida, whiche was there nigh vnto it. And moreouer frõ that same warre might be easely made agaynst the Iland of Lesbos, which was also nigh, and lykewyse Village and gette the villages of Eoliens, that were in the mayne lande. this was there entent. In that same sõmer, the Athenians did sende. lx. shyppes, and in them two thousande fotemen, & certaine nomber of horsemen and a nombre of Mytileniens and of some other theyr allyes, vnder the conducte of Nycias, sonne of Niceratus, Nicostratus, sonne of Diotraphus, and of Antocles, sonne of Tolmeus, for to make warre agaynst thole of Cythere, whiche is an Iland situated forayenste the country of Laconie, on the cost of Malea, and was inhabyted with lacedemonians, who euery yeare sent thider thofficers of the citie of Sparte, togiders with a garnisone for the kepyng of it. For they forowed greatly for it, for that, that it was there retraicte and their estaple for their shyppes, that came out of Lybia and oute of Egypte, and also empesched, that no robberies were done in the countrey of Laconie by sea on the coste, where it was in moste daunger. For that, that it laye opene and was subiecte to the sea of Spayne, and to that same of Crete. Being than the Athenens arryued at the sayd Iland, with tenne shyppes and two thousande Millesians: they toke at the actuall one citie of the sayd Iland whiche was on thelea syde, named Scandea, and the rest of the armie went through the Iland agaynst the quarter, wherein was the citie of Malea. And first they came to the maistres towne, whiche is nigh the sea, named Cythere, where they founde the Cythereans, who attended for them, all in armure without the towne. So they assayled them, & after that they had defended themselfe a very small tyme, they cõstraigned them to retire into the vpper parte of the towne, and sone after, they yelded themselfe vnto Nycias, and to the other Capitaines Athenians, their lyues saued, & already before that they yelded themselfe, some among them had parlemented and spoken with Nicias for to aduise what thyng should be done, to the ende that thappoynctment should be made more suerly and the more readely. And in effect the Athenias transported all the Cythereans into other places,

Roethium.

Antandros.

Nicias.

Nicostratus.

Antocles.

Cythereers.

Malea.

Scãdia

aswell

alwell for that they were Lacedemonyans, as also for that, that the same their Iſlande is directely oppoſytt and foranempſt the countrey of Laconia. Hauyng than the Athenyans takenne Scandea, whyche ys in ỹ poort of the ſea, and turnyſhedde Cythere wych theire people: they wente into Aſina, into Helos and other places by the ſea ſyde, where they landedde, and dydde greate dammages, for the ſpace of ſeuene dayes, that they dydde tarrye there. The Lacedemonyans, ſeynge that the Athenyans did kepe Cythere, and fearynge leſte men ſhulde come to aſſayile theyme, they were nott of opynyon to ſende into anny parte a mayne armye, for to fyghte agaynſte the ennemyes, but to departe theire people into dyuers places, ſo as they thoughte to be neceſſarye for to defende them, and alſo into ſome of theym, for feare, that they ſhulde nott reuolte and rebelle. conſyderynge the loſſe that they hadde made of theire people in the Iſlande nerte vnto Pylus, and alſo of the towne of Pylus, and of the cytie of Cythere, and the warre, whyche was mouedde agaynſte theym, to be contrary to theire oppynyon and vnpꝛouidedde for. By reaſone whereof, they huyꝛedde and ſouldedde thꝛee houndꝛed men at armes and certayne nombꝛe of Archers, whyche thinge they were nott accuſtomedde to doo. And yet neuertheleſs if euer, in any other tyme, they were ſlacke and ſlowe to make warre: yett were they at that tyme, moꝛe ſouthefull (reſaruedde the pꝛeparation for the armye by ſea which they hadde) though that they hadde to doo agaynſt the Athenyans, who repuctedde nothing to be difficille, and harde for them to ouercomme, but that thynge whyche they woulde not enterpꝛyſe. And beſydes that they were ſtrykene wyth greate feare by many thynges, that myſchappenedde vnto theym agaynſte all reaſone. wherby they were in feare to incurre one other ſuche loſſe, as they hadde made at Pylus. For thys reaſonne, they durſte not enterpꝛyſe any combate or fyghtynge, thynkyng that foꝛtune was ſo contrary vnto them, that all their doynges ſhuld take euyll ſucceſſe. And that ſame fantaſie came vpon theyme for that, that they were not accuſtomedde to haue myſſoꝛtune. In thys manner they ſuffredde the Athenyans to waſte and deſtroye their countreys by the ſea ſyde, wythout ones remouynge themſelfe, and alſo wythout ſendynge thyder ſuccours of other people, but only thoſe, that they had ſent thider for to defend them. Judgyng thẽſelf to be weaker than the ſayde Athenyans, aſwelle in nomber of people, as alſo by pꝛactique in the ſea. Notwythſtandynge, one companye or bende of their people, whyche was in garniſone at Coꝛcyꝛe, and Aphꝛoditia, ſeing a compaygnie of the ennemyes lyghtely armedde in diſoꝛdere, they chargedde vpon theym, and dyd ſlaye them all. But ſone after they were rechaſedde, by them that were armedde and loſte ſome of their people, togyders wyth theire armure. The Athenyans, after that they had ſet vp their Trophee in Cytheree, they wente into Epidaure, and fromthence, hauynge waſtedde a great parte of the lande of the Epidauriens, they wente into Thyꝛee, whyche is in the countrey, that men calle Cymurya. whych departeth the countrey of Laconie and that ſame of Argos, and was by the Lacedemonyans geuene to laboure vnto the Egenetes, whyche were chaſedde frome theire countrey, alwell for the ſarupces that they hadde done vnto them in tyme of the Eartquacke, as alſo for this, that albeit, that they were ſubiectes of the Athenyans, yet hadde they alwayes takene their parte. Thoſe Egenetes than vnderſtandynge that the Athenyans were commynge towardes thẽ and arryued at their poꝛte, they habandõned and dyd foꝛſake the walle, whyche they had made by ỹ ſea ſyde, and retired vp to the heyght of their towne which is diſtant frõ the ſea about tenne ſtades. And with them retired one bend of Lacedemonie, which was ſente to defende them, and alſo to helpe to make ỹ wal. But

Aſina. Helos. Aphꝛodiſia. Thirea. Cymeria.

whan it came to the poynct to entre into the towne, they wolde not enter therein whatsoeuer instance, that the Egenetes made vnto theym. For ỹ they thought it daungerous to enclose themselfe. But seinge that they were not hable to resiste their ennemys, they retyredde into the hyghest places in the mounteigne. Sone after, the Athenyans came wyth all their strengthe before the towne of Thyree, so dydde take it peasably and burnedde yt. And all the Egynetes, that they founde lyuynge, they chargedde in their shippes, for to carye them to Athes, togyder wyth Tantalus, some of Patrocles, whom the Lacedemonyans hadde sente vnto them, for to gouerne, howbeit he was sooze hurte. And lykewyse they caryed thyder, some of the pryseners, that they hadde takene at Cytheree. which Cithereans were afterwardes by the Athenyans sente into dyuers Iflandes. And vpon those that remaynedde in the towne of Cytheree, was imposedde and sett a trybute, yerely of foure talentes. As touchynge the Egenetes, for the ancyente hatred, that the Athenyans hadde agaynste them, they causedde them all to dye. And they dyd put Tantalus into prysone with the other Lacedemonyans, that hadde bene takene in the Iflande.

Tantalus.

¶ Howe the Sycilians at the perswation of Hermocrates, made peace among themselfe and sente agayne frothence the Athenyans.

☞ The.viii. Chapter.

In that same sommer, in the countreye of Sycile, treuese were made. Furste betwene the Camerins and the Gelians. And sone after, out of all the cyties of the countrey, Imbassadours were sente to Gele, for to treate of thappoynctement betwene them. And after that manye oppynyons hadde bene spokenne, dyuers and contrary the one to the othere, whyche euerye one dydde speake for hys particuler interesse: makynge their doleaunces of the wronges, whyche they pretendedde to haue bene done in the cytie of Gele, Hermocrates, sonne of Harmõ Syracusaine, whyche was the same parsone, that moost sturredde and prouokedde them to the appoynctemente, dydde speake vnto them, in thys manner.

Hermocrates.

The Oration of Hermocrates.

I Am of a cytie (lordes Sycilians) whyche is not of the leaste of the countrey: and also ys not muche trauailled wythe warre. wherefore that, whych I shall say, ys not for that, that I do owe to haue more feare of the warre, than the othere. But onely ys to shewe you what semethe vnto me to be the common welth of all the countrey. And albeit that, to recyte vnto youe here, what displeasure and what tourmente, the warre ys: and all the thynges that thereby arne wonte to happene, there ys no man that canne welle expresse though that he vsed a very longe talke: yet somuch there is, that as no man, for lacke of vnderstandynge and knowlayge, ys constraynedde to enter hedlyng into it: so also is there none that wolle refrayne to make it, if he thynketh thereby to gett: for feare of any yll that maye come therof. But it chanceth ryghte oftene, that those, whyche enterpryse yt, do hope thereby more wynnynges, than they wolle regarde the difficultie and daungers therof. And those, that do consyder moste the inconuenyences, loue better to be in hazarte of that, whyche maye happene, than presently, to susteygne, any payne or dãmage.

And

And yet nothere the one, noꝛ the othere canne obteigne the ſame, whyche they hope: but throughe the benefytte and ayde of the tyme. wherefoꝛe I thynke that to ſpeake of the appoynctemente, ys a thynge conuenyente foꝛ all menne, and ſpecyallye foꝛ vs in thys ſayſonne, if we be well aduyſedde. Foꝛ if heretofoꝛe we euerye one haue enterpꝛetyſedde, the warre, thynkynge therby to make his pꝛofyttе, and to pꝛouyde foꝛ hys affayꝛe: we oughte nowe, whyche be all in warre and ſtryues: to aſſaye, to comme agayne to the peace, wherein we were. And if we cannot by that meane recouer euerye one that, whyche apperteigneth vnto him: we maye afterwardes retourne to the warre, if we thynke good. But we muſte vnderſtande if we bee diſcreate and pꝛudente, that thys aſſemblie ys not made pꝛyncypally foꝛ to knowe of oure particular queſtyons: but rather to deuyſe (if we maye) to ſaue and wythdꝛawe all the countrey of Sycille out of the handes of the Athenyans, who in my fantaſie deceyue vs all, and goo aboute to ſubdue vs. And conſyder and thynke, that they oughte to be arbitrours and neceſſarie ſequeſters and pꝛocurers of oure peace, moꝛe than my wooꝛdes and talke. Foꝛ that, that they haue an armye all preſte moꝛe puiſſante, than all the othere Grekes, whyche they maye tranſpoꝛte ryghte eaſely hyther by ſea wyth a ſmall nõber of ſhippes, whan they ſhalle knowe youre faultes. whyche they doo hope of and daiily doo laye wayte foꝛ. And thoughe that they do comme hyder as of a good fellauſhipp and allyance, yet foꝛ a trouthe, they do intreate vs ennemylike: and go aboute nothynge, but their particuler pꝛofyttе. And if we doo chooſe and accepte the warre, and call to oure ayde thies people here (whyche do come with oure beynge called) foꝛ to conducte yt: whan they ſhall ſee that we ſhalbe welle trauailed and haue empouerſhedde, the one the othere, they wyll repute yt to be the pꝛofitte of theire eſtate and ſeignyoꝛye. And than, whan they ſhall ſee vs bꝛoughte lowe and decayedde, they ſhall comme wyth a greater puyſſance, and ſhall bꝛynge vs all into their obeiſſance. wherefoꝛe if we be ſage, yt is muche better foꝛ euerye one of vs to call his frendes and confederates, foꝛ to inuade the landes of an other, than to deſtroye our owne, whyche we nowe poſſeſſe, and ſo, take the daungers and pareilles vpon vs. And we oughte to conſyder, that the particuler ſedycyons of the cyties of Sycille, be not onelye daungerous to the ſame, but alſo vnto all the countreye, and to all vs that be therein. Foꝛ ſo longe, as they do fyghte the one agaynſte the othere, there bee that laye wayte to do vs all diſpleaſure. Hauynge than regarde to thies reſpectes and conſyderatyons, we ſhulde reconcile oureſelues euery one particulerly wyth hys ennemye, and the one cytie wyth the othere, and all togidꝛe take payne, to ſaue and deiuuer all our countrey of Sycille. And we ſhulde not haue fantaſye, that ſome of vs be deſcendedde and come of the Doꝛyens, whyche be ennemys of Athenyans, and that the Chalcides, foꝛ the auncyent parentage, whych they haue wyth the Ionyans, be theire good frendes. Foꝛ the Athenyans haue not enterpꝛetyſedde thys warre, foꝛ annye parttakynge of oure factes: but foꝛ couetyce of the goodes, whyche we all haue in Sycille. Lyke as we maye welle knowe by theyme amongeſte vs, whyche be Chalcydiens. who callynge theym to theire ayde, althoughe they neuer hadde ſacurye of theym, noꝛ amytie wythe theym, yett be they comme readelye vnto theire ſuccoures, and haue made allyance wyth theym moꝛe wyllyngly, than wyth the other. And yet neuerthelas the ſayd Athenyans be to be pardonned, and arnenot to be blamed, if they go aboute to encreale their eſtate and ſeignyoꝛie. But they be to blame, whych arne tomuche pꝛone and ready to obey and ſubmytt themſelf vnto them. Foꝛ it is a naturall thynge foꝛ euerye man, to wyle to be ouere and gouerne thoſe, that wolle ſubmitt themſelf vnto him, a to

defende themself from them, that wyll inuade and oppresse them. And there is not he amongeste vs, that vnderstandethe not thies thynges. And whosoeuer shall not knowe that a common feare, oughte to be eschewedde by a general and common prouysion, he deceyueth hymselfe greately. And if we agree oureselues all togider, we shall veray easely bryngе oureselues out of thys feare. For the Athenyans do not assayle vs oute of their lande, but out of oure owne, to wytte, by those, that haue calledde them. And by thys meane we shall not appease one warre, by an othere warre: but by a generall peace, we shalle appease all oure discordes, wythoute anny difficultie. And they, that haue bene called by vs, beynge honestly comme for an euyll intente: shal retourne reasonablie frustrated of their purpose. And thys whyche I saye vnto youe, as touchynge the Athenyans, (all those, that haue wylle to counsaille well) wyll fynde it good. But as concerning the peace, whyche all honneste people esteme the beste thynge in the worlde: wher fore shulde not we desyre it? Thynke ye not, that if anny of vs hath any goodes, yea or anny thynge contrarye vnto hym: that reste and peace be not better for hym than the warre? and that it be not better for vs, aswell of the one parte, as of the other, to departe from armure and strife, so to vse of oure goodes in reste, and to enioye peace wythoute daungere of oure honnours, of our dignyties and of all the othere goodes, that canne be nombred and receyuedde by a very long talke, farre better, than, as it may be done, wyth the incõmodyties of the warre? All whyche thynges consyderedde, ye oughte not, lordes, to dispraysle my sayinges. But by the same, euery one oughte to prouyde for hys oune welthe. And if there be any man, that hopeth to gett any thynge by the warre, by ryght or by wronge: he ought well to feare to be therof deceyued. knowynge, that to manye, whyche thought to reuenge their iniuries and wronges: or vnder confydence of puyssance, hoped to encrease their faculties and power: the whole contrary hathe chaunced. whyche ys, that some loste their healthe, and some their goodes. For it is not sayde, that vengeaunce shulde always take effecte, althoughe it were enterprysed for a iuste cause. For te also wyth a good hope and esperance, ys not a thynge establyshedde, alwaye to contynue. But oftentymes temerytie & rashynes taketh better effecte, than prosounde wytte. And thoughe thys temerytie, be the thynge, whereby the people haue mooste oftene bene deceyued, yet whan yt happenethe well, it is iudgedde to be ryght good. For thys, that whan there is almuche feare in theym that assaile, as in those that be assayledde, aythere partie procedeth therin more warrely and circumspectly. And so shulde we do, lordes: aswelle for feare of thynges to comme, as also of the Athenyans, who be alreadye fearefulle vnto vs, and prouyde in oure assayres for the tyme to come. And euerye one of vs, presuppolynge that the thynge whyche he purposedde to doo, maye be empeschedde by those twoo meanes, to sende oute of oure lande the ennemye, whyche ys already vponne oure shulders. And to bryngе that to passe, we oughte before all thynges to conclude amongeste vs, a perpetuall alyaunce, or at the leaste a longe treuese, in deferrynge oure particuler discordes and differencies. And holde yt for moste certayne, that if ye wylle geue fayth and bileue my woordes: by thys meane euery of vs shalle haue hys eytie in lybertie. By occasyon whereof, it shalbe in our faculte and power to render to those, that shalle do vs good or euyll, accordynge to their desartynge. And by the contrary, if youe bileue me not: but rather wylbe in the obeissance of straungers, there shal be no questyon to make oure reuenge. But those that shall obteigne the victorie at their wylle, shalbe by necessitie frendes of them, that be greatly their ennemys. And aduersaries to those, vnto whome it is not conuenyent, that youe be. And

I, who (as I haue shewedde youe at the begynnynge) am of a cytie, whyche ys the greatest and mooste puissante of the countrey, and make the warre more by assaylynge, than in defendynge: am he, whyche counsaylleth, that wee agree and accorde altogyders, hauynge regarde to the daungers, that be for to comme. And that nother we goo aboute to do hurte somuche euery one of vs to hys aduersarye, as thereby we procure vnto ourselfe a greater: nother that we shulde be so furyous through oure domesticall contentyons, that we shulde perswade ourselues to be maysters of oure owne counsaille and of fortune (whom we rule not, but as raysonne shall requyre, ayther that we vainquisshe, ozelles that we be vainquisshedde) that we rather do it amongeste oureselfe, than to suffre it of enemyes. For yt ys no shame for one Dozyen to be vainquisshedde by an othere Dozyen, nor for one Chalcydian by an other Chalcydian, beyng all neyghbours, the one of the other, and inhabytynge one selfe lande, and one selfe Iland. And we be all named by one name Sycilens, and so we shalle make warre amonge ourselfe, whan yt shalbe requisitte. And after, whan we shal haue parlamented togyder, we shall fall to agremente. And yf we be wyse, we shalbe neuerthelas of one oppynyon to chase the straungers oute of oure countrey. For truly, whan we shalbe forcedde and oppressedde partycularlye: we be all in daunger vnyuersally. And we oughte not at anye tyme hereafter to calle oure allyes estraungers, for to ayde vs, nor for to make appoynctemente and agree vs. In whyche doing, we shall fournysshe Sycille wyth two greate benefyttes: the one for the tyme present: and the othere for the tyme to comme. For we shalle delyuer yt frome the Athenyans, and oute of the intestyne and inwarde warre, wherin it is at this present: and for the tyme to comme, we shall possesse it franke and free, muche lesse subiecte to all espialles and to all pryuie waytynges than it nowe ys. Thus dydde Hermocrates speake. At whose perswation the Sycilens made appoinctement togyders. In suche manner, that they forsoke the warre on all sides, and that euery man dydde kepe that whyche he possedde: reserruedde, that the cytie of Morgance was rendred by the Syracusains vnto the Camerins, payinge a certayne somme of monney. And that done, those, whyche hadde called the Athenyans, declaredde to the Capytaynes and pryncypalleste of them, that they hadde compryled them wythin the appoynctemente. And by that meane, they contended them, and retournedde fromthence wyth their shyppes vnto Athens. where wyth the Athenyans were so dysplealedde: that they condempnedde the Capytayns, to wyt, Ythiodorus and Sophocles, vnto banyshmente: and Eurymedon, in monney, hauynge oppynyon that it was their faulte, that they hadde nott subduedde the Iland of Sycille, and that they hadde bene induced and huyred by giftes to retourne fromthence. For the Athenyans did than allure themselfe, somuche in the prosperytie, that they hadde hadde: that nothynge semedde impossible vnto them. For they thoughte that they myght atteigne, aswell difficill and harde enterpryses, as the light and easie, and wyth a small armye, aswelle, as wyth a greate. And of thys theire presumptyon, the felicitie was cause, whyche hadde chaunccedde vnto them in many thinges, beyonde all reasone. And that had brought them, into thys vayne glorye.

Morgãtena.

Howe the Athenyans failled to take the cytie of Megare by intelligence and confederation of some of the citezeins, and howe it was succoured by the Lacedemonyans.

The.ix.Chapter.

THat same somer, those of Megare, ennoyed aswell wyth the warre of the Athenyans, whyche came vpon them euerye yeare for to spoyle & make waste in their land: as also by the robberyes and pillages that were compyted and done by some of their cytezeins, whiche were bannished for the sedytion of the people, and kepte themself at Pegne: they entredde into communication and purposed amongest themself to reteigne and receue agayne the said bannished men, for to auoyde and eschue, that the cytie shuld not be lost through their differences and varyances. And the frendes of the exiles & bannysled men, parceyuinge that the matter began to ware colde, they made a newe requeste, that the sayd exiles might be spoken wyth. Than the chiefeste of the towne, consyderynge that the people coulde not longe endure the euils that happened vnto them, by meanes of the sayde dissensions: they came to parlemēt with the dukes of the Athenyans, to wyt, Hippocrates, sonne of Aristyphon, and Demosthenes sonne of Alcisthenes, for to rēder the towne vnto them: thinking that there shulde be lesse danger vnto them in so doinge, than if they shulde lett agayne and receyue the exiles into it. And so they accorded wyth them, that they shulde furste take the longe wals, whiche extended from the cytie vnto Nysee, where their porte was. which walls conteigned about eyght houndred stades of lenghte: for to empesche, that the Peloponesians shulde geue no succours to thē of the towne, from the place, where they had theire garnisonne, for saulfgarde of the cytie. And that afterwardes, they shulde gett the Castell, whiche was on the highest place of the towne vpon a rocke. whyche thinge they thought to be easie ynough to do. And whan they had ordeyned all their treatie, they made preparation, euerye one for his parte, for to execute it. And the Athenyans came that nyght to the Illande, whyche ys nerte of the cytie, named Mynoue wyth sixe houndred men well armed, vnder the conducte of Hippocrates. And from thence they came in the tyme of nyght vnto a dyche, nighe vnto the whych, was a brick keele, wherin the bricke was brente, for to build & repayre the wals of the towne. On the other syde, Demosthenes was in embushemente, nighe to the temple of Mars, whyche was a lytle further of, wyth the Plateens lightly armed, & some other aduenturers, wythout, that any parsone had knowlayge therof, but those, that were of the treatie. And before that it was daye, the sayde Plateens came fourth for to execute their interpryse at the openynge of the gates whyche thing they had vsed there a longe tyme byfore, in thys maner. The cytezeins were accustomed (as people, whyche lyued by pillages and by robberies) to drawe in the night tyme (by consente of the officer of the sayde longe walle) a brigantyne in a charett, the whyche they dyd caste afterwardes into the dyche and from ethence conueyde it into the sea. And whā it came to the breake of the day, after that they had in the nyght tyme vpon the sea, done what they myght: they retourned with the brygantyne from thence, and beste owedde it agayne before it was daye, in the charrett wythin the sayd walles, through the poorte itself, to thende, that the Athenyans, who had their garde and garnisons in the Ille of Minoue, shulde not parceue theire thestes and robberies, not seinge any shippe within theire poorte.

Pegne.

Hippocrates.

Demosthenes.

Nylea.

Minoa.

The

The sayde brygantyne, than beynge brought agayne, and the gate opened for to bestowe it wythin: as it was in the bestowyng of it, the Athenyans issued fourth of theire embushemente for to saise and take the gate, before that yt mighte be shutt agayne, by cause of the stowage of the sayd brygantyne, lyke as it was appoynted wyth them of the towne, that were of the intellygence and consideration. who were there ready & dyd slay those, that were at the kepynge of the sayd gate. And the Plateens and aduenturers which were wyth Demosthenes, were the furst that came to seale and possesse the poorte and entred into it by the quartier, where as presently is sene a trophee or victorie addressed & set vp. And they repoulsed the garnysone of Peloponesians. whych hauynge heard ỹ bruyt, was come vnto the succours. And thys endurynge the Athenyans wel armed, arriued. who were lett in by those Plateans, and as they entred, they mounted vpon the walles. Agaynste whome the Peloponesyans resisted wyth their power. But they were muche lesse people, and therby many of them were there slayne. And ỹ other retyred feringe to be circumuented: chiefly for that, that it was not yet daye. And also percepuynge that some of those of the cytie dyd fighte agaynste theym, To wytt, those, that were consentynge to the trahisone: they thoughte that all were of lyke mynde. But yet they thought it the rather, for that, that the trompet of the Athenyans made of hys proper authorytie a crye, that all the Megaryans that wolde come to render themselfe to the Athenyans and render theire armure, shulde be sauedde and not haue annye hurte. For whan the sayde Peloponesyans vnderstode that crye, they retourned all to Nysee, in flyght. Anone after, aboute dawninge of the daye, the sayd wall beinge takene, whyche extended vnto the poorte, the tumulte was greate in the towne, for those, that were partakers of the trahisone, sayde that men shulde opene the gates and issue fourthe agaynste the Athenyans. wherunto the people agreed. But they sayde it, to the intent that the sayd Athenyans shulde enter after that they were openedde. For so they conuenaunced wyth them, and to the ende that they myght be knowyn amonge the other, and that at the entrye, no man shuld do them euyl and harme: they had geuene for a tokene, that they shuld be oynted with oyle, for a differēce from the other. And they thoughte that it shuld be greater suertie for them, that the gates shulde be opened, for that, that there were foore thousande foote men well armed and fyue houndred horsmen Athenyans, whyche were comme that same night from Eleusyne, ready for to enter into the towne. Beinge than those that were oyled come to the gates for to cause them to be opened: one amonge them discouered the trahisone vnto the othere, that knewe nothing therof. wherby the tumulte and the fraye was greatte among the people. And in effecte they assembledde for all sydes there, and were of opynyon that the gates shulde not be opened. sayinge that they durste not do it at othere tymes whan the Athenyans were come before their towne, all though that they were more puissant, than they than were, and that the towne shulde not be putt into so euydent a daūger. And if any wolde do the contrary, that men shulde begynne to fyghte agaynste them. And thys sayd they, wythoute makynge any semblante that they hadde parceyued the trahysone, but by manner of aduyse and of good counsaylle, for to eschue the daungers. And finally those of the people were strongest at the gates, so that they wolde not suffre them to be openedde. In suche sorte, that the conspyratours coulde not execute their trahisone. Than the Athenyans, parceyuyng that the gates were not opened vnto them: thought that there was some empeschemente. wherfore, consyderynge that they were to fewe people for to assiege the cytie, they wente all agaynste Nysee, and encloled it wyth walles. For

they thought, that if they coulde take it before any succours came thider, they myght afterwardes veray easely take the cytie by compolition. And so cauled with all diligence worckemenne to come frome Athens, togiders with Ironne and other necessarye matter, with suche expedition that within a veray small tyme they atheued the walle. Whiche they beganne at the ende of that same, whiche they hadde takene frome the syde of Megare. And frome thence, they wrought it on bothe sydes of Nysee, into the sea, and fourthwith dyd close it with dyches. For whan the one was busyed at the walle, thoder were occupyed at the dyches. And dyd take the stone, the bricke, and the woode in the suburbes. Also they dyd cutte downe the trees, that were there aboute. And where there lacked matter, they rampardein, earthe with pynnes of woode. And also the houses, that were without the towne, theyr toppes being bette downe, did serue them for towers and bullworckes. All whiche worcke, they parfaicted and ended within that selfe daye and the daye folowyng at the nyght. Whiche parceyued by them that were within Nisee, and also that they had no victailles, for they made no prouision, but as it was brought them out of the towne daye by daye: considerynge also that there was no hope to bee succoured by the Peloponesians so readely: and moreouer thynkyng that all the Megariens were agaynst them, they made compolicion with the Athenians, to wytte, that they shulde render their armure, and euerye man departe with a small some of monney. And that the Lacedemonians and other estraungers that were there within, should be at the wyll of the Athenians. In suche manner, those of the towne departed from thence. And the Athenians, hauyng wonne Nisee, and broken the longe walle, that came frome the cytie vnto Nisee, they prepared themself for to assiege and assaille the cytie of Megare. Nowe it chaunced that in that same seasone, Brasidas, sonne of Tellides Lacedemonien, was in the quartier of Corinthe and of Sicione for to assemble people of the countrey of Thrace. who vnderstandyng the takyng of the walles of Megare, and doubting that the Peloponesians, that were at Nisee, were in danger: he sent vnto the Beotians with all diligence and commanded, that they shulde come towardes hym incōtinently, with the greatest bende that they coulde vnto Tripodisque. Whiche is a burgage in the territory of Megare, vnder the mountaigne of Gerania. From whiche place, he himselfe came with two thousande seuen houndred Corinthians well armed, foure houndred Phialiens, and seuen houndred Scycioniens, besyde the other, that he hadde already assembled, not knowing yet of the taking of Nisee, the whiche he vnderstode there. And forthwith, before that the ennemyes were aduertised of hys cōmyng, for that, that he was arriued by nyght, he wente with foure houndred of the best of hys compaignie, straight to the cytie of Megare, faignyng, that he would take Nysee by stealth. But for trougth, hys pryncipall intente was to entre into the cytie, if he hadde coulde, and to haue furnyshed it. And whan he was come vnto the gates, he demaunded of the Megarians that they should lette hym in, geuyng them good hope to take incontinently Nysee. But bothe the bendes, fearyng hys commynge, to wytte, the one for doubte, leste he shulde bryngе agayne the banmyshed into the towne, and chase them from thence: and the frendes of the banmyshed, leste the other for feare thereof, shoulde fyght agaynste theym, and that throughe occasion of their difference, the Athenyans that were nyghe, there vnto them, shoulde take the Cytie: they were of opinion not to receyue the sayed Brasidas, but rather to see, who shoulde haue the victorye, of the Athenians or of the Peloponesians. For the partakers, of aither of the parties, dyd attende to declare

themself

themselfe to sauoure that parte, that shall haue hadde the better. Brasidas than seyng, that by no meane he coulde enter: returned towardes the other people of his army. And the same day bifore that it was clere, the Beotians arryued, who, bifore that they hadde receyued the letters from Brasidas, understandyng the commynge of the Athenians, were come fourth with all their strength, for to succoure the Megarians. For that, that they estemed the danger to bee common vnto them. But whan they were in the lande of Plater, hauyng there receyued the letters from Brasidas: they were muche more allured. And so dyd sende twelue houndred foote menne and fire houndred horsemenne, vnto Brasidas, and the other returned euey man vnto his house. After that they were all toigned togider with Brasidas, they were aboute fire thousande. On the other syde, the Athenians kepte themselfe in battaille aboutes Nisee, sesarued the fote-men lightly armed, who beyng disparled & skattered abrode in the fieldes, were assailled and repoulled by the horsemen Beotians euen vnto the sea, bifore that the Athenians did knowe the coming of the said Beotians. For they came neuer bifore, to the succours of Megare. Wherefore they doubted them not. But anon as they sawe them, they issued agaynst them, and there was a veray longe fight among the horsemen, so that it coulde not be well iudged who hadde the better thereof. And although that on the Beotians parte, the Capitaine & some other were slaine, whiche aduentured themselfe, euen vnto the walles of Nisee, by occasion whereof, the Athenians hauing rendred the cartualles by appointement, did sette vp a Trophee in signe of victorie: yet the battaille was not pursued by the one parte nor the other. So and in suche wyse, that one coulde not attrybute the victory more to the one, than to the other. And so the Beotians retyred to their compaignie, and the Athenians to Nysee. After that, Brasidas hauyng chosen a comodious place by the sea syde and nigh inough to Megare, lodged there his campe, and remoued not, attending that the Athenians shoulde come to assaille thē. For he thought that they of the citie would regarde and marke who should haue the better, and that beyng there ready to fight without assailling the ennemyes or putting any thing in hazarte, he should haue the victorye. And as touchyng the citie he thought to haue done inough. For somuche as if he hadde not come, the Citezens durst not haue assayed the fortune of the battaille agaynste the Athenians, and by ỳ meane shuld haue lost the citie. But seyng the succours to become, & that those Athenians durst not fight, it semed vnto hym, that they would accept him and his bende into the citie, and by that meane without effusion of bloud, & without daunger, he shuld haue that, that he was come for. Lyke as it happened afterwardes. For the Athenians did ranke themselfe in battaille nyghe to the longe walles, hauing the selfe opinion that the Athenians had: to witte, not to fyght, except he came to assaulte them, for that, that they thought, that there was greater apparance and raisonne for them not to begyn the battaill, than for the other, considered, that they had had already manye victories. Wherefore, if at that houre being in lesser nomber they had hazarded it and the other had had the victory, he would so haue followed it, that the citie shuld haue been lost through thē, or that they shuld lose one great parte of their army. And also they persuaded thēselfe that the other shuld rather begyn. For that, that they were of dyuers cities, whereby they presumed that they shuld not haue patience to refrayne, as they that were all Athenians. In this maner, hauing longe attended on the one syde and on the other, they retyred and did withdrawe themselfe to wytte, the Athenians to Nisee, and the Peloponesians to the place, from whence they were departed. Than the Megarians those that were frendes of the exiles,

parceyuing

parceyuyng that the Athenians durst not assaille thoder, they dyd take courage, and with the pryncipallest of the towne, opened the gates vnto Brasidas: and receyued hym into the towne, as hauyng the victorye. And came to parlamente with hym, whereby those of the other bende, were in greate feare. And anone after, the people that were come at commandement of Brasidas recourded euery man into his quarter. And he wente fromthence vnto Corinthe, fromwhence he departed for to assemble his army in Thrace. The Athenias also returned frõethence into their countrey. By occasion whereof, those, that had been of the coniuracion and conspiracie and of the treacie, for to cause them to come: perceiuing that they were discouered, withdrewe themself secretly out of the citie. And the other, hauing spoken with the parentes of the exiles, called agayne those, that were at Pegne, with greate othes neuer more to remember the iniuries passed. But rather to geue themself with one accorde to the common weale of the citie. But within a certaine tyme after: they being chosene to offices and gouernance of the towne: whan the musters of the people were made, knowyng the armure of them that had bene the chief of thintelligence with the Athenias, they apprehended of thē to the nomber of a houndred, whom they caused to dye by iudgement of the sayed people. Whome they induced to condempne them. And by this meane, the gouernance of the citie was reduced & brought, to the will of a small nomber of Citizens, hauing the fauour of the people, whiche state, though it begonne, by sedicion and mutynerye, yet afterwardes it endured a longe saisone.

Of a losse that the Athenians had of their shippes. And how Brasidas passed through the countrey of Thrace by the helpe of Perdicas kyng of Macedonie and of certen his frendes of the sayd countrey, for to come to the ayde of the Chalcidians.

The.x. Chapter.

Antandrus. Demedocus. Aristides. Lamachus.

That self same somer the Mycylenians, hauing purposed for to fortefye and repayer the citie of Antandre: the two capitayns of the three, whiche the Athenians had sent to receue and gather money through the landes of their party: Demedocus and Aristides, who were than in Hellespont in thabsence of Lamachus (which was the thirde, and was gone into the sea of Pontus with tenne shippes) had consultacion bitwene them of that matter. And it semed vnto them, a daungerous matter, to suffer. Fearyng leste it should happene, as it had bifore tyme in ỹ citie of Sammie whether, the exiles, that had bene dryuen fromthence: had retyred and ioyned themselfes altogiders. And with the ayde of the Peloponesians, who had sent them maroners, they dyd grete hurt to them of the cytie, & grete sarulces to the sayd Peloponesians. For this cause, they wente with their shippes and men of warre agaynst the sayd cytie of Antandre. And hauing repoulsed and ouercome, those, whiche were come agayne and retourned thider, who yssued fourth agaynst them in battaille, they dyd take it. Sonne after Lamachus, whiche was goane into the countrey of Pontus, beeing there arryued with his shyppes, within the floude of Calece, whiche passeth through out the lande of Heraclien, by a soudayne breache and inundacion of the sayd ryuer, that commethe out of the mountaignes: he losse all hys shippes, and came fromethence with his people by lande, trauersyng the countreis of Bythinie and of Thrace, whiche is beyonde the sea of the coste of Asia: vnto

Caler.

sia: vnto the citie of Chalcidonie: whiche is at the mouthe of the sea of Pontus, apperteignyng to the Megarians, In that same somer, Demosthenes, Duke of the Athenians, departyng from Megare, came with foꝛtye shippes into Naupacte foꝛ to execute the enterpꝛise, whiche he & Hippocrates had made togiders with certein Beotiens. Which was to reduce the estate of that same countrey, to the gouernance of the comon people: like as that same of Athens was. Of which cõspiracie was pꝛincipall authoꝛ & conductoꝛ, a citizene of Thebes, that had bene bannyshed, named Pciodoꝛus. And they had determined to execute it in this mãner. That is, that those Beotians shulde by treasone surrendꝛe to the Athenians one towne, named Syphas. Whiche is in the territoꝛie of the citie of Thespie in the goulphe of the sea Crisee. And on the other syde some other shulde haue deliuered them one other towne, named Chironee, whiche were subiect to the Oꝛchomenians, by the ayde of the bannyshed men of the sayd citie of Oꝛchomenie. Who had soulded & waged certaine men of warre, being Peloponesians. Nowe is the sayd towne of Cheronee, in the tremyties & fourthest parte of the cõsitrey of Beoce. Directly anempst Phanotide, in the countrey of Phocens, partely inhabited with the sayd Phocians. On the other syde, that the Athenians shuld occupie & take the temple of Apollo in the towne of Delos in the countrey of Tanagrians, of the coste of Eubee. All the whiche enterpꝛises shulde be exetuted on one daye therfoꝛe named. To thintent that the Beotians, vnderstandyng the taking of the other townes and fearyng to bee in their oune houses, shulde not be so bolde to come to succour Delos. And the sayd Athenians thought, that if their enterpꝛise myght come to effect, so that they myght enclose the temple of Delos with a walle, they might easely trouble the estate & the gouernance of the Beotians. If not souddainly, yet at ỹ least, with the tyme (kepyng garnisones within the sayd townes) that they would ouerronne and pillage the countrey. And furder hauing withdꝛawen thider all the bannyshed men and other nigh adioyigning, the Athenians myght at tymes sende thider succoure to them, that were withdꝛawen thider. And the Beotiens, not hauing a sufficiente armye foꝛ to resist, myght geue them lawe and manner to lyue at their wylle and pleasure. And thenterpꝛise shulde be executed in suche soꝛte. Foꝛ Hippocrates, that ledde and conducted the footemen shulde, at a day named, departe from Athens and enter into the lande of the Beotians. And on the other syde, Demosthenes was gone to Naupacte with foꝛtye shippes foꝛ to assemble people of the countrey of Acarnanie, and of other, adioignyng to them, & shulde be the selfe daye at Syphas foꝛ to entre into it, by the meane of the pꝛactique. Hauing than Demosthenes assembled a great nomber of people, aswell of Eniades as of other Acarnanians, and also of other allyes Athenians, that were come to be there from all costes: he went firste to lande at Salynthe and at Agree, where they looked and attended also foꝛ other people and pꝛepared themself foꝛ to come to his enterpꝛise at Syphas at the daye oꝛdeigned. Nowe happened it, that in that selfe tyme: Brasidas that was gone with athoulande & fyue houndꝛed footemen foꝛ to geue oꝛder to the affaires of the countrey of Thꝛace being come, into the citie of Heraclee in the cõsitrey of Trachine: he demaũded of the frendes, which he had in the cõsitrey of Thessale that they shulde come to accõpaignie hym, that he myght passe suerly. So there came to hym, Panerus of Doꝛie, Hippolochidas of Thoxile. Scrophacus of Chalcide, and certaine other Thessalyans, whiche were in the towne of Welyte in the countrey of Achaye, and conducted hym. And lykewyse Niconidas of Larisse, parent of Perdicas, kyng of Macedonie, came to him foꝛ that selfe cause. Foꝛ otherwyse it had not bene possible foꝛ the sayd Brasidas to passe thꝛough

Chalcedan.
Siphoe
Thespes.
Cheronea.
Oꝛchomenia.
Phanotides.
Delos.
Salynthum.
Agree.
Brasidas.
Heraclea.
Trachine.
Panerus.
Hippolochidas.
Welyte.
Niconas.
Perdicas.

passe throughe the same countrey of Thessale, muche lesse, than at any other tyme (though alwayes before there was danger in it) & somuche the more doubt was therin, for he was in armure. For therby he had brought into suspicion the people of the countrey, that toke parte with the Athenias. Whereby, if Bralidas had not had the conduct of the greatest of the countrey, which had accustomed to gouerne the people, more by force, than by auctorite & iustice: he coulde neuer haue passed. And yet neuertheles he had muche busines with them. For those that toke parte with the Athenyans, mett with hym at the riuer of Empee, for to empesche & stoppe hys passage, saying that it was outrage & iniury, for him to passe without hauing sauf conducte of the people of the countrey. Whereunto those of the countrey that conducted him, answered the: that the said Bralidas & the people would not passe by force. But that being there aryued boldly, as their frendes: they ought to suffre the to passe. And Bralidas himself sayd, that he was their frende and passed through their countrey not for to offende the, but only for to go agaynst the Athenias, ennemyes of the Lacedemonians, & knewe not that there was any enmytie betwene the Thessalyans & the Lacedemoens, whereby the one myght not passe through the countrey of the other. And that he would not (as in dede he coulde not) passe thorough theirs, against their willes. But he prayed them hartely that they would not empesche nor hinder hym. And by those woordes they returned, & he passed at his pleasure. Notwithstanding those that did conducte hym, counsailled, that he shulde passe with the most diligence that he coulde, through the rest of the countrey: without aresting in any parte. To thintent that he gaue no time & leasure to the other paysantes to assemble togider, which thing he did. In suche sorte, that the self day that he was departed from Mylett, he came vnto Pharsale & lodged his campe nigh to the Ryuer of Apidane. And fromthence he came into Phacie, fro Pharsa, into Perebie. In which place, those that had conducted him thider, lefte him. And was conducted by the Perebiens (who be of the seigniorie and empire of the Thessalians) vnto Dyon, which is a towne vnder the mount Olimpus in the countrey of Macedonie on the coste of Thrace, in the obeissance of Perdiccas. In this manner Bralidas trauersed the countrey of Thrace, before that any tyme was had for to empesche or lett his passage. And he went vnto Perdiccas, who was in Chalcide, whiche Perdiccas & the other Thraciens that were reuolted & turned against the Athenians, vnderstãding their prosperitie, & fearing to be by them assailled, had required succours of the Peloponesians, principally those of Chalcide, forsomuche as they feared that the Athenians would come first vpon them. And also for that they did vnderstande that the other cities, their neighbours, that were not rebelled, did conjure & conspire already against them for to ouercome them. And as touchinge Perdiccas, albeit that he was not their ennemye declared, yet he feared the ennemyties, that he had had with them in tymes passed, & for that cause demanded ayde, of the Lacedemonians against the. And also against the king of Lyncesters, whome he had determyned wholy to subdue. In other occasion there was for the which that armye came out of the countrey of Peloponese. Whiche was, that the Lacedemonians, perceiuing the euyl chances that were happened to them, and that the Athenians had done many enterprises in their countrey: they thought that there was nothyng more expediente to diuerte and tourne them, than to make some alarme to their allyes. And somuche the more, that there were people that furnished to the charges of the army, and of other, that attended but their coming, for to rebelle against the Athenias. And also it moued the muche, the lolle, that they had at Pylus. For they feared lest the Eclaues would make somme mutyne or sedicion. Wherefore they were well ealed

Empeus.

Pharsalus.
Apidanus.
Phacii.
Perobia.
Dion.

welle eased to sende them fourth vnder this coloure. For through the keare, that those Lacedemonians had, to wytt, those that had conducted and had charge of the affaries, aswell of the ponge, as of the comon people, and above all, of the ellaues, on whome they layde most watche: they had in times paste causeb a cry to be made, that those that had done most vailiantly shulde stande aparte, geuing them hope to enfranchise and sett them at lybertie. But it was to vnderstande their courage. Whereby being chosen out of al them to the nomber of two thousande, and those brought with procession crowned with flowers vnto the temples, so as the custome was of thē, to whome lybertie was geuen: sone after, they were lost, and no man knewe, where they were become. Of whome also, they for the selfe keare, dyd than delyuer to Brasidas, the nomber of two thousande. And the other he hadde caryed out of the countrey of Peloponese, for, soulde and wages. For he desyred greatly to haue that charge, for which cause, ỹ Lacedemonians dyd sende hym, and also the Chalcides desired hym greatly, for that, that amonges all them of Sparte, he was reputed to be a diligente and industrious parsone. Also he obteigned a great bruyte by that charge. For he shewed himself so honest a man and so good a iusticer and politique in all thinges, that manye townes and cyties by reason thereof, came to render themself to hym. And some he toke by diligence and treason, whereby, that chaunced to the Lacedemonians, that they hoped of, to wytt, that they recouered many of their landes, and caused some of those of the Athenians, thereby to reuolte and rebelle. And for a certayne tyme, dyd putt and absente the warre out of their quarter of Peloponese. And afterwardes, in the warre, that was bitwene the Athenians & the Peloponesiās in Sicille, his vertue & estemed, aswell by experience, as by relaciō of other, that by that reason, many of those that toke the partie of the Athemās, desired to take that same of the Peloponesians. For, seing the vertue & goodnes that was in hym, they persumed & iudged, that the other Lacedemonians shuld be all lyke. And for to come againe to the purpose, whereof we speake, after, that the Athenians vnderstode the comyng of that same Brasidas into Peloponese, they declared Perdiccas for their ennemy. For somuche as it semed vnto them, that he had bene cause of his comyng. And they were more diligente to watche the people of that same quarter, than they had bene before. Perdiccas, than hauyng the succors of the Peloponesians with Brasidas, brought them with his army against Archibeus sonne of Bromerus king of Lyncesters Macedoniane, who was his neyghboure and his greate enemye. Wylling to chase and vterlye destroye hym. But whan he was at the entryng of his countrey Brasidas sayed to hym. That before that he beganne the warre against the sayd Archibeus, he woulde firste speake with hym. For to knowe if by woordes and declaracions, he myght bryng hym to the deuocion and amytie of the Lacedemonians. For the same Archibeus hadde caused to be signefyed by sounde of trompette, that for the differences that were bitwene hym and Perdiccas, he woulde be and stande to the iudgemente and saying of Brasidas. Also the Chalcydes, that desired to bryng the sayd Brasidas to their affaire, shewed and perswaded hym that he shoulde not busye hymself with a longe and difficille warre, at the appetite and desyre of Perdiccas. Considering specially that those men, that Perdiccas had sent to Lacedemonie for to haue succous, had proponed & declared, that he would cause that many of his neyghbours should be reduced to the amitie of the sayd Lacedemonians. And therefore with good cause prayed him, that he would be content to appoinct ỹ same differēce for the publique weale of the Peloponesians, and of hymself. Whereunto Perdiccas woulde not consente

with procession

what ỹ witte vndestāding and good renome of a Capitayne of warre is worth.

Archibeus.

saying that he hadde not called Brasidas, for to be iudge of his questions, but for to ayde him, to discomfyte his ennemyes, suche, as he shuld declare, and that the same Brasidas dydde hym great wronge to beare Archibeus agaynst hym. Considered, that he susteigned halfe charges of all that armye. This notwithstãding Brasidas, against his wille, came to parlement with Archibeus. Whome he perswaded so by woordes and declaracions, that he retourned with his armye. By reasone whereof, Perdiccas from thence forwarde, in stede that he payd the moytie of the charges of that same armye, payd no more, but the thirde parte. perswadyng hymselfe that Brasidas had done hym wronge thereof.

Howe the Athenians at the persuatiõ of Brasidas, lefte the partie, of the Athenians.

And did take the same of the Peloponesians. The.xi. Chapter.

Acanthus.

Soone after that, a lytle before the vintage, that selfe somer, Brasidas hauing the Chalcydes with him, came to make warre against the cytie of Acanthe, which was a colonie of the Andrians. And the citizens were in great controuerse, whider they shuld receyue him into the cytie or not. To witt those, that toke parte wt the Chalcides on the one syde, and the comon people on the other partie. But bicause of this, that the fruytes were yet in the feldes, the comon people, vpon the perswation, was content that he shulde enter into ẏ towne alone, & speake what he would. And afterwardes they would determyne what they had to do. Who, being entred and come to the assemblie of the people, he spake veray sagely, as he welle coulde do. For that, that he was a Lacedemonian, and sayd vnto them in this manner.

The oracion of Brasidas to the Acanthyans.

This, that I haue been here sent with this armye by the Lacedemonians (Lordes Acanthiens) declareth sufficiẽtly: that the cause, for the whiche we haue proclaymed and published from the begynnyng, to haue moued the warre agaynst the Athenians: is true & veritable: to wytt, for to delyuer Grece out of seruitude. And if we haue slacked to come hyther, being deceiued by the hope, that we haue had to haue vainquished ẏ Athenians more sonner: we ought not therefore to be reprehended. Considered, that thereby ye arne not incurred into any dãgier. And we come nowe whã we may, for to defeate the Athenians, with you, through our power. But I am greatly abashed of this, that ye shutt me out of the gates, where I thought to be by you receyuedde with greate ioy, and that ye shulde haue desired greatly my coming. For we other Lacedemonians, thynkyng of the occasion and chance of thynges, that we haue made to come hither, as to oure good frendes, and to those, that shulde desire oure comyng: we haue enterprised this voiage, without hauing regarde to dãgers, wherein we did putt our self, by passyng through so long space of lande and of strange countreis, for to shewe the good wille, that we haue towardes you. And if you haue an other wille, or be mynded to resist them, that shoulde purchase the lybertie of all Grece: ye shall do naughtely. Al well for that, that ye shall empesche youre owne lybertie, as also for thys, that ye shall geue yll example vnto other, not to obey and receyue vs. Whiche shall bee a thynge vnsyttyng for this cytie, whiche is puissante and reputed prudente. That we being firste addressed vnto the same, ye haue notte hadde wylle to receyue vs. And also I cannot thynke that ye haue any reasonable cause to do it

excepte it

except it should be sayd that either I would perswade you to an vniust and vnreasonable lybertie: or ells that we be not puissant ynough for to defende you against the Athenians, if they would hereafore inuade you. Which thing ye ought not to feare. For if I, being come to the succours of Mytilene with this armye that I haue here, they durst not come to fight with me, truly it is is not to be beleued, that they woll sende hither so great an armye by lande, as they sent thider by sea. And as to the other poynct, I do aduertis you, that I am hider sente by the Lacedemonians, not for to do hurte nother damage vnto Grece: but for to restore it into lybertie. And I haue made greate othes vnto the hãdes of our officers, to suffre: al thẽ, that I shall bring into our allyance, to lyue in libertie, & after their lawes. Wherefore ye ought welle to knowe, that I am not come for to drawe you by force or by deceite & trompery, vnto our allyance: but the contrary, in delyuering you from the seruitude of the Athenãs, for to ioigne you in this warre with vs, against thẽ. And therefore I thinke that ye ought to haue confidence in me that make vnto you so great sayth of that, whiche I speake. And for to geue you courage, I am come puissante ynough, for to defende you. And if there be any that doubteth herein, fearing for his particularitie, that I woll not geue & deliuer the gouernement of the towne to any one particuler amonges you, I would that he had more confidence & suertie, than thoder. For I do certifie you that I am not come to moue any sedicion, nor mutyne among you. But also me thinketh, that I shulde not restore you into free and true lybertie, if changing youre auncient fourme of lyuing, I shuld putt the cõmon people into the subiection of any particulers, or any perticulers to the subiection of the comon people. For that, that I vnderstande welle, that the same dominion & rule shulde be more odious and hated vnto you, than that same of estrangers. And thereby vnto vs Lacedemonians, shuld not be due any pleasure nor huyer for the payne, that we haue taken for your cause. But in stede of the glory and honor, that we attende and loke for thereby, we ought to be blayned, and shulde be charged of the self vice, that we impute vnto the Athenians. Which shulde be somuche more vnlittyng & more worthy of reprehension vnto vs than vnto them: that we attribute to our selues this vertue, and prayse, to witt, not to vse trompetie or decete. Which thing they do not. For albeit that deceite be vnlittyng in al men: yett is it more vnsemely in them, that be in moste dignitie. And also it is woorse & more dishonest than violẽce it self. For that, that violence ouercometh by vertue, & auctorite of the force, that fortune geueth to the one, ouer the other: but trompetie and decepte procedeth and cometh of an vnreasonable, mischeuous and very malyce. To all which thinges we haue a great circumspection and a great regarde, in treatyng and cõducting the great affaries. And also I wolle not that you trust so muche in my othe, as in the experience of thinges, & to that, whereof you shall see the effectes, correspondent to reasons, whiche is ryght requisite for you, as I haue shewed you. But also vnderstãde, that if you hauing harde this my proposicion woll excuse your self, saying that ye cannot do that, which we woll: & that ye woll require vs, as your frendes, that we retire without doing any hurt or damage vnto you, pretending that you haue this lybertie without danger and that it ought to bee offred and presented to them, that maye haue it without danger, and that none shuld be cõstrayned to take it: I will protest bifore the goddes and the sainctes, whiche haue this cytie in keping, that being come hider for your welth, I coulde nothing profitt with you by woordes. And I woll assay by wasting and destroying your feldes, whider that I may constrayne you thereunto. Perswadyng my self to do it for a good and iust cause, and not wrongfully, for two necessary reasons.

goddes and the sainctes

The one for the welth of the Lacedemonians, to the ende ỳ they shuld not suffer damage for your loue, permitting you in this forte, paying the monney, whiche you fournisshe to the Atheniãs: the other for ỳ weale of al the Grekes, to thintent that by you, they be not lett & empeched to recouer their libertie. For if that were not, we shuld well vnderstãde, that no mã ought to be constraigned by force to sett himself againe into libertie (and specially we Lacedemonians) if it be not, for some comon and publique wealth. And yet neuerthelas we wolle not haue any other gouernance or rule ouer you, but to delyuer you from the subiection of other. And we shulde do iniury vnto many: if by restoring to all other their right of lybertie, we shuld leaue you in this estate, & shuld endure your resistẽce. wherfore Lordes, take good aduyse herin, & be authors vnto al ỳ Grekes. And shewe them the waye to recouer their lybertie, aswel for to acquire & gett this perpetuell glory to haue bene the first: as also for to eschue ỳ damage, that otherwayes may chaunce vnto you in your perticuler goodes: & moreouer to thende, that ye geue to this your citie a right honest & glorious name, to be a franke & free citie. After that Brasidas had thus spoken vnto the people, they debated longe, vpon this mater. And finally they came to geue by their opinions by small billes secretly. And the greatest parte were founde of opinion to departe frõ the allyance of the Athenians, aswell for the perswation of Brasidas, as also for feare to lose their goodes, that were in the feldes. And hauing receiued othe of the same Brasidas, that he had comission of the Lacedemonians, for to sett them againe into their lybertie, that shuld render themself vnto him, and to suffer them to lyue according to their lawes: they suffred his armye to enter into the citie. And the lyke thing soone afterwardes did thole of Stagire, which is an other towne and Colonie of the Indrians. Theis be the thinges that were done the same sommer.

Stagirus.

Howe Hippocrates & Demosthenes, Dukes of the Athenians, made an entre pryse vpon the countrey of Beotians. Wherein they alwayes failled to their greate losse and disaduantage.

The.xii. Chapter.

IN begynning of the winter, Hippocrates and Demolthenes, Dukes of the Athenians, hauing ordoned and concluded their enterpryse, touching the feate of the Beotians: ỳ thone, to wytt. Demolthenes shuld mete with the armye by lea at Syphas, & thother vỳ tharmy by lande at Delos, lyke as is aboue declared: it happened by errour, that they mett not at the day named in the sayd places. But Demolthenes, being first aryued at Syphas with many shippes of the Acarnanians and of the other allyes: his enterpryse was discouered by an Phocian, named Nichomachus, who aduertised the Lacedemoniãs thereof, & they aduertised the Beocians, whiche did putt thẽselfe al in armure. And Hippocrates, not hauing yet done any thing on the coste of the firme lande touching the exploict of warre: they all came to the succours of Syphas & of Cheronee. Whereby, thole of the cyties, that had made treatie with the Atheniãs, seing that the thing was discouered: durst make no inuocaciõ. Neuertheles, after ỳ the sayd Beotians were retourned into their houses: Hippocrates, hauing cauled all the citizens and inhabitantes of Athenians to putt them in armure, he came to Delos, & allieged the temple of Apollo, in this mãner. For they incloseddde the outwarde parte of the temple with dyches and with a walle, whiche they madt of earthe, and thereupon they planted pales with pykes and beyonde

Syphe.
Delos.
Nichomachus
Cheronea.

beyonde the walle, they made rampers of bricque & of stone, whiche they toke of the houses nigh vnto them, that they had beaten downe. And vpō the rampars, they erected also towers & defences in many places. In suche manner that there remaigned no parte of the tēple, that was not enclosed. For also there was no other edifice & building aboute thesame. For that, that an aūtient cloistre, that had of aunciētie bene there: was vtin a shorte time bifore fallen downe. And that same worke, they acheued & finished within two dayes & a halfe, after that they were there arrued. And also that they had spēt in coming, but three dayes. And that being thoroughly made, the army departed fromthence, and retyred aboutes eight stades: as for to retourne into their houses. And incontinently all the footemen lightly armed, which were in a right great nomber, went their way. the other vnarmed themself and abodde in a billage, for to repose and sourne there. And Demosthenes, with a small nomber of people, taried at Delos for the keping of the rampars, & to acheue and finishe that, whiche was to do. Nowe were the Beotians in thies self dayes, assembled at Tanagra. Being than there assembled out of all the countrey: they were in doubte whider that they shulde assaille the sayd Athenians or not. For of elleuene officers and gouernours of the sayd countrey, tenne sayd that it ought not to be done, forsomuche as the sayd Athenās were not yet entred into the countrey of Beoce. For the place wherein they reposed themself: was in the lymyttes of Oropie. But Pagondas, sonne of Goladas of Thebes, which was one of the sayd gouernours, and Arianthides, sonne of Lesymachus, who had at that tyme the charge of that assembly were of contrarye opinion. And specially the sayd Pagondas, who, estemyng and iudgyng that it was for the best, to proue fortune by bactaille, perswaded to the Beotians hys opinion, by thies woordes.

Tanagra.

Oropia.

Pagondas.

Arianthides.

The oracō of Pagōdas vnto the souldiers Beotiās.

IT was not conuenable to any of you, that be in office (Lordes Beotians) to thinke that we shulde not fight agaynst the Athenians, except they were founde within our lande. For hauing dressed and appoynted their munitions & fortifications within our countrey of Beoce: and being departed out of their nigh places, to the intent to trouble it: there is no doubt, but that we shulde take them for ennempes, in what parte: that we shall fynde them. For out of whatsoeuer parte that they come: they haue declared themself to be ours. Wherefore if any one among you were heretofore of aduyse, that they shuld not be fought with, lett hym change frombenseforthe his opinion. For somuche as there ought not somuche regarde to be had to thē, that holde their owne, and wolle trouble an other mans for couetice to haue more: as to thole, ỳ wolle muade men to take their lande frō them. And if you haue lerned of youre aunceſters to repoulse youre ennempes of a strange nation out of your lande, both nigh, & a farre of: truly you ought muche more readely to do it against the Athenians. ỳ be youre neighbours. For that, ỳ it is more conuenable for euery man, for to defende & kepe his libertie & his right against his neighbours, for to be egall vnto thē: than against other, being more further of. And therfore if theis here doe trauaile to bring into their subiection & seruitude, thole, ỳ be neray farre frō them, why shuld not we hazarte & aduenture to fight vnto the last mā of vs against thē that be euen their boysins & neighbours, hauing bifore our eyes the crample of Eubeens, and one greate parte of Grece. And seing howe they haue brought them into subiection, why shulde we not consider that the other nerte adioygning do fight with them for to kepe & defende their lymittes. but if we be

vainquiſhedde, there ſhalbe no lymitte in our territory. But rather it ſhalbe holy cõfuſed. For after that they ſhalbe entred therinto by force: we ſhalbe in danger, leſt that they wolle poſſeſſe and occupie it hooly muche more than the other borderers. For that, that they there haue already muche lande, and alſo do holde one parte therof. And alſo it is the cuſtome of thoſe, which truſting in their forces, be mynded to warre vpon their neighbours as the Athenias nowe do: to aſſaille ſonner thoſe, ẏ be in reſt, & go not diligently about to defende & kepe their lande: than thoſe that wolle be readye to mete with them, whan they come to aſſaille thẽ, and alſo to begyn the warre, if they ſee occaſion, like as we may ſee by experience. For after that we had vainquiſhed them at Cheronee, whan they did poſſeſſe oure lande through the ſedicion and diuiſion of oure people, we haue alwayes holden all our countrey of Beoce in greate ſuertie. Whereof, we ought to haue remembrance. And thoſe that be of that tyme, ſhulde parforce themſelf to be ſuche, as they than were. And thoſe, that be yonger deſcended of thoſe vailliance men, ſhulde not degenerate from their vertue, nor ſuffre to periſhe in them, the glory that their auncеſters, haue purchaſed and acquired for them. Hauyng moreouer confidence that that ſame God wolbe helpyng vnto vs: whoſe temple they holde outragiouſly allieged. Conſideryng chiefly that the ſacrifices, whiche we haue made, do geue vs a good ſignification and hope of the victorye Let vs thinke and ſtudye therefore, to muſtre, & cauſe the Athenians to knowe, that if they haue obteyned any one of the thynges whiche they coueted, by force, it hath bene agaynſte people that defended not themſelf. But whan they enterpriſed againſt people, which haue accuſtomed by their vertue and magnanymytie to defende their lande and their lybertie: not being mynded vniuſtly to enterpriſe and ſubdue the lybertie of other: they haue neuer retourned without being fought with. Through thies woordes Pagondas perſwaded the Beotians to go againſt the Athenians, and incontinently diſlodged from their campe, for to mete with them forthwith, though that it was alreadye darke. And they came and lodged thẽſelf very nigh, vnto them. But there was a certaine ſmall mount betwene both, whereby the one coulde not ſee the other, and there he did put his men in battaille for to go to fight agaynſte the ſayd Athenians. Nowe had Hippocrates (who remayned at Delos) been aduertiſed, howe the Beotians were yſſued fourth with greate furye of the people. And ſo commaunded them that were in the campe, that they ſhulde kepe themſelf in armure, & ſhulde be at their defence, and ſone after, he came thider himſelf with the people that he hadde, reſerued three houndred onely: whiche he left at Delos, all horſemen, aſwell for to kepe the fortifications, as alſo for to come to the ſuccours of the army, if it were neceſſul. The Beotians than hauing ſent auancurrers for to putt the ennempes in feare and diſorder, they came to the highe of the mountaigne and were in the viewe and ſight of the ennempes all ready to fyght. And they were aboute ſeuen thouſande well armed, and more than tenne thouſande lightly armed, and aboutes a thouſande and fyue houndred horſemen, bearyng ſhieldes. And they had in this maner ordeyned their battaille. That the footemen, that is, the Thebains & their allyes ſhulde kepe & be in the right poinct or winge. In the myddel were the Haliartians, the Corominians, the Copenſians & the other, that inhabited nigh the water. In the left wyng or poynt were the Tanagrians, the Theſpyens & the Orchomenians. As touching the horſemen, there were of them in both the poynctes or winges, & lykewyſe of the footemen light armed, to wytt, that where they were, ẏ did beare ẏ ſhieldes: there was in euery of the bendes .xvb. of them, and the reſt ſo, as they were founde. Thus was the armye of the Beotians

tians ordoned. Concerning the Athenians, as to the footemē well armed, wherby they were as puissant, as thennemyes: they made thereof a thicke battaille of eight men in a ranke. And in the winges they had the horsemen, but they had than no footemen lyghtly armed, nother there in their armye nor yet in the cytie For those, that were first come with them in that same enterpryse, (whiche were in greater nomber than the ennemyes, thoughe a greate nomber of them were without armure, as people gathered togider, aswell of paysans of the fieldes, as of estraungers who had takene their tourney for to retourne to theire houses) were not come agayne to the campe, resaruedde a very smal nomber. Being than all in battaylle, aswell on the one syde as of the othere, ready to fyght: Hippocrates duke of the Athenyans, who was comme vnto them euen at that same poinct, dyd speake to the Athenyans in this manner.

The exhortation of Hippocrates to the souldyars, beinge at a poynete and ready to fyghte.

LOrdes, vnto people of courage and of vertue: nedeth none greate admonytion, and a shorte speakinge sufficeth, whyche maketh more to bringe youe to remembrance, what youe haue to doo: than for to exhorte youe vnto yt. And aboue all, haue no imagination that we bee come hyther to putt youe in thys daunger in a forayne lande: for an euyll quarelle. For the warre, that we make in thys lande, is for the suertye of ours. Inasmuche that if we haue the victorye agaynste them: the Peloponesians wol neuer come for to assaile vs in ours, being dissevered & kept from the horsemen, whych they do take here. And lykewyse, by acquyringe and gettynge thys lande by one battayle: youe shall delyuer yours from daungers forever. Marche than forewardes like as ys conuenyēt, aswel for your partie, that euery one of you to hys glory, may be named to be the maisters of all Grece: as also for the vertue of youre ancestres: who haynge vaynquished thies people here in a battaile nighe vnto Enyphyte: were lordes of thys lande, for a certayne tyme. So wente Hippocrates encouraiginge hys people all in a ranke, as they were in battaylle. But bifore that they were in the mydde way: the Beotians, at the exhortation of Pagondas, dydde begynne to geue the signe or tokene of the battaile by their trompettes and cornettes, and all at ones descended from the mountaigne in greate furye. whyche sene, Hippocrates cauled hys people likewyse to marche fourthe afore them, as faste, as they myght ronne. And so the formoste came to the conflicte and strokes And though that the hyndermost dyd not stryke, yet were they asmuche trauailled as the othere, by cause of the fyrynges, whyche of necessitie they shulde passe. Beynge than hande for hande, they repoulsedde the one the other wyth targactes and bucklars. And anone the leste poynete or wynge of the Beotyans, was recuyled and repoulsed by the Athenyans, vnto the myddeste. who did alwayes set on theym, for to destroye the othere, that were in the same wynge. Chiefly, the Thespyans, whyche were in that quarter. And all at ones, dyd slay the other, that had bene repoulsed & were all in an heape locked, the one agaynst ỹ other. And they dyd hurt the sayd Thespyans, who defended themself galliardly. In whyche sturre and conflycte, manye of the Athenyans were there slayne by their oune people. For that, that myndynge to enclose their ennemyes, they brought thēself into the myddest of them: in suche wyse, that the one knewe not the othere, but fynally that ryghte poynete was hooly repoulsed. And they,

Xenophyta.

that saued themselfe, went from that wynge, to render themselfe to the ryghte poynete wherin were the Thebayns. who dyd fyght so manfully: that they dyd repoulse the Athenyans from that same syde, and pursued and chasedde them a small space. In the meane tyme it chaunced, that both ỹ companyes of horsmen, whyche Pagondas had sente for to succour the lefte wynge of hys people, were comme (in the couerte of a small mountaigne) wyth all diligence. And so beynge there wythin the syghte of the Athenyans, whych chased those of the sayde lefte wynge: they thynkynge that it was newe succours, that were comme to the sayd Beotyans: were all astonyed, so that they did flye. And so ỹ Athenyans were putt to fyght, aswell on the one syde, as on the othere. The one, towards the sea of the coste of Delos, the othere towardes Orope, some agaynste the mounte Parnethus, and other some into dyuers places, so as they hoped to saue themselfe. wherby there were many of them slayn by the Beotians, chiefly by the horsmen, aswelle of the same countrey, as of the Locryans, whiche in thys conflycte were arryued for their succours But the nyght, whyche dyd drawe nyghe, saued many of them. On the morowe, they, that were comme to Orope and to Delos, lefte there a certayne garnysone. and afterwardes they wente alongeste the sea, vnto their houses. The Beotians, in remembrance of that same victorye, rayfed and sett vp their trophee in place of the battaylle, after that they had withdrawn their corpses and deade bodyes, and spoyled those of the ennemys. And hauinge there lefte a certayne nomber of people in garnisonne: they wente to Tanagre, where they preparedde themself for to assaylle the Athenyans, that were at Delos. towardes whome they sente an herault. who, haynge encountredde in the way an herault of the Athenyans, whyche came to demaunde their deade men, sayed vnto hym that he shulde passe no further, but retourne wyth hym. For he shoolde do nothynge, vntyll he was retournedde. whyche thynge he dydde. And the sayde herault Beotian, beynge comme to the Athenyans, declaredde vnto them the charge to hym commytted by the Beotyans. whyche was suche, that those Athenyans hadde transgressedde greately mans lawes. By the whyche yt was defended to all those, those shulde inuade the lande of an othere, not to entre into the temples. And that notwythstandynge, the same Athenyans hadde enuyronnedde the temple of Delos and therin kepte their people, whyche dydde violate yt and dyd there all prophane thynges. And specially, the water: the which it was lawfull for no man to touche, but onelye the prieftes for to make theire sacrefyce: they imployddе to othere vses. wherefore they publyshedde and declaredde it vnto them, aswelle on the behalfe of the god as of theirs. Calling furthermore and inuoaynge all the holly spyrytes, whyche hadde the keypnge of the place: and specially Apollo, vnto wytnes: that they shulde departe oute of the sayde temple wyth their baguage. whereunto the Athenyans answered that they wolde make answere to the Beotyans by the herault, whyche they sente towardes them. who shewedde them in effecte and substance, that they dyd no vnlawful nor prophane thinge in the saide tẽple nor intended to do for the tyme to come, if they were not therunto cõstrayned. For also they were not come for that intente, from the beginnyng. But only for to repoulse those that did iniurie vnto them. which thing was laufull by the lawes, specially of Grece. By the whiche it was ordeyned, that those, that haue the seignorie and domynion of a lande, be it small or greate: maye also haue the temples in their power, for to contynue there the sacrifyces and ceremonyes accustomed, asmuche as shulde be possible. In ensuynge whych lawes, those Beotians and all the other Grekes, whan they had taken any lande or towne by warre and chased the inhabitantes fromthẽce:

Parnethus.

they

they kepte the temples, whyche were bilore bilongyng to the same inhabitantes: as their owne. And therfore the sayde Athenyans intended, if they dyd get theire lande, to vse the self ryght and lawe. And for that cause, beynge in that same cost-trey, they toke it to be good and lawfull, and were not determynedde to departe fromthence: but to kepe it, as their owne. As touchinge the water of the temple, if they had taken therof for their vse: yet it was nott done to haue iniured or oul-tragedde the religyon of the temple. But beinge there, for to auenge themselfe of those, that came to ouerronne their lande, they were of necessitie constrayned for to take therof, to their vse. In whych case, whan there ys true warre: to those that be in necessitie, it is conuenable that God do pardone them: that whyche they be constrayned to do of necessytie. For recours is had to the goddes and to the aul-ters, for to obteigne remyssyon of synnes, whyche be not commytted wyllingly. And those be estemed euyll and synners towardes them, whych synne wyllingly, and not those, that do any thynge of necessitie. But those oughte muche more to be estemed euyll and contempnors of goddes: whyche for rendrynnge of deade corpses, wold haue the tẽples: rather than those: which for not rendring of holy thynges: refuse to take that whyche raysone wolde to be rendred vnto them. And thys they declared that they were not determyned to departe oute of the lande of Beoce. For they pretended to kepe ꝑ place, wherin they were wyth good right and not by force. And yett neuertheles, they demaūded of the said Beottians, that they shulde permytt them for to kerthe away their deade men accordynge to the custome of Grece. To thys demaunde and proposition the Beotians answered, that if the sayd Athenyans dydde take it to be in the lande of the Beotians, they shulde departe wyth their baguage. And if they pretendedde to be in theirs, they knewe what they hadde to do. For the lande of Drope, wherin their people were slayn, was in the iurisdictyon of the sayde Athenyans. wherefore those Beotians, not keppynge their deade men agaynst their will, they were not bounde to render them vnto them, but departynge from their lande, yt was very raysonable, that that thynge, whyche they demaunded, shulde be deliuered. In this manner re-tourned the heraulte of the Athenyans wythout doynge any thynge. And anone after, the Beotians, haunynge cauſed a certayne nomber of slingers and darte ca-sters to comme from Malie wyth two thousande good souldiars on fote, which the Corinthians had sente vnto them incontynently after the battaille, and some other succours, whyche was comme vnto them frō Peloponese, to wyt of those, that were retourned fro Nilee wyth the Megaryans: they departed fromthence and wente to laye their campe bilore Delos. And they assayled the fortifications & rampares of the Athenyans wyth dyuers Engynes of Artillery. and amonge other by one, whyche was cause of the takynge of yt, the whyche was of thys fa-ction. They dyd take a greate piece of timber and made it hollowe all wythin, in suche manner, that it was voyde and hollowe all alonge. Afterwardes they fa-stened yt wyth yrone at bothe endes. And also alengthe, very artyficiallye, after to manner of a pipe, and to one of the endes they fastened wyth chaynes of yronne a greate cawdrone of brasse, whyche hanged from the sayd piece of tymber, downe-wardes by the sayd chaynes. And at the ende of the beame, there was a hollowe pype of yronne whyche tourned and crooked downewarde agaynste the cawl-drone, for to caste ryghte into the cauldrone, the wynde, that came alonge oute of the ingyne. the whyche, beinge so acheuedde and made as ys aboue sayd they cauled it to be drawen and carped wyth greate charettes vnto the walle, whyche the Athenyans had made, on that syde, where the mooste parte was of woode. And in rayinge yt vp, they dyd sett the ende, wherou the cauldrone was, vnto the

Malea.

The inuention of a new Engine to assaulte & Battre.

syde

syde of the sayd wall full of cooles, brymstone and pytche. And to the other ende, whyche was on their syde, they applyed greate bellowes, by blowynge whereof, they caused incontynently, through the wynde whyche passed alongeste through the Engyne into the caudrone, that all the matter, that was wythin did lighten, and caste a greate flame, wherwyth the wall was anone fyred and burned. By occasion wherof, they, that defended themselfe, were constraynedde to forsake it. And by thys meane, the Beotians dyd wynne it. And of those, that were wythin, there were taken twoo houndred prysonners. Of the other, one parte was slain, and the other saued themselfe in the shyppes, that were in the hauone of the sea. Thus the temple of Delos was recouereddе. xvii. dayes after the battaille. And soone after retourned the herauldes of the Athenyans (which dyd knowe nothing of the sayd takynge or recouerey) for to demaunde agayn the dead men. To who the Beotyans dyd render and delyuer them wythout speakynge vnto hym anny more of that, that they had declared at the othere tyme. And there was founde, aswell of those, that were slayne in the battaille, as at the takynge of Delos on the partie of the Beotians nyghe to fyue houndredde, and on the othere partie of the Athenyans, about a thousande. And amongest other Hippocrates, one of their dukes: besydes the forcemen light armed and the victuailers, whyche were a greate nomber. On the other syde Demosthenes, who was gone to Syphas by sea, seynge that hys enterprise hadde sayled hym, he issued fourth of hys shipps wyth foure houndred men, aswell of the Agrians and Acarnanyans whyche he hadde ledde awaye, as of the Athenyans, into the lande of Sycionians. But before the reste were landed for to followe and to pursue those there: the Sycionyens, who yssued fourth for to defende their lande: came to assayle them, and repoulsed and dyd chase them backe, euen into their shippes, and so dyd slaye one parte of them, and many of them were takene prysonners.

¶ Howe Brasidas duke of the Lacedemonyans, dyd take the Cytie of Amphipolis soubdaynly, and some other in the countrey of Thrace, by treatye and apoynctemente.

☞ The. xiii. Chapter.

Sitalcis. Seuthes Amphipolis. Strymon. Aristagoras.

IN that same tyme, whan the thinges were done at Delos, wherof we haue spokene: Sytalces, kynge of Odrysyans dyed in battaill against the Tryballes. wyth whome he began to warre. And Seuthes, sonne of Spardocus hys brother, succeded hym aswell in the realme of Odrysians, as in other landes and seigniories, whyche he helde in the countreye of Thrace. And in that same wynter Brasidas wyth the allyes of the Lacedemonyans in that sayd countrey, moued warre against the cytie of Amphipolis, whiche was situated vpon the ryuer of Strymone. For that, that it was a Colonie of the Athenyans. And before that, they had peopled wyth their nation, the place, where the cytie presently standeth, Aristagoras Milesius, flyinge the persecutiõ of the kinge Darius, had furste inhabyted yt, but he was chased fromthence by the Edonyans. And than the Athenyans. xxxii. yeres after, sent thyder tẽe thousand mẽ, aswel of their people, as of other assembled frõ all quarters, whych were all destroyde by the Thracians nyghe vnto Drabescque. Notwythstanding. xxiv yeares after, those same Athenians sente thyder agayne of their people, vnder the conducte of Agnon, sonne of Nycias. who chased the Edonyans fromthence, and founded

founded the cytie, suche, as yt presently is, whyche was before named, the newe wayes. And whan the sayd Agnon came thyder to make it, he departed frome a towne, whiche the Athenyans had in the mouthe of the ryuer, named Eionus. wherin they made theire estaple, and called it Amphipolis, by cause that it was enuyronned on both sydes wyth the ryuer of Strymone, and so enclosed it wyth a wall that wente from one arme of the ryuer, vnto the other. And builded it in a place of a conuenyent heyght: so that it was sayze to se, aswelle towarde the sea, as to the lande. Brasidas, than beinge at Arnes, whyche is a towne in the terrytorye of the Agryans: departed from thence wyth hys army, and arryued aboute goynge downe of the sonne in Iulone and in Bromisque, on that syde where the lake of Bolbus voydeth itselfe into the sea. And after that he had supped, he toke hys iourney in the nyght (whyche was very darke, and also it did snowe, and was verye foule wether) so that he aryued before the cytie, wythout beinge parceiued by them, that were wythin. Resarued some, wyth whom he had intelligence, whiche were partly of the Argylians, that be in the countrey of Andrie, were come thider, for to inhabitt: and partly of other, whyche had be practised and wonne, aswell by Perdiccas, as by the Chalcides. But pryncipally the Brasides, whyche was adioygninge vnto them, were of that intelligence and confederacy, and had bene alwayes ennemys of the Athenyans: and espyed and layd in wayte to take pryuely the sayd cytie. Those same than that were inhabitedde there as afore ys sayde: hauinge concluded the treasone wyth Brasydas, by consente of them, whiche than had the gouernance of the cytie, dyd suffre him to come in. And the same night they, rebellinge frō the Athenyans, came to lodge wyth the army of Brasidas, nighe the bridge, that was on the ryuer, distant a verye small space frome the cytie. whych was not thā closed wyth walles: as it presently ys. And though that there was a nomber of people, that kepte the brydge, yet aswell by cause of the nyghte, as of the foule wether, and also of the soubdayne arryuall, he repoulsed them easely and wonne the brydge, and dyd take all the cytezeins, that dwelled wythoute the cytie in the suburbs, except some small nomber, whyche saued themselfe in the towne, wherof, they that were wythin were greatly afrayed, and chiefly for that, that they greatly doubted amonge thēselfe, the one, the other. And the sayinge ys, that if Brasidas had aswell approued to take the cytie, as he suffred hys people to pillage the suburbs: he had than takene yt. But in the meane tyme that hys people did gene themselfe to pillaige, those of the cytie allurredde themselfe, in suche manner, that he durste not pursue hys enterpryse, chiefly parceyuynge that they of hys intelligence did not discouer theymselfe in the towne. whyche thinge they coulde not do, forsomuche as the Cytezeins, who where in the greater nomber, empesched and dyd lett that the gates were not opened. And sent wyth all diligence, by the counsell of Eucles, who than was Capytayne of the Athenyans, vnto Thucydides sonne of Olerus, the same that hath writtone thys historie (whyche at that tyme had charge for the Athenyans in the sayde countrey of Thrace, wyth the sayde Eucles, beinge nyghe the towne of Thale, whyche was a colonie of the Parians, distante frome Amphipolis aboute one iourney by sea) that he shuld come to succour them. whyche thynge he readelye dyd, and came from thence wyth seuene shypps, whyche he founde by aduenture all ready in that parte, to succour Amphipolis, if it were not than takene, or if it were takene, for to take Eione. In thys meane tyme Brasidas, who greatly fearedde the succours of Thale by sea, and also leaste Thucydides, who kept in that quarter many mynes of golde and of syluer, by meane wherof, he hadde greate frendeshypp and authorytie wyth the principallest of the countrey, shuld assemble

Eione.

Arne.
Aulon
Bromiscus.
Bolbe

Eucleus.
Thucidides.

a greate

a great nomber of people by land, he determyned to do hys beste to gett the sayd cytie by practyse & cõpolycion, before that the cytezeins myghte haue ꝑ sayde succour. And for that cause he made it to be cryed and publisshed wyth the sounde of a trompett, that all they, that were in the towne, beinge cytezeins or Athenyans, myghte if they thought good, abyde in their estate and lybertie. Euen so, as the Peloponesyans. And those, that wolde not, might departe wyth their baguaige wythin fyue dayes. wherthe cry beinge harde, many of the pryncipall Cytezeins changed their opynyon, vnderstandyng to be by that meane in lybertie. where as the cytie at the presente tyme was gouerned, the moste parte by the Athenyans. And also they, whose parentes and frendes were takene in the suburbs, whyche were in greate nomber, all meane people, fearynge, that if they dyd it not, their sayd parentes and frendes shulde be yll intreated, chyefly the Athenyans, whyche perceyued that wyth out daunger they myghte departe wyth their baguage, & loked for to haue no succours redelye: and the reste of the people, seynge that by thys appoynctement, they shulde bryng and delyuer themself oute of danger, & shulde remayne in lybertie: all wyth one accorde dyd accepte the partye at persuation of them, that had intelligence wyth Brasidas, although that ꝑ gouernours, whyche were for the Athenyans wolde haue perswaded them to the contrary. And by thys meane, the cytie was rendred. That self same day aboute the euenynge tyde, Thucidides arryued wyth hys ships at Eione. Brasidas, beinge already wythin Amphipolis. who had taken the sayd cytie of Eione yf the nyght had not come vpon hym. And also at the breake of the day he had taken yt, if the succours wyth the sayd shypps had not arryued. But the same Thucydides, beinge there arryued as is afore sayd, ordeyned hys case for to defende the towne, if Brasidas wold haue come to assaylle yt, & also that he myght wythdrawe and receyue those of the mayne lande, that were mynded to comme to ioygne wyth hym. wherby yt chaunced that Brasidas, who was descended a longe the ryuer wyth a good nomber of shypps, haynge made hys strength to gett a rocke that was at the mouth of the same, nighe the towne and after to take yt by the land syde, was repoulsed from both sides, and was constraigned to retourne into the cytie of Amphipolis, for to geue order to the affayres therof. And sone after, the cytie of Myrcine, in the countrey of the Edonians, dyd render itselfe to hys allyaunce. For that, that Pittacus, kinge of ꝑ sayd Edonians was slayne by the wyfe and children of Groates and wythin fewe dayes, Goplelle and Eyne, whyche were two Colonies of the Thasiens, dyd lykewyse render themself, and that by the practique of Perdiccas, who arryued in the cytie of Amphipolis incontinẽtly after that it was takene. whan the Athenyans vnderstode the losse of that same cytie: they were therfore very sorowfull. For that, that it hadde bene muche profyte and profytable to them, aswell by reasone of the monney, that they there leyed, and of the woode that they dyd take from thence for to make shypps: as also for that the Lacedemonyans, hauinge before facultie and power to comme to inuade the allyes of the sayde Athenyans, vnto the ryuer of Strymone, by the conducte of the Thracyans, who dyd take their parte, coulde not passe ouer the water at the vpper parte therof, for that, that it was depe, nor also wyth boatts, solonge as the Athenyans dyd kepe their watche vpon the water at Eyone. But the Lacedemonyans, hauinge gotten the cytie, and consequently the passage of the ryuer, myght passe at their wylle and pleasure. whereby the Athenyans were in greate feare, that their frendes and allyes woolde tourne to take parte wyth the sayd Lacedemonyans. Chyefly for thys, that Brasidas, beside that, that he declared and shewed hymself to be a man curtoys and reasonable: dyd also publisshe

Myrcinus.
Pittacus.
Goaris.
Goplelus.
Delium

publiche generally euery where, that he had no charge, but to reſtoore all Greece into lyberte. By meane wherof, the other townes and cyties, that dyd take parte wyth the Athenyans, vnderſtandynge the good entreatynge, whyche the ſayde Bzaſidas vſedde and pzactyſedde towards the Amphilochiens, and that he pzeſented lyberte vnto euery man: they were all enclyned to reuolte and tourne vnto hym, and to wythdzawe themſelf from the obeiſſaunce of the Athenians. And thereupon dydde ſecretely ſende their heraultes and meſſengers towardes hym, foz to make their appoynctement: euery man, deſyzing to be the furſte, thynking that there was none daunger of the Athenyans, who of longe tyme hadde nott any greate garnyſons in that countrey: and thought not that their puiſſance had bene ſo greate, as they parceyueddeit afterwardes to be by experyence. ¶ Foz alſo thies be people, that haue accuſtomed to conduct their affayzes moze, by an diſozdered affectyon, rather than by reaſon and pzouydence, and puttynge their eſperaunce in that, whyche they wylled: they followed yt wythoute annye greate purpoſe to effecte. And that thynge whyche they wylledde not, they repzouedde vnder coloure of reaſone. Alſo they grounded themſelf greately vpon the loſſe, whyche the Athenyans had made frankly in Beoce, thzough occaſyon whereof, it ſemedde to them, that they coulde not ſoo ſoone ſende ſuccours into that quarter, and the moze by the perſwaſyons of Bzaſidas, who dydde theym to vnderſtande, that the ſayd Athenyans durſte not fyghte againſte hym nygh to Myſee, though that he hadde, but thys armie, that was there. Thzough thies reaſons, and vpon thies ymagynations, they were all ioyous foz the pzeſente, to be in lyberte vnder the pzotection of the Lacedemonyans, whome they thoughte, hauynge newely made the enterpzyſe in that ſame quarter, to be fully determyned to followe it to their power. On the othere ſyde the Athenyans, conſyderinge the daunger, ſente fourthwyth ſuccours into the ſayde quarter foz to kepe and defende their lande, although it were wynter tyme. Alſo Bzaſidas hadde wzytton vnto them of Lacedemonye, that they ſhuld ſende vnto him ſuccours. And in the meane tyme he woulde cauſe to be made almanye ſhyppes, as he coulde, in the ryuer of Strymone. But the Lacedemonyans did ſende hym no ſuccours, alwel thzough occaſyõ of the diſcozde of the pzincypalleſt of the cytie: as alſo foz that, that the people deſired to recouer the pzyſonners, whyche were takene in the Iſlande, and by that meane, rather to make peace: than to contynue the warre.

Howe Bzaſidas did take the cytie of Tozone by treatie and intellygence, and the ſame of Lecythum by foꝛce.

☞ The.xiiii.Chapter.

IN the ſame wynter, the Megaryans recouereddethe longe wal, whiche the Athenyans hadde gottone from them, and ſubuerted and tourned yt vpſett dowone. And Bzaſidas, after the takynge of Amphipolis went wyth hys armye agaynſte a place, named Acte, which is ſett on hyghe vpon a mountaigne, named Athos, whiche entreth wythin the kyngly dyche, and ertendeth vnto the ſea Egeus. In the lengthe wherof be ſytuated many cyties, to wyt, Sana, whyche is inhabyted with the Andzians, ad lyeth vpon the ſaid dyche on the ſea ſyde, foz anempſt Eubeus. And beyonde them, be, Thyſus, Cleone, Acrothous, Holophurus & Dius. which be inhabited wh people of diuers naciõs eſtraũgers, which vſe two languages, & in parte, ẏ ſame of ẏ Chalcydiãs. Acta. Athos. Sana. Thyſus Cleone. Acrotho Holophirus.

but pryncipally of Pelasgyans, and of the Thyrrenyens, whyche had sometyme inhabyted at Lemnus and at Athens, and also of the Bisaltiques, of Crestonians, and of Edonyens, whyche dwelled and kepte themselfe in some of the villages in the sayd countrey: of the whyche cyties the more parte rendredde themself vnto the allyance of Brasidas. And forsomuche as Sanius and Dyus resisted him, he pyllaged & wasted their terrytory. And neuerthelas, seinge that he could
Torona not tourne them, he departed fromthence and wente agaynste Torone, in the countrey of Chalcyde, whiche dyd take parte wyth the Athenyans by the practise and sollycytunge of somme of the Cytezens, that hadde promysedde to lett him into yt. And so he tourneyed all the nyghte, that aboute the breake of the daye, he arryued at the temple of Castor and Pollux, whyche is distante from the cytie aboutes three stades, wythoute that, that annye nomber of the Athenyans, whyche were wythin the towne for to kepe it, did parceue anny thynge thereof in anny of the Cytezens. Those reserued that were of the treatie. Somme of whome, vnderstandynge hys commynge, dydde take and receyue seuene of hys men one by into yt: whyche bare no armure but their swerdes. and yet feared not to enter wythoute theire compaignyons, whyche were in all to the nomber of twenty vnto whome Brasydas hadde geuene thys charge vnder the conducte
Lisistratus. of Lysistratus the Olynthyen. Those same men, than beynge mountedde and drawin vp by the walle that gouthe towarde the sea: they clymedde secretelye vppe to the toppe of a hyghe tower: whyche was scituatedde vponne a hylle. and dyd slaye those, that were wythin for to kepe yt. And afterwards dyd breake vp a lytle gate that was on the syde of Canestre. Thys indurynge, Brasidas w all the armye was marchedde a lytle morenyghe vnto the cytie, and attendinge and waytynge the issue of the thynge, he hadde sente bifore one houndredde sote men well armed for to be ready to enter into yt, fourthwyth as they shuld parceyue anny of the gates of the towne opened, and the signe, that they from with in the towne shulde geue, were shewed. whyche came ryght secretly almoost vnto the walles. In the meane tyme, they of the towne that had made the treatie, preparedde themselfe, wyth the seuene, that were entredde, for to gett the cytie: and that the gate shulde be openedde for them, whyche fyrmed and dyd shut in, the markett place. They than parceyuynge the sayde houndred theire compaignyons to be so nyghe: causedde to be shewedde vnto somme of them the passage, alonge the walles, and receyuedde theym in by the lytle gate, whyche was gottone. To the intente, that they, that were in the cytie and knewe nothynge of the enterpryse: parceyuynge themselfe assayled byfore and behynde, shulde be soudaynely the more afrayedde. And after they had made the signe or tokene wyth fyer whyche they hadde geuen to Brasidas, they receyuedde the other of the said houndred into the cytie by the gate of the markett place. whan Brasidas didde see the tokenne, he marched wyth the reste of hys people in the greateste haste, that he myghte, agaynste the cytie, makynge a muche greate noyse and crye, for the more, to feare the Cytezens. And so some entredde at the gates, whych they founde openne, and the other mountedde vp by the beames that were fastenedde in the walle on one of the sydes, where it was brokene. And after that they were all entred, Brasidas made strayghte fourth to the hygheste of the cytie, and frō thence came to disturbe and ouerronne it, throughe all the partes and streetes therof, to the ende, that he myght be wholy seased of yt. And in this doynge, the Cytezens, whyche hadde not bene consentynge to the takynge of yt, went about to saue theymselfe the beste that they myghte. But they that were of the intelygence, came to ioygne themselfe wyth the Lacedemonyans. As touchynge the

Athenyans

Athenyans that were in the market place, for the saulsgarde of the towne, to the nomber of fyftie Soldyars, there was one parte of them taken sleping and was slayne, at the arryuall. The other, parceyuinge the bruyte, saued themself, some by lande, and the other in two shyps: that kepte watche vpon the ryuer, and wente fromthence vnto Lecythum. where was one other garnysonne of Athenes. And toke at the arryuall the Castell of the cytie Marytimate or nere the sea, whiche was in the mooste straighte or narroweste place of the distreate. withe whome, many of the cytezeins of the sayd Torone dydde retyre and withdrawe themself, to wytte, of those, that were moste affectyonedde to the partie of the Athenyans. The daye comme and the cytie being wholy in the puissance of Brasidas: he causedde it to be cryedde wyth the sownde of a trompette through the towne, that all they, whyche were retyredde wyth the Athenyans, myghte retourne in suertie, and shulde recouer their goodes and contynue in the rytes of the cytie, like as they hadde done byfore tyme. And on the othere syde, he commaundedde the Athenyans, that were wythin Lecythum, that they shulde voyde and departe fromthence, for that, that it apperteigned to the Chalcydians, suffrynge them to departe fromethence wyth theire baguaige. But they made aunswere that they woldenot departe, and yet neuerthelas they demaundedde of Brasidas one day of trefues for to withdrawe their deade bodyes. who grauntedde vnto theyme twoo dayes, durynge the whyche, he furnyshed hys fortes. Lykewyse dydde the Athenyans, theirs. And besydes thys he dydde allemble the cytezeins of Torone, and spake vnto them almoste in that same sorte, as he hadde spokene to them of Acanthe in thys substance. Lecithū

The narration of Brasidas vnto the Toronyans.

That is, that he shewedde them, that raysonne woulde not, that they, whyche had hadde intelligence wyth him for to lett hym into the cytie, shulde be reputedde traitters nor euyll doers. Forsomuche as they hadde done it nothere for monney, nother for to brynge the cytie into seruytude: but rathere for to restore yt into lybertie, and for the greate wealthe of the cytezeins generallye. Also yt were not raysonne, that they, whyche were not parttakers of thys goodnes, shulde be depryued of theire goodes and faculties, for he was not come thyder for to destroye ỹ cytie, nor any of the Cytezeins: but for to delyuer it oute of captyuitie. And for thys cause he hadde done yt to bee knowen to theym that were gone wyth the Athenyans, that they might comme agayne into theire goodes, and into the estate, that they were in, in tymes passed. To the intente that all men myghte knowe, that the amytye of the Lacedemonyans (whan they shalle haue prouedde yt) was nott worser, than that same of the Athenyans, and shulde haue cause to be somuche the more affectionedde to theire partie, as they shulde fynde theym by experyence, more iuste and more reasonable. Though that at the beginninge they hadde bene afraied, not hauinge yet experymẽted the nature of the said Lacedemonyans. Prayng and exhorting them, that they wolde dispose themself to be theire good and faythfull frendes ỹ confederates, from that houre, forwardes. For if they afterwardes cõmitted any faulte, they shulde be coulpable and punishable. whyche thynge bifore tyme they had not defarued, but rather they, that had by force holden them in subiection, as the more stronge. wherefore though they had enemne vnto that present houre bene aduersaryes and contrary to the sayd Lacedemonyans, yet raysone wolde that it shuld be pardoned them. With such words Brasidas exhorted ỹ cõforted

the Toronyans. whan the two dayes of trefues were palled, he came to Lecythus and thought to take yt wyth aſſaulte. For that, that the walles were very weake in euery place, & in ſome quarters made of woode. Yet the Athenyãs, that were wythin, defended themſelf valiantly the furſte daye, and repoulſed the Lacedemonyans. The morowe followynge, Braſidas had cauſed to be ſet vp an inſtrumente for to caſt fyer into that parte, where the walls were of woode. which parceyuedde, the Athenyans rayſedde vp a towre of woode vpon the ſayde wals in the ſelfe ſame parte: and there cauſed to be ſett a greate nomber of veſſels full wyth water, wyth inſtrumentes for to caſte yt fourthe, and alſo greate ſtones. But throughe the greate nomber of people that mouted vpon the ſame tower, it did fall ſoubdaynely downe to the grounde. whereby and wyth the bruite that it made in fallynge: the Athenyans whyche were nyghe yt, were more diſplayſedde, than afrayedde. But they, whyche were further of: thynkynge that the towne hadde bene takenne, fledde awaye towardes the ſea into the ſhyppes, that were in the poorte. Than Braſidas, parceyuynge that they hadde habandonedde and forſakene the walle, aſſayled it on that ſame ſyde, and toke the towne wythout greate difficultie, by that meane. And they, that were encountred at the arryuall, were ſlayne. Yet one partie of the Athenyans ſauedde themſelfe in the ſhips and layledde to Pallenes. Nowe had Braſidas cauſed to be cryed bifore the aſſaulte wyth ſownde of trompett, that he woulde geue. xxx. poundes in ſyluer to the furſte that ſhulde haue mountedde vpon the wall. But perſuadinge hymſelf that the towne was taken rather by wylle of the goddes, than by force: he dyd geue that ſõme of monney to the temple of the goddeſſe Pallas, whyche was in the ſame towne. wyth whyche monney, that ſame temple was reparedde, which hadde bene deſtroyed at the takynge of the ſame towne, wyth the other edifices. And yet afterwardes Braſidas cauſed it to be buylded agayne. And he was the reſte of the wynter, in that ſame quarter, repayringe and forteſynge the places, whyche he dydde holde, and layinge in wayte for them, whyche didde take parte wythe the Athenyans.

Pellene

the temple of the goddeſſe pallas

How the Athenyans made treſues for one yeare wyth the Lacedemonyans.

☞ The. xb. Chapter.

In the begynnynge of the furſte vere or ſprynge tyde, the Athenyans made a treſues wyth the Lacedemonyans for one yeare. And that the Athenyans dyd: thynkynge that durynge that ſeaſon, Braſidas wold not haue practyſed to wythdrawe their landes, and in the meane tyme to haue forteſyed them, and alſo hoppynge to treate durynge that tyme a fynall peace, yf they parceyuedde that it ſhulde be good for them. The Lacedemonyans alſo perſwaded themſelfe that the ſayd Athenyans feared the ſayde matters, lyke as it was trewe, and that haupnge by meane of treſues, repoſe and releaſe of trauailes and paynes, wherin they had bene: they woulde be more enclyned to the peace, and that in that doynge they would render the pryſonners whiche they kept, whych was the thyng that the ſayd Lacedemonyans moſt deſired and hoped to obteigne yt, makinge the treſues duringe the tyme, that Braſidas proſperedde. But ſo longe as the warre contynued, and that he dyd gette of the ennemys, they hopedde not that their ſayde people ſhulde be releaſedde and deliuered

lyuered. And so the trefues was concluded in thys fourme, for the Athenyans dyd delyuer the articles, whych they demaũded, and the Lacedemonyãs made the aunswere, suche, as foloweth.

The fourme of the trefues bitwene the Athenyans and the Peloponesyans.

FIrst we woll that as touchynge the temple and the oracle of Apollo Pythicus, that it be lefull to all them, that wyl, of aither partie to go thider wythout fraude and wythout feare, for to haue counsaile of the god in the manner accustomedde. Thys article was approued by the Lacedemonyans and by those of their allyes, that were there. who promysed to do all that they myghte, that the Beotyans and Phocyens shulde approue and ratefie it, and for that cause they sent their herault vnto them. Secondarely touching the treasure of that same god, whych was pillaged and imbecilled, we woll that men procede againste the transgressours for to punishe them accordinge to theire demerittes, lyke as hath bene accustomedde in suche case, and that we and youe and all other that wylbe comprysed in the trefues, shalle obserue the auncyent ordonances and customes, as touchynge that matter. To thys, aunswered the Lacedemonyans and theire allyes, that they were contente that if the peace were made, aither of the parties shulde be contente wythe his lande, lyke as they presently dyd holde yt. To wytt that the lymitts of the Lacedemonyans shuld be in the quarter of Corypha sius bytwene Bufrades and Tomeus: and ỹ same of the Athenyans, in Cytheis. And that the one myght not make allyaunce wyth the othere, that those, whych be at Nysea and Minoa shuld not passe by the way that leadeth from Pylus vnto the temple of Neptune, and from the same tẽple, to the temple, whyche leadeth to Minoa. whyche way also, nother the Megaryans myght passe, nor those, that were in the Iland, which ỹ Athenyãs had taken. And that the one shuld haue no cõmunicatyon of marchandyse nor of other matter with the others, but that the Athenyãs myght vse all that, that they had at the present in Trezena, and all the other landes that remayned vnto them by the treatie, at theire pleasure. And also that they myghte goo by sea vnto theire landes, and to those same of their frendes at their pleasure. And as concerninge the Lacedemonyãs, that they myght sayle not wyth longe shypps that go with sayle, but wyth galleys and other shypps that go wyth oares, of the portage of fyue hondred talentes. Item that all heraults & ambassadours might go woute any empeschemẽts vn suche compaigny, as they wold, alwel through the lãde of the Peloponesians, as through the same of the Athenyans, & that alwel by sea as by lande, for to treate thappoinctment. Item that none shulde receyue any fugetyue, bondman nor fre, of thone nor other syde. And as touchinge difference that may aryse, durynge the trefues, amongst them of the one partie, against those same of the other: the knowlayge & triall thereof apparteigneth to the iudge of the defendour, lyke as it was vsed bifore the warre, and that they shulde be voided and pacefyed by sentence, and not by warre. To thys aunswered the Lacedemonians and their allyes, that they agrede to all the sayd articles. Afterwardes followed one other of this substãce. And if ye perceue ỹ there may be had any thyng more honnest and more reasonable than thys, which is aboue sayd, being retourned in to Lacedemony ye may aduertyse vs therof. To thys the Lacedemonyans and their allyes aunswered. They that shall go, hauinge power and authorytie to entreate the matters, maye haue the charge, and authorytie hereof, lyke as youe geue it them. Afterwardes followedde. Thies trefues shal endure for one yeare.

And the subscripcion was thys. It pleaseth the peple and the thre magistrates. Pyzaneus was than the officier, and Phenippus the Grephier, Nyciades Cappitayne of the armye. And Laches recyted and declared the sayd trefues. which god graunt to be to the goodnes, ioye and foztune of the Athenyans. Lyke as the Lacedemonyans and their allyes haue accozded and agrede vnto yt, and haue pzomysed to kepe it foz one yeare, whyche shalle begynne thys psente. xiiii. daye of the moneth, Elaphobolion, that is December. Durynge whyche tyme the heraults and ambassadours may and shall go from the one syde to the other, foz to speake and entreate vpon meanes foz to ende the warre. And that the officers & lieutenantes at their requeste, shuld assemble ỹ counsaille and the people foz that intente and purpose. And that the Athenyans shulde be the furst foz to sende the Ambassadours foz to talke and commun of the sayde meanes, and to bzynge at their arrywall the ratifycation of the people of Athens, by whyche they pzomyse to kepe and holde the trefues durynge the said yeare. Thys same treatie betwene the Athenyans and Lacedemonyans and their allyes was afterwardes ratefied and apzouedde at Lacedemonye the. xii. daye of the monethe Gerastie. And the pzyncypall authozs therof, were of the Lacedemonyans, Thaurus, sonne of Echetymydas. Atheneus sonne of Pericliades, and Philocharydas sonne of Eritydaides. On the partye of the Cozynthians Eneas sonne of Ceythe, and Euphamidas, sonne of Aristonymus. On the bihalfe of the Scyonyans, Damotimus, sonne of Nauerates and Onasymus, sonne of Megacles. Of those of Megare, Nicasle, sonne of Lecalus, and Menecrates, sonne of Amphidotus. Foz them of Epidaure, Amphias, sonne of Epoide. Foz the Athenyãs, Nycostratus, sonne of Diotrophus, who was magistrate, Niceas, sonne of Nyceratus, and Autocles, sonne of Tolmeus. In thys manner the sayd trefues was concluded, and durynge the same were made many treaties and parlementes of the peace.

Phenippus.

Elaphobolion xi Decembz.

How the trefues betwene the Peloponesians and the Athenyans was brokene, thzough cause of the cyties of Scione and of Mende, whyche Brasidas taketh by rebellyon of the Citezens, from the saide Athenyans.

The. xbi. Chapter.

Durynge the tyme, that hys trefues was encreated, and that the treatie was confirmed (as is aboue said) the cytie of Scione, nyghe to Pallene, rebelled from the Athenyans, and rendzedit self vnto Brasidas, vnder thys colour. Those Scionians dyd saye, that they were Pallenyans, bozne auncyently out of the countrey of Peloponese, and that theire auncestres retournynge frome the siege of Troye by sea, were by tempeste of the sea, whyche than dispersed the Achiues, dzyuen into that same quarter, and there arrested themself and inhabyted. Brasidas, than vnderstandynge their rebellion, wente towardes them by nyghte, and causedde to goo a lytle before hym a galley foz to discouer: and he hymself was in a bzygantine, to the intent that if he encountred a greater and more puissante than hys, the galley myght succour him. And if he encountredde one galley, as puissante, as the same, that wente before he recõned that it wolde rathere matche itself wyth the sayd galley, and by that meane, in the meane tyme, as the two galleys did fight togiders, he might saue hymself. So he arryued in this maner wythout any encoũtring at Scione. And there

Scione Pallene

there assembled the people. And dyd speake vnto them in the selfsame forme and substance, as he had spoken to them of Acanthe and of Torone. And he praysed them somuche the more than the other: that albeit the Athenians dyd than occupie the citie of Pallene, whiche was situated at the distreate of Peloponese, and that they did holde the citie of Potydee: and that thesame Scionians were all of the self Islande: yet neuerthelas they had the harte to be restoared to lybertie and out of the sarcuptude of the Athenians, of themselues. without tarying vntyll necessitie shulde cause them to knowe and prouyde for their comon wealth. For the which hardynes and magnanymytie, he iudged them to be people, for to beare and endure valiantly and vertuously any other great affaire, if it happened vnto them. And also he toke it welle, that they shulde be alwayes good and faythfull frendes of the Lacedemonians. And by that meane shuld be in all thinges prayseld and honored by them. Through whiche woordes & declarations, the Scyonians dyd conceyue and take greate courage: in suche sorte, that they all with one accorde (alwell those, that toke the matter to be euil at the beginnyng, as also the other) determined to sustaigne warre agaynste the Athenians, if the case chaunced. And aboue manye honors whiche they dyd to Brasidas, they sette a crowne of golde vpon his hedde: as to the deliuerer of Grece, and as to a man priuately their frende and well doer: they dyd geue hym a Chapelette or small garlande of vigne, and went to visett hym in his lodging, as was vsed to them, that had had the victorye of a battaille. But he arested not longe there, but hauing left with thē a small garnisone, he retourned thither, from whence he came. And sonne after, he retourned thider with a greate armye. To thintent to assaye, if he myght with their ayde, gett Mēde and Potydee, before the Athenians shuld come to their succours, as he doubted, that they would do. But hauyng already made the treatie with certayne of the sayd townes, before that he executed it, there came vnto hym out of a galley Aristonymus. from the partie of the Athenians. And Atheneus from the partie of the Lacedemonians, who notefyed vnto hym the trefues. By occasion whereof, Brasidas retourned from thence to Torone. At which place the sayd Ambassadours declared vnto hym more amply the tenour of the tratie. Whiche was approued and receyued by all the allyes, that were in Thrace, alwell on the one partie, as of the other. But Aristonimus, though that he approued all the sayd treatie, yet he sayd, that the Scyonyans were not therein compryseld, forsomuche, as they rebelled after the date of the trefues. Whereunto Brasidas did replye, and maynteigned that they rebelled before. And for effect sayd, that he would not rendre them, so that the matter or thyng remayned, as broken. And after that Aristonymus hadde reaported that same at Athens, al the Athenians were of opinio to begyn warre against the sayd Scyonians and dyd prepare themself, for to make it. Whiche thing being come to the knowlage of the Lacedemonians, they sent vnto thē ambassade, shewyng them, that they went agaynst the treatie. And that wrongfully they would recouer the sayd citie of Scyone. vpon the reasons that Brasidas did shewe, and that if they would go thider by force, those Lacedemonians and their allyes would defende the sayd Scionians. But if they would that the matter were putt and referred to knowliage and vnto iudgemente, they were therewith well contented. whereunto the Athenians made answere, that they would not putt their estate in hazarte of iudgemente, but were determyned to go agaynst the sayd Scyonyens, as fast as they coulde, thinking and holding it for certaine, that if they of the Islandes would rebelle, the succours of the Peloponesians by lande, coulde in nothyng serue them. And for trouthe the Athenians had good quarelle, as touchyng that.

Aristonymus.

thyng that. For it was certaynly founde that the rebellion of the Scionians was two dayes after the conclusion of the treatie. This was the decree, of the greater parte and opinion of the Athenians made, in followyng thaduys of Cleon, that men shoulde go to take Scyone, and slaye all the Citizens. And thereVenda. vnto they prepared themself. But in the meane tyme the cytie of Wende rebelled lykewyse, whiche is in the countrey of Pallene, inhabited and founded by the Eritrians. Whiche Brasidas receyued lykewyse, perswadyng hymself to do nothynge agaynste reasone, though that it was done duryng the trefues, forasmuche as the Athenians dyd lykewyse the contrarye. Whiche was the reasone, whereby those of Wende hadde takene boldenes for to rebelle, knowynge the wylle and deliberacion of Brasidas, and also seinge the experyence of the Sciomans, whome he would not forsake. And also considering that though that they: that hadde brought to passe the treatie of the rebellion were in small nomber, and had greate feare to execute it: yet they lefte not to assaye it, and fearyng to be discouered, had wonne the other, that were the greater partie, albeit that it was contrarye to theyr expectacion. The Athenians, beinge aduertised of this rebellion, were yet more prouoked and stirred, and prepared themselfe for to go to destroy the sayed two rebelled cyties. But in the meane tyme, that they made their preparacions and afore that they arryued, Brasidas hadde withdrawen the women and childrene out of thesame two cyties. And hadde caused them to be caryed into the countrey of Chalcyde. And also sente vnto the succours of the cytizens, fyue houndred Peloponesians and so many Chalcidians, all well armed,Polidamidas. vnder the charge of Polydamydas, who attending the comyng of the Athenians, prouyded for the fortificacion of the sayed two townes, by one comon accorde in the beste manner and facion, that they coulde.

Howe Brasidas and Perdiccas

hauing takene certene landes from Archibeus, vnderstandyng, that the Illyrians came to ouercome them, departed secretely. And howe Brasidas being forsaken by the sayd Perdiccas and his bende, saued hymself from the Illyriens, and howe Perdiccas and Brasidas became ennemyes.

☞ The.xvii.Chapter.

Lyncestæ THis tyme enduryng, Brasidas and Perdiccas went agaynst Archibeus into Lyncestæ, to wytt, Perdiccas with a good bende of Macedonians and of other Grekes, inhabityng the sayd countrey: and Brasidas with the rest of the Peloponesians, that he had, & with some Chalcydians, Achantbians and other of the confederated cyties, so that there were footemen in al, about three thousande, and horsemen, aswell Macedonians, as Chalcydians, aboutes a thousande, besydes a great nomber of straungers, that did followe them. Being than entred into the countrey of Archibeus, and vnderstandyng that the Lyncestians were imparked and incamped in the fielde, they also did the like, and planted their campe directly against the other, aither of thē vpon an hil, to wytt, the footemen on high: and the horsemē alowe, which horsemen anone came to eskarmusche in the playne that was betwene the two hilles. And it was not longe, tyll that Brasidas and Perdiccas caused their footemen to discende frome the hille. And sone came to ioigne themself with their horsemen readye to fyght. Whiche parceyuynge the Lyncestians, they dyd the lyke, so

lyke, so that they came to battaille. But those Lyncestians were sone repoulsed, and put to flyght. Wherein there was a greate nomber of them slayne. The other retyred into the mountaigne. And that done, Brasidas and Perdiccas, hauyng there reysed vp their Trophe in signe of victorye, they kept the felde two or .iii. dayes, attendyng the Illyrians. whome the sayd Perdiccas had soulded and waged for to come to his succours. After that terme passed, Perdiccas wold that they shoulde haue marched further into the countrey: and that they shoulde haue taken the townes of Archibeus, But Brasidas, who feared leste the armye of the Athenians shoulde come in the meane season: and destroye those of Mende, seyng also that the Illyrians came not, he was of opinion to retourne backe. And they, being in this difference, hadde newes howe that the Illyrians, whiche had taken wages of the sayd Perdiccas, had deceyued hym, and were gone to the saruyce of Archibeus. By occasiō whereof fearyng the comyng of the Illyrians: who are warlyke people, they were both of opyniō to retourne backe. But they agrede not of the waye that they shulde kepe, so that they departed in the euening pryuely, without conclusion. And Perdiccas retyred fromthence into his campe, whiche was a lytle distance from thesame of Brasidas. And the nyght folowyng, the Macedonians and the estrangers in Perdiccas campe, for the feare that they had of the commyng of the sayd Illyrians: for that, that the bruyte was greater, than the matter requyred, (lyke as it oftentymes chaūceth, in great Armyes) they departed out of the campe without lycēce. And retourned into their houses. And though that Perdiccas at the begynnyng knewe nothing of their deliberacion: yet after that they hadde concluded it they came to hym, and forced him to departe fromethence with them. Without that, that he might speake wyth Brasidas, whiche had his campe lodged farre ynoughe from hym. Who vnderstandyng at the breake of the daye: the departure of the Macedonians, & the commyng of the Illyrians and of Archibeus, he ordeyned his armye in a quadrant battaille, & enclosed the foote men lyghtly armed within the myddelmost, and afterwardes cauled them to marche, to thintent also to haue withdrawen himself. And he with three houndred of the yongest and of the most galliarde, taryed behynde, for to susteigne the chocke and charge of the currours, and of those, that shulde come to sett vpon hym, for to entertaigne and slacke or kepe backe the first, vntill the other marched more forewarde, & determyned to retyre and withdrawe hymself last of all. But byfore the commyng of thennemyes, he did speake vnto his men of warre at fewe wordes, in māner followyng.

The exhortation of Brasidas vnto his mē of warre.

IF I dyd not suspecte (Lordes Peloponesians) that ye were astonyed of this, that our frendes haue habandonned vs, and that the strāgers, in right great nomber, do come for to ouercome vs: I woulde not enterprise to exhorte you, nother would I teache you, howe to vse your self, as nowe I do. But forsomuche as it semeth to me, that for theis two causes, whiche be ryght great, ye be somewhat abashed: I wyll speake vnto you by manner of declaracion and exhortyng, what I thynke herein. That is, that it is conuenient for you to be valyant and hardy in the warre, not trustyng alwayes in the ayde of your frendes, and allyes, but in your owne vertue: and also not to be abashed nor feare the multitude of your ennemyes. For ye are borne in a citie, wherein a small nomber of people doeth gouerne a greate nomber, and not the greater nomber, the lesse. The whiche auctoritie and puissance they haue acquired by many victories, whiche they haue hadde in battaille. And as touchyng the

thing the estrangers, of whome ye presently be afrayde, for that, that ye haue not proued them, ye maye well knowe that they be not very sharpe or cruel, aswell by those, agaynste whome, ye haue foughte for the Macedonians, as also by that, that I haue learned by common reaporte, and that I conceyue of them by coniecture. Nowe it is so, that those, that thynke the people, agaynste whome, they haue to do, to be more strong and better warryours than that they arne, whan they haue knowen the trouthe by experience, they afterwarde gooe more boldely agaynste them. And lykewyse if there be any vertue in the ennempes, whereof we be not aduertised: lette vs assaille them the more assuredlye. Wherefore as touchyng thies here, that come agaynste vs, they bee to be feared of people, that knowe them not: for the greate nomber that they be of, whiche ys fearefull to beholde, and also horrible to here: for the greate bruyte, that they make, aswell by cryinge, as also by shakynge and clatterynge of their harnelle. Whiche be all but only menaces and threatenynges. But whan they come to fyght agaynste the people, that be not thereof abasshed, they shewe themself not to be suche. For they be not ashamed to recuyle and to habandone their place, whan they be straightly charged vpon. For that, that they kepe no order. And by this cause it is asmuche honoure for them to flye, as to assaulte. Wherefore no man canne iudge their hardines. For where it is in the lybertie of any one for to fight or for to ercbue fyghtynge: trulye he maye alwayes fynde some good excuse for to saue hymself. And euen so, thies beinge of this sorte, shall fynde it muche more sure and easye for vs, to feare vs a farre of by their cryes and greate menacynges, without puttynge themself in daunger: than for to come nighe for to fyght wyth vs. And yf it were otherwyse, they woulde rather come to the fyghtynge, than to make all thies crakes. And for conclusion ye see all the feare that is to be hadde of them. Whiche is greate to fyghte, and to the hearynge: but in battaille it is very smalle. Wherefore yf ye susteigne and withstande theyr power, whan they come to charge vpon you, and afterwardes doo retyre by lytle and lytle in good order, ponc shall ryghte shortely comme in faulstie into a sure place. And shall knowe for the tyme to comme, that the nature and manner of this people is to make a farre of, very great craakes and menaces, and to shewe great hardines to them, that they do parceyue to be ready to receyue them: and to retourne and shewe themself astonyed, whan men loigne nere vnto them, and that they wolle fyght hande to hande. For in this case, they shewe their valyantnes, in sauyng and keppng themself in suertie. After that Brasidas hadde thus erhorted and animated his people, he cauled them to marche in battaille, retyrynge and withdrawyng hymself by lytle and lytle. Whiche parceyued by the strangers, they followed them with all diligence, makyng greate cryes and greate bruyte accordynge to thier custome, thynkynge that they shoulde haue fledde, and by that meane to haue cutte of theyr waye, and destroyedde them. But whan they dydde perceyue that the Grekes dydde manfullye resiste the auante courrers, whiche abourded them in some partes: and that Brasidas, wyth the bende whiche he hadde chosene, endured and dydde susteigne all the puissance and strengthe of the other, whiche came for to charge vpon them: they were all astonyed. And the Grekes hauynge withstanded the firste charge, dydde afterwardes more easely repoulse the other. And yet neuertheleste after that the straungers ceassed to assaille theym, they retyred by lytle and lytle towardes the mountaigne, in suche wyse, that whan Brasidas and they that were with hym, were come into a large

a large and spacious playne, the bende of the strangers, that were ordeyned for to pursue them, kepte themselfe a farre of. And as touchyng the other, they followed and chased the rest of the Grekes, whiche fled. And those, that they dyd take out of the trowpe were slayne without mercye. And seing that Brasidas coulde not saue hymself but by an straicte passage, whiche was at the entryng of the lande of Archibeus betwene two rockes: they came to wynne it, & dessowed themselfe in the entryng, thynkyng to haue stayed hym there, and to haue taken hym. But he parceyuyng their enterprise, cõmaunded three houndred men, that were with hym that they shulde with the moste diligence that they coulde without kepyng any order, ronne to one of the sayd rockes, to the same, that semed vnto them most dangerous, & do their best for to wynne it, before that the ennemyes shulde assemble themselfe there togiders in a greater nomber. Whiche thyng they did so vertuously, valiantly and so readely: that at the aryuall, they chased the ennemyes fromthence, whiche nowe already had gotten the height and toppe of it. By meane whereof, the other Grekes came easely to gett the passage. For the estraungers, seing their people flying awaye: whiche were dieected and dryuen downe from the sayd rocke, and also that the Grekes had already gottone the passage for to saue themself: they folowed them no further. And by that meane Brasidas, keping the height of the mountaignes for to passe in more suertie, arryued that same daye in the towne of Armilla. Whiche was in the obeysance of Perdiccas. At whiche place being arryued, the souldiars of Brasidas, for despyte and anger that they hadde, for that, that the Macedonians were the firste, that brake of and went their waye and had habandoned and forsaken them: as they founde their Oxen yoaked or their other baguages that they had left in the way (lyke as it is to be bileued that men do, whan they flye, specially e in the nyght) they vnyoacked the Oxen and toke of their baguages. that, which pleased them. Whereby Perdiccas perceyued firste that Brasidas was his ennemy. Throughe occasion whereof, he changed fromthens for wardes the affection that he had towardes the Peloponesians. And yet neuerthelas dyd not fourthwith so declare hymself, for feare of the Athenians. But firste he searched meanes for to make his appoynctmente with them. Armilla

Howe the citie of Menda was taken by the Athenians, and that same of Scyona alleged. And certen other thynges that happened aboute the ende of the yeare.

The.xviii.Chapter.

When Brasidas was retourned to Torona, he founde that the Athenians had recouered and taken Menda agayne. Whereupon considering that he was not puissante ynough for to defende Pallena, if he had gone thider: he taryed at the sayd place of Torona, for to defende it. For in the meane tyme, that he had bene with Perdiccas, the Athenians issued for to come to the ayde of the Lyncesters, agaynst Menda and agaynst Scyona with fiftie shyppes well apparailled. Whereof there was tenne of Chio, carying a thousande men well armed. Of their countrey fiue houndred Archers being Thraciens. And a thousande other estrangers, togiders with a certen nomber of footemen, light armed: whereof were Capitains, Nicyas, the sonne of Nyceratus, and Nycostratus, sonne of Dyotrephus who being departed from Potydea with the sayd armye, whan they were forayenmyste the temple of Neptunus, they Nyclas. Nicostratus.

tunus, they wente directly agaynste Wenda. But those of the cytie, parceyuynge them commynge, and hauyng three houndred men of Scyona with the garnisone of Peloponesians for their ayde: yssued fourth of the cytie all in armure, to the nomber of seuen houndred in all, vnder the conducte of Polydamydas. And camped themself vpon a lytle mountaigne which semed vnto them to be a place very sure. And though that Nycyas, with sixe skoore men of Methone and three skoore of the moste gentle compaignions Athenians with all the archers dydde their beste to deiecte and remoue them from the sayd place, thynkyng to mount by certayne pathwayes of the sayed mountaigne: yet he was so oppressed with shotte, that he was constrayned to retyre. And Nicostratus, that woulde haue mounted by an other syde with the rest of the armye, was so sturdely repoulsed, that it sayled very lytle, but that all the army of the Athenians had bene put out of order and destroyed that same day. Whereupon parceyuyng that they coulde not haue the better agaynst the Wendyans they retyred into their campe before the towne, & the Wendyans in the night time withdrewe themself into yt. The morowe folowynge, the Athenyans wente to ouercomme the lande of Scyona: and pyllaged all the villages, all the houses, and all the feldes, rounde aboute the towne so longe, as the daye endured, wythoute that those, that were wythin durst yssue fourth, forsomuche as there was certaine dissention emongest them. The night followyng, the three houndred Scyonyans, that were within Wenda retourned into their houses. And the day being come, Nycyas, with the moytie of the armye: went afresshe to ouercome the lande of the sayd Scionyans. And Nycostratus with the rest came for to lodge himself before the gates of ỹ towne on the highest syde, whiche is leadyng towardes Potidea. On the other syde Polydamydas, who was within & had the defence of that same quarter with the cytizeins and a nomber of estrangers being Peloponesians, animated & encouraged his people and did putt them in battaille, for to yssue fourth agaynst the Athenians. But there was one of the towne that dyd speake agaynst hym, saying that it was not mete nor conuenient for to yssue fourth nother to fyght. Wherewith he was so angry that he rushed vpon him and rudely bled him. Which sene, they of the towne, coulde not endure hym. But dyd take all armure for to charge vpon the Peloponesians and them that were with them. Who, seyng the furye, dyd flye, aswell for feare of the people of the towne, as also of the Athenians (vnto whome, in thies enterchances, the gates were opened, doubtynge that it had bene a trayne conspired agaynst them. And they that might, withdrewe themself into the castell, whereof they were seased in tymes passed. In the meane tyme, the Athenians entred into the towne (for Nycias was alreadye retourned for to ouercome it) and they did pyllage it vtterly. Thynkynge that the gates were not opened vnto them, nother by traycie nor by generall deliberation, but aither by fortune or els by particuler intelligẽce. And although the cappytains had mought to do for to defende, that they shulde not kylle all those, that were within, yet neuerthelas the bruyte being appeased, the self cappytaines cõmaunded the citizeins, that they shulde take againe the gouernãce of the towne, lykeas in times passed, they had bene accustomed. And of themself, that they shulde doe iustice on them that had bene cause of the reuolt & rebellion. And afterwardes they enclosed thẽ, that were within the castell with walles that extended vnto the sea on al sydes, and therein did put gardes & souldiars. And afterwardes departed from hence with the rest of thar my against Scyone. Against whome, they of ỹ towne issued fourth before their coming, with the Peloponesians, whiche they had, and lodged themself vpon a lytle hille, whiche was verye nighe vnto the walle, for that, that

Polydamydas.

without

without takynge of it, men coulde not welle assiege the towne. But the Athenyans dydde assaille theym so lyuely, that they dislodged them. And by that meane, hauynge reysed vp their Trophe there in signe of victorye: they layde siege vnto the towne, and determyned to enclose it on al sydes. But they being occupyed in that worke, the Peloponesyans that were within the castell of Menda yssued fourth by nyght. And in despite of them that helde them assieged: they passed by the sea coaste, and the more parte came through the campe of the Athenyans so that they entredde into Scyone. In thies enterfaictes Perdiccas for despyte of Brasidas, made his appoynctment wt the capytaynes Athenyans, which thyng he had determyned from the retourne that the sayd Brasidas made from Lynceste, hauinge a good bende of Thessalyens hys frendes, by whome he was alwayes bifore time sarued. And for that, that Sytias requyred him, that in declaring himself that he would do some good saruice for the Athenians, and also for his owne comoditie he would well empesche that the Peloponesians should no more entre into his lande, he denyed passaige vnto Ysthagoras Lacedemonyan, who conducted the army by lande of the sayd Peloponesians for to ioigne himself with Brasidas, and furthermore defended hym, that he shoulde not take into hys saruice, any of the Thessalyens. But that notwithstanding, that same Ysthagoras and Amenias & Arysteus with hym, who were sente by the Lacedemonyans vnto Brasidas for to see in what estate, the cases were: dyd passe & came vnto Brasidas, hauing in their cõpaignie certaine yonge parsones. And though that it was defended by thordenãces of the towne, that they, which had charge of any place: shulde no cõmytt it to any other whatsoeuer parsone: yet neuerthelas, they appoyncted Clearidas, sonne of Cleonymus to the keypnge of Amphipolis, and to Torona Tellidas, the sonne of Hegelander. The same somer, the Thebayns bett downe the walles of the Thespians, chargyng them that they hadde confederacion wyth the Athenyans, whiche thynge they were mynded in tymes passedde to haue done. But than yt was more easye for them, for that, that in the battaille, whiche they hadde had agaynst the Athenyans, the more parte of their yonge people were slayne. Also in that same somer, the tẽple of Juno, whiche was at Argos, was burned through faulte of Chrysis, that was than Abbesse. Who, goynge to lyght a lampe nigh to the crownes of the goddesse, felle a slepe: so that bifore she did awake: all was in fyerre. By reasone whereof, fearynge that the Argiues would do her some displaisir: in the night time, she fledde fromethence into Philontus. Whereupon the Argiues accordyng to their lawes and ordenances did depose her, and in her place didde put one Phenides, notwithstandynge that the sayed Chrysis hadde bene there presidente eighte yeares and an halfe, as the warre hadde endurredde. Aboutes the ende of somer, the Athenyans hauynge enuironedde Scyona wyth a walle on all sydes, they dyd putte within yt good garnysonnes, and after retournedde vnto Athens. The wynter followynge, was peasable betwene the Athenyans and the Peloponesians, by meane of the trefues. But the Bantynyens and the Tegetes, hadde battaylle togiders, ayther hauynge the ayde of hys allyes, nigh vnto Laodicum whiche is in the lande of Drisside, of the whiche battaylle the victorye was vncertayne. For the ryghte poynete or wynge of ayther partie was brokene and putte to flyght. By occasion whereof, aither of the sayd parties reysed and sette vp their Trophe in tokene of victory, and fromthence dyd sende their spoylles, that they hadde gotten of thenemyes, to be offered at the temple of Delphos. For there was also many deade, aswelle on the one parte, as of the other. And bifore, that yt myght be parceyued who hadde the victorye or better, the nyght departedde theym. Neuerthelas the

Ysthagoras.

Amenius.

Aristeus.

Clearidas.

Tellidas.

the tẽple of Juno was burned of the abbesse

Chrysis

Phanus

Laodicum.

Tegetes kepte the campe all that same nyght and dyd sette vp seuen at the same houre their trophe vpon that self place. And the Mantynyans retyred into Bucolion. And within a certaine tyme after, dyd sett vp theirs dyrectly agaynst the other. Aboute the ende of wynter, Brasidas enterprysedde secretly to haue taken Potidea. Hauyng some intelligence and confederacio of some that were wythin. And he came by nyght vnto the walle, and rayled vp his ladders for to mount, bifore that they of the towne perceyued it. For he had espyeall there that whan the watche was changed, he that hadde the keppynge of that same quarter of the walle remoued to go to an other place. Whiche thinge Brasidas vnderstoode by the sowne of a lytle belle, which he of the watche dyd ringe departyng frome hys place, and caryed it into the other quarter. Wherby whilest he was in remouyng: and bifore that he was come agayne into hys place, the ladders were repsed vp. But as Brasidas wouldе haue mounted, the matter was perceyued. Wherefore he was constrayned to retyre that selfe nyght with his armye. Thus endeth the wynter of that same yeare, whiche was the nyneth of the warre, that Thucydides hathe wrytten.

Bucolion.

And so endeth the fourth booke.

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How the Athenians by the conducte of Cleon didde take the cytie of Torone from the Peloponesians. And of one voyage that Phear Athenyen made into Italy and into Sycile.

The fyrste Chapter.

THE somer followyng ended the firste yeare of the trefues, to wytte, the daye of the feaste of Pythie. Durynge whiche tyme, the Athenyans chased oute of the Ile of Delos, those, that therein inhabyted, for that, that they thought, for some auncient consideracion, that they were not good lyuers. And that there rested, but onely that, for accomplysshe the purgacion of the place, whereof we haue spokene herebifore. And that hauynge taken awaye the sepulcres and monumentes of the dead, they shulde also chase fromethence the lyuynge euylle lyuers, for to please and pacefye the goddes. And they, that were dryuene fromethence: repaired into the towne Atrampteum, in the countrey of Asie, to whome Pharnaces dyd geue place for to inhabitte, as they came thider. After that the trefues was ended, Cleon went wyth thyrty shyppes into Thrace. Hauynge in the same shyppes, twelue houndredde footemenne all well armed, beinge all Athenyans, and three houndred horsemen with a greate nomber of allyes by consente of the Athenyans, whome the sayed Cleon hadde thereunto inducedde and perswadedde. And beynge aryuedde bifore Scyona: whiche

Atramittii. Pharnaces.

whiche was yet besieged, he dydde take a certene nomber of the garnisone which was at the siege, and wente therewith to the porte of Colophonians, which was not farre distante frome the cytie of Tozone. And vnderstandynge by certayne fugityues, that Brasidas was not there, and that those, that he hadde left there, coulde not resiste hys puissance: he descendedde frome the shyppes and came by lande agaynste the cytie, haupnge lefte twentye of hys shyppes, for to enuirone and enclose the porte. And he wente directly agaynste the newe walles and rampars that Brasidas hadde made, for to enclose the suburbes wythin the towne. And to the intente that it shoulde haue bene all one porte, he dydde beate downe the olde walles that deupdedde the towne frome the suburbs. So the Athenyans dydde comme at the aryualle to geue the assaulte to the walles. Agaynste whome Salitelidas, who was lefte capptayne wythin for to defende the towne, resisted as welle as he myght with the people that he hadde. But seynge that he coulde not preuayle, and also fearynge that those whiche were in the shyppes aboute the porte, shoulde enter into the towne by that same quarter, whiche was hooly vnfurnyshedde: and by that meane leste that he shoulde be takene bothe bifore and behynde: he retyred wyth the moste diligence that he myght into the olde towne. But the people of the shyppes that were landed at the porte, hadde alreadye gottone the sayed towne: and those that dydde geue the assaulte at the newe wall, followed hym syerslye. And entred foote for foote at hys tayll into the olde cytie, ouer the rubbyshe of the olde walle that was broken downe. And so they dydde slaye a greate nomber of Lacedemonyans and of Cytizeins that they encountredde makynge defense, and dydde take one parte of theyme prysoners, amonge whome was Salitelidas, that was the capptayne. Nowe hadde Brasidas been aduertisedde of the commyng of the Athenyans and came to the succours of Tozona wyth the moste diligence that he myght. But beyng in the waye aduertisedde of the takyng of the towne, he retourned. And fayled to come in tyme vnto the succours, but the space of Journeying of foorty stades or thereaboutes. The Athenyens haupnge gottone the towne, dydde take the weomen and chyldren into saruytude and bondage, and as touchyng the men alwell Lacedemonyans as those of the towne and other of the countrey of Chalcyde, they sente them all to Athens, whiche were aboute seuen houndred. Whereof the Lacedemonyans were afterwardes rendred by appoynctmente, and the other were delyuered vnto the Olynthiens for to change wyth lyke nomber of their people, whiche were prysonners. In the selfe tyme the Beotians dydde take by trahisoune the walle of Panacte, whiche was of the confynes and border of the Athenyans. And Cleon haupnge lefte a good garnysonne wythin Tozona, wente by sea vnto Athon nyghe vnto Amphipolis. And Phear lone of Eraliistratus beyng cholene by the Athenyans capptayne of an other armye by sea, with twoo compaignyons wente into Italye and into Sycile wyth two shyppes onelye. And the occalyon wherefore they were sente thider was thys. After that the Athenyans were departedde oute of Sycile: by the appoynctmente that the Syciliens hadde made amonge themselfe, lyke as is bifore reherled: the Leontyns, hadde withdrawin into their cytie a greate nomber of people, by occasion whereof, the people perceyuynge themself so encreased determynedde for to parte the landes of the towne by the hedde, whereof the rychest and prynipalle men beynge aduertysedde, they chasedde the greatest partie of the common people, oute of the cytie. Whiche wente frometheuce, some hider, some thider, and lefte the cytie as voyde and desolate. And sonne after dydde render theymeselfe to the Syracusains. who receyuedde theym into their cytie as citizeins. But afterwardes some

Panactum.

Athos.

Phear.

amõg them whome it aggreued to be there: went into their countrey: and soudainely dydde take, one quarter of the cytie of Leonee named Phoces and one other place without the towne in the terrytorry thereof, named Bzicinias, which was verye stronge. And thider manye of the exiles dydde comme for to rendre themself and dyd defende themself within the walles the beste that they myght, agaynst them of the cytie. The Athenyans being thereof aduertised, sent the sayd Phear and dyd geue him charge, for to practise their allyes and other of the sayd countrey to dympnyshe and abate the puissance of the Syzaculsains, which dayly increased, and for to succoure the Leontyns. Phear than beinge arryued in the countrey: dydde by hys practique gette the Camerins and the Acragantyns. But afterwardes beinge comme to Gela and syndynge the caules dysposed contrarye to hys opinyon, he passed no further, knowyng that he shulde do nothing there. But in hys retournynge alonge oute of Sycile, he comforted them onely with woordes, passynge those of Catana & those of Bzycinnias, and afterwardes retourned fromethence into hys countrey. But bifore, he had aswell at his commynge into Sycile, as at his retourne, practised certayne cyties of Italye for to make allyance with the Athenyans. And moreouer passynge alonge out of Sycile at his retourne he encoūtred certene citizens of Locres, who retourned by sea frome Nellana, fromewhence they were dryuene by the Nellanyans after that they hadde contynued a certene tyme maisters of the cytie, by meanes of a sedicion and mutynerye, that chanced in the cytie, soone after the appoynctment of the Sycilians, by occasiō whereof one of the parties parceyuing it self to be the more feeble, called the Locryans, vnto his ayde. Who sente thider a good nomber of their citizeins, which were by this meane maisters of the cytie, for a certene time throughe the ayde of the parte, that hadde calledde theyme thider, but specially they were dryuene frome thence and retourned home, whan Phear dydde encounter, theyme, as is aboue sayed. Who dydde them, no displeasure, for somuche as in passynge hys iourney: he hadde appoyncted and made allyance with them of the citie of Locres in the name of the Athenias. Although that at the appoinmente whiche hadde bene bifore tyme made amonge the Sycilians, they alone hadde refused the allyance of the sayd Athenyans, nother yet at this present had made yt, hadde it not bene that they hadde than warre agaynste them of Itone and Mele, whiche were their neyghbours and burgeoles. And sone after Phear arryuedde at Athens.

Phoces. Bzicinnias. Gela. Catana. Nellana. Phear. Itones. Melei.

How Bzasidas had a victory against Cleon and the Athenyans nigh vnto Amphipolis, wherein both the cappytaynes were slayne.

The.ii. Chapter.

Leon at hys departynge frome Tozona, toke his iourney towardes Amphipolis, and passynge his iourney at his commynge fourthe of Eione he taketh by assault Stagirus in the countrey of Andzia. And he thought to haue takene Galepsus in the countrey of Thassians, but he failed therof. And so retourned to Eione. Beinge at whiche place, he commaunded Perdiccas, that inluyng the allyance, whiche he had lately made wyth the Athenians, he shulde come vnto hym with his puissance. And the lyke he also commanded in Thzace vnto Polles kynge of Odomantins, who than hadde a greate bende of Thzacians to his souldeours, whose commyng Cleon attended at the

Tozona Eione. Stagirus. Galepsus.

at the sayd place of Cione. Whiche thyng beyng come to the knowlaige of Brasidas, he with hys armye dydde come forth to lodge nygh vnto Cerdylium. Whiche is an hyghe and stronge place in the countrey of Argilians on the other syde of the Ryuer verye nyghe Amphipolis. Out frome whiche place all thynges that hys ennemyes dydde, myght easelye bene sene: lyke as they also myght see hym. Cleon (euene as Brasidas thoughte) marched wyth hys armye agaynste Amphipolis, not passynge anny thynge of Brasidas, who hadde but a thousande fyue houndredde Thracyans, huyred souldyars, togiders wyth the Edoniens all well armedde, and a certene nomber of horsemenne, aswell Myrcyniens as Chalcydians, besydes the thousande that he hadde sente into Amphipolis, and they myght be in all two thousande footemen and three houndredde horsemen, of the whiche he dydde take a thousande fyue houndred and mounted to Cerdylium, and he sent the other into Amphipolis to the succours of Clearydas. As touchynge Cleon, he kepte hymselfe styll without enterprisyng any thynge, vntyll that he was constrayned by the meane of that whiche Brasidas thought would happene, that is, that hys people shulde be displeased to tary there wythout faightynge, and reputed Cleon to be slacke and of small knowlaige of warre, in comparisonne of Brasidas, whome they estemed to be an hardye man and a good Capatayne. And somuche the more, for that that they were vnwyllynglye comme wyth hym and agaynste their wylles. Whereupon Cleon, vnderstandynge their murmuratiō and to thintentthat they shuld be no further displeased to be there: he ledde them frome the same place wherein they were, all in battaylle raye, in the self order that he vsed at Pylus, trustyng that he should spede wel. For he also thoughte that the ennemyes durste not comme forth to fyght agaynste hym. But he sayedde that he descendedde with hys campe onely for to see the place and yet neuertheias he attendedde a greate strengthe, not somuche for hope of vayncquishynge, in case he were constraynedde to fyghte, as for to enuyron the cytie and to assaille yt. Beynge than come wyth his armye whiche was fayer and puissant verye nyghe to Amphipolis, he lodgedde hymselfe vpon the toppe of an hylle, frome whence he myght see the countrey rounde aboute. And so marked verye diligently the Scyte of the cytie, chiefly frome the coste of Thracie, howe the ryuer of Scrymonie kepte his courle there, whiche he founde for hys aduauntage: for that, that he thought, that he myght retourne fromthence whan he would without faightyng. And on the other syde, he dyd see no man within the cytie, nother thole that entred nother that yssued or came fourthe of the gates. Whiche were all lockedde and shutte in. Wherefore he repentedde hymselfe verye soare, and thoughte that he hadde committed a greate faulte: for that, that he hadde not brought his Engines of artillery for to battre the towne. For he coniectured that yf he hadde hadde theym there, he myght easely haue taken it. Whan Brasidas vnderstoode that the Athenyans were dislodgedde, he lykewyse dislodgedde frome Cerdylium and entred with all hys bende into Amphipolis. Without makynge any semblante for to be wyllynge aythet to yssue fourthe or for to fyghte agaynste the Athenyans, for that, that he reputedde hymselfe not puissante for to do it. Not onelye somuche for the nomber of people, whereof he hadde welle nygh as many as they: but also for the preparacion and for the sorte of the people. For in the armye of the Athenyans, there was al the sorte of the Lemnyans and of the Imbryans. Wherefore he determyned for to putte in vre a cautell

Cerdilium

for to assaille theym. For, to make a mouſtre of hys people although that they were in ſufficiente nomber and welle armed, vnto the ennemyes he thoughte that yt ſhulde proffict him nothyng, but rather ſhulde geue courage to the ennemyes for to deſpiſe and contempne them. So he appoynted for the garde and defence of the cyte vnto Clearidas one houndred and fyfte men, and with the remanante, he deliberated for to assaille the Athenians, afore that they ſhulde departe from thence, thinking that they ſhulde be more eaſye to be ouercome being ſeparated from their ſuccours, than if he taryed till their ſayd ſuccours did come vnto theym. But afore the execuryng of his enterpryſe, he mynded for to declare it well vnto his ſouldiars, and alſo for to exhorte them manfully to doo and followe it. And therfore cauſed them all to assemble togiders. And afterwardes did ſpeake vnto them in this manner.

The narration of Brasidas vnto his ſouldiars.

LOrdes Peloponeſians, forſomuche as ye be come out of a lande and countrey, whiche for the hardynes, generoſite and noblenes of the inhabitances, hath alwayes lyued in lybertie and that ye, which be Dorians haue to fyght againſte the Ionyans, whome ye haue alwayes founde more feeble than your ſelf. It is not nedefull that I vſe many wordes, but onely to ſhewe you, the facion and manner that I haue determyned to kepe for to yſſue fourth agaynſte my ſayd ennemyes. To thintente that conſiderynge that I am wyllyng to aduenture and aſſay fortune with a ſmall nomber of people, without takyng all our puyſſance: ye ſhall not thereof be aſtonyed, featynge to be the weaker. For I conjecture that oure ennemye, who deſpyſeth vs, thynkynge that we dare not enterpryſe to come to fyght agaynſt hym, ys amounted in that high place onely for to ſee the countrey: and kepeth hymſelf without any order as is all thynges aſſured. And it happeneth oftentymes, that he, which diligently marketh therrour and faulte of his ennemye, and determyneth manfully for to aſſaille hym, not in ranked battaille nother in an appoynted iourney: but ſo as he parceyueth his aduantage, cometh to the effecte of his enterpryſe bothe to his honour and proffite. For alſo thoſe ſecrett and ſoubdayne eſkermouches that be made in warre, whereby ſpecially a man deceiueth his ennemyes and doeth ſeruice and ſuccour to hys frendes, do geue and attribute greate glory vnto the enterpryſers. Wherefore in the meane tyme that they be thus in diſorder and that they be in doubte of nothyng, and bifore that they diſſodge themſelf fromthence (whiche thing I thinke that they be willing to do rather than to tarye), I am determyned to geue the charge vpon theyme, with this nomber of people that I haue, whyleſt they be in thys wauerynge. And in doubt what they may do, bifore that they be reſolued amonge themſelf, and for to enter if I may: into the myddel of their army. And thou Clearidas, whan thou ſhalt ſee that I ſhalbe amõg them, and that thou parceyueſt that they be aſtonyed and afrayed, opnene thou the gates of the towne, and yſſue fourth ſoubdainely on the other ſyde, wyth the nomber of people, that thou ſhalt than haue, aſwell of the towne as eſtrangers, and come with the moſte diligence that thou mayſte, to the reſcue, for to ruſhe and paſſe throughe them. For I do thynke that in this doynge they ſhall be putt in greate feare. Forſomuche as they which come ſodainely afreſhe vnto a conflict, cauſe alwayes more drede and feare, than they which be in battaile afore. Wherfore for thy parte, ſhewe that thou arte a man of ſparte. And poue oure allyes followe hym manfullye: and thynke that the noble fayghtynge conſyſte the in haupnge good courage, to feare to receyue ſhame, and in obeyinge to poure

Capptaynes.

Cappytaynes. And that if this ꝑsente daye ye shewe youre selfe as baliante men, ye shalle acquyre and gette lybertie, and shalle be frome hencefourthewarde called compaignyons and allyes of the Lacedemonians. And that doinge otherwyse, thoughe youe maye eskape, to be all slayne, and youre towne destroyed. or at the beste that maye happene, ye shall be in moore greuous seruytude than hitherto ye haue bene. And also shalbe cause for to lette, that the other Grekes shall not recouer their lybertie. Understandinge than of what ymportance thys battaylle ys, be myndefull to shewe yourselfe people of vertue, and I wol declare for my parte, that I can aswell fyght beyng nygh and at hande stroakes, as I can exhorte and encourage other beinge a farre of. Brasidas hauynge thus animated hys people, he putteth them in order for to yssue fourth wyth hym, and lykewyse those, that shulde comme afterwardes wyth Clearidas out of the gate of Thrace, as is before saide. But forsomuche as he hadde bene sene by the enemys, whan he descended frome Cerdylium, and also after that he was entred into the towne, specyally in makynge hys sacrefyce in the temple of the goddesse Pallas, whyche is wythout the towne very nyghe vnto the walles, Cleon was aduertised that there was some enterpryse in hande, as he was in markynge the countrey rounde aboute the towne, lyke as hath bene byfore sayed. Whyche thynge might easely be knowen aswell for that that it myght clerely and playnly be sene that they that were wythin the towne, did arme themself, as also for that, that a man myght see at the yssuinge of the gates the marchinges and the traicte of the people and of horses that yssued fourth. wherof ỹ same Cleon was greatly astonied, and soubdaynely descended from the place wherin he was, for to see, if it were so. And after that he had knowin that it was the verytie, hauynge already determined not to fyght vntill hys succours, whyche he attended and loked for, shulde haue bene arryued: and consyderynge that if he dydde retyre by the coste that he had marked and deuysed, he shulde tomuche clerely bene sene, he caused a signe of retraytte to be geuene, and afterwards dyd commaunde hys people, that they shulde begynne to retyre frome of the syde of the lefte poynct (for on the othere poincte it was not possible) and that they shulde make towardes Eiona. But seynge that those of the sayd lefte poynct dyd marche to slackly, he caused them of the ryght poincte wherein he was, to tourne into that parte, and there be himself wente, leauynge by that meane the myddell of the battaille nakedde and discouered, makynge the mooste dylygence that he myght for to retyre. Duryng thys tyme Brasydas knowynge that it was tyme to marche, parceyuinge specyally the enemys to wauer, he sayd vnto them that were wyth hym, and lykewise vnto the other, thies people woll not tary, for ye see howe their speares and their heddes remoue to and frome, and neuer people dyd that, whyche were wylling to fyght, Therfore open the gates, and let vs wyth greate couraige charge vpon them wyth the moste diligence that we may. And fourthwyth the gates were opened in that quarter, that he had appoyncted, aswell those same of the towne as the same of the rampare and of the longe walle, and yssued wyth hys people in a greate course, kepyng the straight way, where a man may presently see the Trophee in token of victorye rayled vp. And so he rushed into the middell of the battayle of the ennemys, whyche he founde hooly astonyed for the disorder and sore afrayed for the hardynes of their ennemyes. In suche sorte, that he dyd putt thē incontynently to fyght. And sone after, Clearydas yssued fourthe by the gate of Thrace, lyke as he had bene appoyncted, who rushed in on the other syde. whereof the Athenyans parceyuinge themselfe so soubdaynely and contrary to their expectacyon assayled on all partes, were yet more afraied, insomuch that they that

were in the lefte poynete, who had takene the waye of Eione, dydde flye wythoute annye order. In thys meane tyme Brasydas charginge vpon the ryghte poinct, was sooze hurte, so that he dydde fall to the earthe, but byfoze that the Athenyans dydde parceyue yt, he was releuedde by his men that were aboute him. And yett neuerthelas the ryghte poynete of the sayde Athenyans kepte it selfe moft fyrme. But whan Cleon dydde parceyue, that it was noo tyme to tarye annye longer, he fledde, and so was encountredde by a footeman of the ennemyes Myrcinians, who dydde slaye hym. And yet neuerthelas thole that were wythe hym stode in their defence agaynft Clearydas at the mountyng of the hyll, and there they dyd fyghte valiantly, vntill that the horsemen and fotemen lightly armed, aswel Myrcynians as Chalcydes came vpō thē, who wyth ftroakes of, shot conftrayned them to forfake the place and to flye. And by that meane all the hooste of the Athenyans was brokenne, and fledde awaye some one waye and the other on the other syde: euery one the beste that he coulde towardes the mountaignes. And they that coulde eskape retyred to Eiona. After that Brasidas was brought agayne into the cytie, bifore that he rendredde the fpyrytte, he knewe that he had had the victorye and lyued not longe after. As touchyng Clearydas he purfued the enemyes as farre as he could wyth the reft of the fouldiars. After he came agayne into the place of the battaille, and whan they hadde fpoyliedde the deade, they fette vppe their Trophee in the fame place in tokenne of victorye. And that done they all accompaygnyedde the bodye of Brasidas wyth the habillementes and othere furnyture and buryedde yt wythin the cytie bifore the market place, whyche at thys prefente is there. In whyche place, the Amphipolitrins caufedde afterwardes to be edyfyedde for hym a ryghte honnorable fepulcre and a Chapell as for a faynct. And decredē ordeyned facrifices vnto hym as faynctes had: vō tourneys and yearely honnors. And alfo they attrybuted vnto hym the tytle, to haue founded and peopled the cytie. And all thynge that was founde by wrytynge or by paynting and graueynge, makynge memorye of Agnon, who hadde bene their founder, they toke awaye and defaced, reputynge Brasidas to be their deliuerer. And they dydde the rather thys thynge for to pleafe the Lacedemonyans, for feare that they had afterwardes of the Athenyans. For they alfo thought yt moore their profitt and their honnour for to exhybitte thole honnours vnto Brasidas, than vnto Agnon, for the ennmytie that they hadde agaynfte the Athenyans. Unto whom neuerthelas they dydde render their deade corpfes. whyche were founde aboutes fire houndredde. where of the othere were founde, but feuenne. By meane that thys was not properly a battaylle, but a fouddayne onfett, wherein there was no greate reefiftence. Aftere that the corpfes were rendredde, the Athenyans retournedde by fea vnto Athenes and Clearydas wythe hys people abodde in the Cytie for to geue order in the gouernemente thereof.

Ramphias. Autocharydas. Thrachinis.

Thys ouerthrowe happened aboute the ende of Sommer. In whyche felfe tyme Ramphias and Authocaridas Lacedemonyans conduttedde by fea nyne houndred men of warre into the countrey of Thrace, for to renforce and ftrengthene the armye of the Peloponeffians. And they beyng arryued in the tytie of Heracles in the contreye of Trachine, whiles they were geuynge order for the affayres of the towne, hadde newes thereof.

How the Lacedemonians made peace for themselfe and theire allyes and afterwardes howe they made allyance amonge themself wythoute the othere. fo.C.xxx

☞The.iii.Chaptre.

IN the begynnynge of wynter those, that were wyth Ramphias passedde furthere vnto the mounte Pierie, whiche is in Thessale. But they of the countrey denyed them their passage. By occasion wherof & also haunyge vnderstande the death of Brasidas to whom that bend shulde haue bene brought, they retourned home. For they also thought, that yt was no tyme to renewe the warre, consideryng that the Athenyans were retourned and that they were not people for to parfaicte and acheue the enterpryses of Brasidas. And on the othere syde they dyd know that at their departure from Sparta, the Lacedemonyans were more enclynedde to peace, than vnto warre. And in effecte after the conflycte at Amphipolis and the retourne of Ramphias frome Thessale, there was no exploicte of warre betwene the Athenyans and the Lacedemonyans, for both parties desired rather peace than warre. To wyt, the Athenyans by cause of the losse that they had had at Delos furst, and sone after at Amphipolis. By reasone wherof they estemed not their force, somuch as they did at the begynnyng whan it was spoken of the appoynctment, whych they refused, for that that they trusted to muche in their prosperytie, and also greatelye feared leste their allyes seynge their case and chance to declyne and decaye, shuld reuolte and rebelle, and therfore repented thē self hartely that they dyd not make peace fourthwyth after the victorye, that they had at Pylus. On the othere syde the Lacedemonyans desyred yt, forsomuch as it chaniced otherwyse in the warre, than fro the begynninge they thought yt wolde haue done. For they dyd thinke that wastynge the terrytorye of the Athenyans, in shorte tyme they shulde haue destroyed them and brought them vnder. And also for the greate losse whyche they hadde made at Pylus. whyche was the greateste that they of Sparte had euer had. And somuche the more, for that that the ennempes that were wythin Pylus and wythin Chitera ceased not to ouerronne and pillage their countrey there nerte adioygninge. And besydes that, their sklaues oftentymes rendredde themself to the sayd ennempes, and also were contynuelly in feare, leste the other wolde do the lyke, by encouraigemente of those, that were gone fro them. There was also an other reasone, that is, that the trefues whyche the sayde Lacedemonyans had made for thirty yeares wyth the Argyues shulde shortely erpyre, the whyche they were not mynded to contynue, excepte the sayd Argyues wolde render to them the lande of Cynuria. And also they parcepued theymself not to be puissant inoughe for to make warre both agaynste the Athenyans and againste them, and somuche the moore for that they fearedde leste some of the cyties that dyd take their partie in the countrey of Peloponese, wold tourne from their side, lyke as afterwardes it happened. For thies respectes and reasons both the one & the other partie desyred to haue peace. And chiefly the Lacedemonyans for to recouer the pryssonners whyche were taken in the Illande. who had ben thecause, wherfore (euen from the begynnynge that they were taken) the said Lacedemonyans procured and laboured the peace. But the Athenyans beynge pufte vp & sett in pryde wyth their prosperytie, wolde in no wyse heare thereof, hoppynge to do greater thynges, afore the warre shulde be ended. But after ỹ they were ouerthrowin at Delos, the Lacedemonyans, thynkynge that at the selfe houre, they Cinuria

wolde

wold haue bene moze tractable, accozded the trefues of one yeare. mindding, du
ringe that same, to intreate the peace ozelles a longer trefues. And aftere that,
happenedde the ouerethzowe of Amphipolis, whyche helpedde welle to the
peace. And somuche mooze that Bzasidas and Cleon were therein slayne. who
were the pzyncypall and chiefe that empeschedde the peace on boeth sydes. To
wytte; Bzasidas foz that, that he hadde goode foztune in warre, whereby he
hopedde the encrease of honnoure. And Cleone foz that, that he thoughte that
hys faultes and offences shulde bee mooze manyfeste in tyme of peace, than in
tyme of warre, and thatt men woolde nott geue somuche faythe vnto hys in-
uentions and euylle opynyons, if yt were peace. Wherevpon thoose twoo beyng
saylledde, remaynedde the twoo pzyncypall men of twoo Cyties, whereof ay-
there of theyme greatelye delyzedde peace, hopynge by meane thereof foz to ob-
teigne the pzyncipalytie in the sayde Cyties. To wytte, Plistoanax sonne of
Plistoa- nax. Pausanias kynge of Lacedemonye, and Nycias sonne of Niceratus Athenian,
Nycias. whyche was the beste Cappytayne that they foz that tyme hadde foz the warre,
and the same that hadde done the beste feates. wherefoze he thoughte yt beste
foz to make peace, in thys meane tyme, that the Athenyans were in good pzos-
peryte, to the intente that he hadde noo cause to lose (by annye inconuenience)
hys good foztune, and also that he hymselfe and the Cytezeins mighte be from-
thence fourthe in reste and tranquillitie. And that he myghte leaue his good re-
nomme aftere hym, that he neuer dydde noz counsailledde the thinge, where by
the Cytie coulde fynde him euille. whiche thynge mighte chaunce otherewise, yf
causes were commyttedde to the aduenture of warre: the daungers whereof he
eschuedde by the peace. And as touchynge Plistoanax he delyzedde yt, foz that,
that he was suspectedde frome the begynnynge of the warre, that he retourned
fromthence and hadde bzought agayne the armye of the Peloponesyans out of
the countreye and terryfoze of the Athenyans. By meane whereof all the dam-
mages that were afterwardes happenedde to the Lacedemonyans, were impu-
Aristo- cles. tedde vnto him. And furthermoze he was chargedde that he and Aristoteles his
bzother hadde entysedde a dyupnerelle that was at Delphos, and pzonouncedde
the answeres of the god Apollo, so that shee in the name of that god and as in-
spyzedde by hym, hadde answeredde vnto the Wellengers whiche the Lacede-
monyans hadde sente thider foz to vnderstande and knowe the wylle and opy-
nyon of the god touchinge the warre, in this manner and substance. The discente
and lignage of Jupiter beinge halfe goddes, shulde bzynge agayne theire gene-
ratyon, whyche is in an other lande, into their owne: ozelles shulde laboure the
lande wythe coultours of syluer. And thys didde he, foz somuche as hee was
banyshedde into Lycea, foz the suspycion that was hadde of hym that he had
takenne monney foz to retourne oute of the countreye of Athenes, in whyche
place of Lycea he taryedde a longe tyme. But by meane of the sayde answere
of the god, he was calledde agayne and receyued into the Cytie wythe the hon-
nours that were accustomably made vnto kynges at their entrynge. Nowe foz
to aboliche and take away thys infamy, he hartely delyzed peace, foz he thoughte
that cessynge the inconuenyences of the warre, noo occasion shulde be hadde foz
to repzoche nother to impute the sayde thynges vnto hym: specyallye the Cyte-
zeins hauynge recouerredde theire pzysonners. And that as longe as the warre
endurredde, the murmuratyon shoulde alwayes contynue. Foz it was neuere o-
therewyse, but whanne the people doo parceyue the incommodytyes and ad-
uersytyes of warre, they murmure alwayes agaynste the Pzynces and Rulers.

So

So thys parlement and treatie of peace endured all the wynter. And whan yt came about the ende of wynter, the Lacedemonyans made semblant for to reyse vp a greate armie, and sente throughe all the confederatedde cyties for to warne thē that they shuld make their apparell & preparation for to begynne the warre agayne at the cōmynge in of the spryngе tyme, for to putte the Athenyans into greater feare, and to geue theym occasyon for to condescende and agree to the peace. By meane whereof, aftere manye talkes and disputations, the peace was concludedde betwene theym in this substance, that ayther of the parties shulde render that whyche he had takene from the other, reserued that the Athenyans woolde reteigne Nysea, whyche was graunted to theym for that that they demaunded that Platea shulde haue bene restored vnto them, and the Thebains sayde to the contrary þ they had not taken yt by force, but that they of the towne dyd geue yt to them wyth their good wylle. And the Athenyans dydde saye the lyke of Platea. For thys cause all the confederates beynge assembled by the Lacedemonyans for thys matter, they were contente that the peace shulde be concluded, and in makynge the same, that Platea shuld remaigne to the Thebains, and Nisea to the Athenyans. Excepte the sayde Beotians, the Cozynthians, the Eliens and the Megarens, whyche were not content wyth thys peace. But that notwithstandynge, by comon decree, yt was concluded and swozne by the Imbassadours of the Athenyans at Sparta, and afterwardes confyrmed by the cōfedered cyties on both parties. whiche were wyllinge to kepe yt in the fourme & substance that followeth.

The fourme of the peace betwene the Lacedemonyans and the Athenyans.

FIrste as concernynge the publyque and comon temples, that yt be liefull to euery man to go vnto theym at his pleasure and wythoute any empeschement, and therin make hys requestes and consultatiōs vnto them that haue bene accustomed, and that men maye sende thider for that purpose all messengers aswell by sea as by lande. And as touchinge the temple of Apollo, which is in Delphos, that thole that haue the charge therof shall enioye their lawes, pryueleges, customes, landes, rentes and reuenues, euen so as they haue accustomedde. Item that the peace shalbe fyrme and sure wyth out deceit, fraude or male engyne, betwene the Athenyans and the Lacedemonyans, and their frendes, allyes and confederates for the space of fyfty yeares. And if there chaunce anny controuerlie or question betwene them that it shall be voided and determyned by iustyce, and not by warre. And also it shalbe swozne by othe on both parties by suche conuenaunt, that though the Lacedemonyans and theire confederates do render Amphipolis vnto the Athenyans, yet that the inhabitantes of that same cytie and of the other that shalbe restoredde to the sayde Athenians, may, if they thinke good, departe fromthence wyth their baguage and goodes, whider they woll, and that thole cyties whyche Aristides hath made tributaries shalbe free and franke. Item that it shal not be lawful to the Athenians nor their allyes nother to go nor to sende in armes to the sayd cyties that shalbe rendred vnto them for to do them hurte, as longe as they woll pay the accustomed trybute. And thole shalbe thies cyties that do followe, Argilus, Stagirus, Acanthus, Scolus, Olynthus and Spartalus, the whyche remaynedde newter wythout beynge allyed nother confedered to the Athenyans nother Lacedemonyans, reserued that if the Athenyans coulde induce and perswade them by good meanes, and wythout force and constraynte to be their allyes, it shulde be lawful for

Argilus. Stagirus. Acanthus. Scolus. Olynthus. Sparta lus.

for them to do it. Item that the Cyuernyans, the Sanyens and the Syngyens maye abyde in their cyties, euene as the Acanthians and the Olynthians do. Itē that the Lacedemonyans shall render to the Athenyans Panactum, and the Athenyans to the Lacedemonyans Coryphasum, Cythera, Metones, Pteleus, & Iralanta, togyders wyth all the pryſonners that they haue of theirs, aſwelle in the cyte of Athenes, as elleſwhere in their lande and power, and alſo thoſe, whyche they holde alleged at Scyone, aſwelle Lacedemonyans as Peloponeſyans, or of their frendes of whatſoeuer parte they may be, and generally al thoſe that Brasidas hadde ſente thyder. And moreouer that if there were anny Lacedemonyan or of theire allyes in pryſonne for whatſoeuer matter wythin the Cytie of Athenes or other place of their power, that he ſhalbe releſed. And that the Lacedemonyans and alſo theire confederates ſhall do the lyke on their partie to the Athenyans and their allyes. And as touchynge the Scyonyans, the Toronyans: the Sermylians, and the other cyties, whyche the Athenyans do holde, they ſhal conſulte togiders and ſhall thereupon deuyſe whatte ſhalbe done wythe theym, and ſhall cauſe them to make othe to the Lacedemonyans, and to the other confederatedde Cyties. And boeth the Cyties ſhalle make yt the one to the othere, lyke as they haue accuſtomed, to wytte the greateſte that they maye make, conteignynge in effecte that they ſhall kepe the ſayde Chappters and treaties iuſtly and purely. And the ſame othe ſhalbe renewed euery yeare, and ſhalbe putte and wrytronne in tables of Stoane at Olympus, at Pythye in the diſtreacte and wythin the Cytie of Athenes, and lykewyſe in the Cytie of Lacedemonye in the place namedde, Amycleus. Item if there bee annye thynge that ys not determynedde, whyche neuerthelas ſhalle afterwardes be founde reaſonable for boethe partyes: that ſame maye be addedde by the Athenyans and Lacedemonyans. And thys appoynctemente was acceptedde at Sparte, whanne Pliſtolas dydde gouerne and was chiefe offycer of the towne, the .xxvi. daye of the moneth Artheſius. And it was accepted at Athenes whan Alceus dyd gouerne the .xb. daye of the moneth Elaphenolius. And on the bihalfe of the Lacedemonians dydde ſwere vnto it, Pliſtolas, Domageſtus, Ehion, Metagenes, Acanthus, Daithus, Iſthagoras, Philocaridas, Zeuxidas, Antippus, Tellis, Alcinadus, Empedias, Menus and Lamphias. And for the Athenyans, Lampon, Iſſimonius, Nicias, Laches, Enthymedus, Procles, Pythodorus, Agnon, Myrtillus, Thraſidas, Theogenes, Ariſtocetes, Iolcius, Thimocrates, Lyon, Lamachus, and Demoſthenes. And thys appoynctemente was ſworne aboute the ende of the wynter, and the begynninge of the furſte ſprynge followynge made tenne entier yeares and ſome dayes ouer aftere the begynnynge of the warre, whiche was at the fyrſte courſe and inuaſion that the confederated Peloponeſians made into the lande of Athenes. whyche warre me thynketh beſte, for hauynge the moore certaintie thereof, for to diſtingue and deuyde by the tyme of the yeare, that ys to wytte, by the two ſeaſons of wynter and ſommer, rather than by the name and changinge of the offycers of the pryncipalle Cyties. And for to accompte truelye it ſhalle be founde that thys warre from the begynnynge ſuche as aboue, vntill the ſayd appoinctemente, endured tenne ſommers and tenne wynters, whych be tenne whole yeares. Enſuynge thys appoynctemente the Lacedemonyans rendred incontynently the pryſonners, whyche they had in their power, for it happened to them by lott or chaunce to render furſte. And ſo they ſente their ambaſſadoures, to wytte, Iſthagoras, and Menas, towardes Clearydas for to commaunde hym that he ſhulde render to the Athenyans the Cytie of Amphipolis, whyche he dyd holde, and vnto the othere cytes confederatedde for to make, confirme

Panactum. Coryphaſum Cythera Metones. Pteleus Iralata

the moneth of Artheſius the .xxvi. daye of the moneth Elaphenolius

firme and execute the sayed appoynctmente. whiche thynge manye of the sayed cyties refuiedde to do pretendynge that it was not for their profyte. Clearidas also for to gratefie the Chalcidians refuiedde to render and delyuer vp the sayd cytie, sayinge that he couide not doo it without them, but neuerthelas he wente fromthence with thambassadours to Lacedemonie for to excuse himself, if they woulde haue charged him for that he obeyed them not, and also for to essaye yf thappoynctmente mighte be refourmed or amendedde in that poynct. But vnderstandinge that it was concorded and concludedde, he forthwith returned to the sayed place of Amphipolis by the commandemente of the Lacedemonyans. who commandedde him expressely that he should redelyuer the cytie to the Athenyans, or if the citizens made any difficultie therein, that he shoulde comme fromthence withall the Peloponesians that were within it. As touchyng the other confederated cyties, their ambassadours being comme to the Lacedemonyans, they shewed them that the sayed appoynctement shoulde be preiudicial vnto them, and that they woulde not kepe it, if certayn articles therof were not refourmed. Neuerthelas after that the sayd Lacedemonyans hadde hearde them, they woulde not in any poynct change that whiche they hadde done. But sente them awaye without other depeacche. And sone after they made allyance with the Athenyans. For somuche as the Argiues had refusedde to enter into allyance with them. For they thoughte verely, that without the Athenyans, they couide not do theym any greate hurte. And that the more parte of the Peloponesians would not meddle with the warre. But rather if they might, they would ioigne with the Athenyans. Beinge than for a certaine tyme debated and reasoned of the sayed allyance in the cytye of Sparte by thambassadours of the Lacedemonyans, it was fynally concluded in the manner and fourme that followeth.

The fourme of the allyance.

THe Lacedemonyans shalbe allyed with ỹ Athenyans in such fourme that if annye one estranger entre into the lande of the sayde Lacedemonyans for to do dammaige therin, the Athenians shal ayde them wyth all their puissance in all the sortes that they maye, and if the sayde estrangers wasted their terrytorye, they shulde be reputed common ennemyes alwell of the Athenyans, as of the Lacedemonyans, and they shalle togither warre against him, & lykewise make their appointment or attonement togiders. And they shall do the sorelayde thynges diligently and loyallye wythoute fraude or yll meanynge. And the Lacedemonyans shall do the lyke towards the Athenyans if annye estraunger do come to assaylle them in their lande. And moreouer if the bondemen or esclaues of the Lacedemonyans do comme to assaile the Athenyans, they shalbe lykewyse bounde for to ayde them wyth their power. whyche allyaunce was sworne by the selfe parsonaiges, whiche had sworne the peace, and they bounde themself to renewe the sayde othes yerely as the othere, and to wrvte them in two tables of stoane, whyche shulde be sette the one in the other cytie of Sparte nyghe the temple of Apollo, in the Courte that is calledde Amycleus: and the othere in the Cytie of Athenes nyghe to the same of Mynerua. And furthermore yt was spoken, that if durynge the sayde allyance yt semed good to the sayd partyes for to adde or change annye thynges in the sayde articles, they myghte doo it by common accorde. Thys allyance was made ryghte soone after the treatie of peace, and that the Athenyans hadde rendred their prisoners that they hadde takenne in the Ylande. In the begynninge of the Sommer, whych was the ende of the tenth sommer after the beginning of the warre.

¶ Howe the peace bytwene the Athenyans and Peloponesyans was not kepte.

And howe the Corynthyans and some othere cyties of Peloponese made allyance wyth the Argiues againste the Lacedemonyans.

¶ The.iiii.Chapter.

THis peace, made betwene the Lacedemonyans and the Athenyans after that the warre hadde dured tenne yeares, lyke as hath bene sayde: was kepte onely bitwene the twoo cyties. For the Corynthiens and some othere Cyties of Peloponese woolden not holde yt. And soone after moued a newe mutynerye and questyon bytwene the Lacedemonyans and the other confederates. And by succellyon of tyme, thole same Lacedemonyans came into greate suspytyon of the Athenyans, pryncipally by reasone of certayn articles of allyance whyche were not well executed. Neuerthelas they kept themself frome entrynge the one into the lande of the othere ennemylyke the space of sixe yeares and sixe monethes hooly. But afterwardes they endommaged theselfe greatly the one the other at dyuers tymes wythout breakynge vtterly the allyaunce. But they entertaigned yt by treiues, whyche were ryghte euylle kepte the space of tenne yeares, and the same erpyred were constraynedde to comme to opene warre. The whyche Thucydides hath wrytonne by order lyke as it was made from yeare to yeare, alwell in the wynter as in the sommer vntyll the Lacedemonyans and their allyes had subuerted and destroyed the Empyre of the Athenyans and taken the longe walles of the cytie and the porte Pyreus. which warre, the furste and the seconde beynge compryled, endured in all. xxvii. yeares. Out of the whyche terme a man canne not by reasone subtray or take oute the tyme that the treatie of peace endurede, for he that shall regarde whatte was done cannot iudge that the same peace hadde anye effycacytie, considered that it was not executed nor obserued of the one syde nor of the other, in thynges that were namely spokenne of and appoynctedde. And on the othere parte bothe the one partie and the other dyd trangresse therein in the warre that was made at Mantynea and in Epidaure and in manye othere thynges. Also in Thrace thole whyche had bene allyes were enemyes, and the Beocians made treiues for tenne dayes onely. wherfore he that shall truly accompte the tenne yeres, that the furste warre endured, and the tyme that palled by treiues, and howe longe the seconde warre endured, he shall synde the recoumpte of the yeares to be suche as I haue shewed and certayne dayes ouer. The whyche terme was pronosticated by the aunswers and oracles of the gods. For I remember to haue oftentymes harde saye of many people commonly that the same warre shuld endure three nynethes of yeares. Durynge whyche tyme I lyued in good helthe of my parsone, and of my vnderstandynge & dydde take payne to vnderstande all that than was done although I was in exile durynge the sayde tyme, the space of tenne yeares after that I hadde bene sente Cappytayne of the armye by sea vnto Amphipolis. And forsomuche as hauynge bene presente at the thynges as than was done on the one syde and on the othere in the tyme that I haunted the warre, I had no lesse knowlayge durynge the tyme that I was bannyshed, in the countrey of Peloponesyans, but I hadde better leasure to haue vnderstandynge and to wryte the trouthe thereof. wherfore I woll declare the questyons and controuersyes that happened

happened after the sayd tenne yeares and also the disturbance of the trefues, and so vnto the ende, alle that was done in the sayd warre. After than that the peace was made for fyfftie yeares and the allyance betwene the Athenians and the Lacedemonians, & that the Ambassadours of the cyties of Peloponese which were come to Lacedemonie were retourned into their houses, like as hath bene aboue sayde: the Cozynthyans practised to reallye themself with the Argiues. And at the begynnynge they dyd speake wyth some of the pzyncipallest of the cytie of Argos, shewyng them that insomuche as the Lacedemonyans had made allyance wyth the Athenyans their mortall ennemys, not for to defende the lybertie of the Peloponesians, but for to bzynge them agayne into seruytude: it was very expedyente that the Argyues shulde deuise theron for to defende the common lybertie, and to perswade vnto all the fre cyties of Grece, that wold lyue in their lybertie and occozdinge to their lawes: that they shulde make allyance with thē, for to geue ayde the one to the other, whan yt shulde be nedefull, and for to chose people and cappytaynes that shulde haue authozytie for to pzouyde in all affayres, to the entente that the enterpzyses shulde be secrette, and that the commons specyallye shulde not be aduertysedde of the affayzes, whereunto yt shulde be thoughte that they woolde not consente: for there were manye of theyme (sayde the sayde pzactisans of Cozynthe) whyche for the hatredde that they haue agaynste the Lacedemonyans woulde reallye themselfe wyth the sayde Argiues. whiche thynges haupnge bene reapoztedde by the sayde partyculers of Argos to the offycers of the cytie, and by those offycers vnto the commynaltie: a decree was made, whereby they dydde geue vnto twelfe men, whyche they didde chose of theirs, full power and puissance for to contracte and conclude amytie and allyance in name of the Argyues wyth all the free cyties of Grece, relatiued the Athenyans and Lacedemonyans. wyth whome they myghte treate nothyng excepte they furste aduertysed the commynaltie therof. And thys the said Argiues dyd aswell for that that they parceyued that warre shulde be by them made vp the Lacedemonyans, forsomuche as the ende of the trefues approched: as also that they hoped by that meane to make themself Capitains and Pzynces of Peloponese, for that, that the pzyncypallytie and the gouernemente of the Lacedemonyans was already hated and displaisant to the moze parte of the sayd Peloponesyans, and they begaune to contempne and despyse theyme, for the losses whyche they hadde hadde, and for the dammaiges that they hadde receyued in the warre. And on the other syde the Argyues were amonge alle the Grekes the rycheste, for that, that they had not medled wyth the warre pzecedinge, by cause of thys, that they had allyance wyth bothe parties. By meane wherof duryng the sayde warre, they were enryched and encreased greately. By suche manner than wente the Argyues, drawynge to their allyance all the other Grekes, that wold allye themselfe vnto them wyth their good wylle. Amonge whome the Mantynyans were the furste and their adherentes, for that, that they had (the warre endurynge wyth the Athenyans) subtrahed one partie of the countreye of Arcadie from the obeysslance and amytie of the Lacedemonyans, and hadde tournedde it vnto them, wherof they doubted greately leste the sayd Lacedemonyans wold haue remembrance, though that, for that tyme they made no semblante therof. wherefoze byfoze that anny other inconuenyent happened vnto them, they were ryght wyllynge to ioygne themself wyth the sayde Argiues, considerynge that it was a greate and a puissaunte Cytie aswelle of people, as of ryches, sufficiente inoughe for to reliste the Lacedemonyans, and also was gouernedde by the estate of the commynaltye aswelle as that same of the sayde Mantynyans. At

whole example, manye other cyties of Pelopenese dydde the lyke. For they assuredly thoughte that those Mantynyans woolde not haue done yt, but that they hadde vnderstoode some thynge therin more than comonly was knowin, and also in despyte of the Lacedemonyans, agaynste whome they were displeased, for manye causes. But pryncypallye for thys, that in one artycle of the peace, made bytwene the Athenyans and the sayde Peloponesyans, yt was spokene and conformedde by othe, that yf there were annye thynge, whyche semed for the beste to be takenne awaye or changedde, those of the two cyties, to wytte of Athenes, and of Lacedemonye myghte doo yt, wythoute therein makynge anny mention of the other confedered Cyties of Peloponese. whyche thynge dydde putt al the Peloponesyans into greate suspytion, leste the sayde twoo Cyties hadde accordedde and agrede for to subdewe theym. For they verelye thoughte, that if they hadde estemedde theyme, as theire allyes and confederates, they shulde haue couched and comprehended in the sayde artycle the othere cyties of Peloponese, aswelle as those twoo. whyche was the pryncipall cause that inducedde them to make allyaunce wyth the Argyues. The Lacedemonyans vnderstandynge that by lytle and lytle the sayde cyties dydde confederate themselfe wythe the Argyues, and that the Corinthiens hadde bene promoters and causers of that same matter, they sente certayne ambassadours vnto them for to shewe vnto them, as to the chiefe of that conniuration and acte, that if they departed from theire amytie & allyance for to ioygne themself wyth the Argyues, they shuld do against their othe, and moreouer shulde doo agaynste reasonne, for that they woold not approue the treatie of peace, made wyth the Athenyans, considerede that the more parte of the confederated cyties had allowed it, and that by their allyaunces it was ordaynedde that the same whyche was donne by the moore parte, shulde be holden by the othere, yf there were none empeschemente of the goddes or of the sayncte. Upon thys declaration, the Corynthyans bifore makynge answere to the sayde Imballadours, had caused all their allyes to assemble, to wyt, those, that hadde not yet accepted the treatie of peace, & by comon deliberation sayed vnto the sayde Lacedemonyans that they woolde confederate theymself agaynste them, and shewedde them certayne thynges wherein those Lacedemonyans hadde done theyme wronge by concludynge the sayde treatie of peace. Specially for thys, that by the same it was not prouydedde that the Athenyans shulde restore vnto them Sellie, Anactorium nor annye other places, whyche they pretended to be takenne from them by the sayde Lacedemonyens. And on the other parte, that they were not determyned for to habandone thē of Thrace, who, at their desyre and perswatyon, had rebelled from the Athenyans, for that, that they hadde promysed them particularly by theire othe not to forsake them, aswell at begynninge whan they rebelled wyth those of Potydea, as also at manye tymes afterwardes. wherfore they reputed not themself to be infractors or brekers of the allyance, that they had made wᵗʰ the said Lacedemonyās, though they woulde not accepte the appoynctemente made wyth the Athenyans, considered that they myght not do it, withoute beynge periured towardes the sayde Thracyans. And by the Chapitre of their allyance it was ordeyned, that the lesser partie ought to accepte that, whych the greater partie shulde do, excepte, that yt were empesched and lette by the goddes or by saynctes. whyche thynge they reputed to haue happened in thys case. For by doinge contrary to their othe, they shulde offende the goddes, by whome they hadde sworne. And thys is it, whyche they aunswered concernynge thys artycle. To the remanante, as touchynge the allyance of the Argiues, they made them aunswere, that haynge therupon consulted

the goddes or of the saynctes

the goddes or of the saynctes

sulted wyth their frendes, they woulde doo that thynge that they shulde fynde to be iuste and reasonable. The Imbassadours of the sayde Lacedemonyans being vpon this despeche departedde: the Corynthyans caused those of the Argiues to come into their counsaille. whyche were already in the Cytie, before departure of the other, and shewed them that they ought not to deferre or put of to make allyaunce wyth them: but that they shulde comme agayne in the nexte counsaille for to conclude yt. In thys meane tyme the Imbassadours of the Elyans arryued, who furste dydde make allyance wyth the Corinthians. And from thence by their ordenance they wente to Argos. where as they made the lyke, for also they were displeased wyth the Lacedemonyans for somuche as before the warre vp the Athenyans, certayn Arcadyans makinge warre agaynst the Lepreates, they had recours to the Elyans, and prompted theym that yf they woulde succoure them they woolde geue themself vnto them after the warre fynished, and that after the sayde Arcadyans shulde be rechasedde, that they woolde also geue theym the moytie or one halfe of the fruictes of their lande. By occasyon wherof the said Lepreates beinge delyuered from the warre, the Elians conuenanted wyth them that hadde landes for to laboure, that they altogithere shulde paye one talente of golde whyche shulde be offred in the temple of Jupiter in Olympus. whiche trybute they payde wythoute contradictyon vntil the warre betwene the Athenians and Peloponesians. But afterwardes they refused to paye yt, taxynge their excuse vpon the charges, whyche they dyd sustaigne by meane of the warre. And for that, that the Elyans woolde haue thereunto constrayned them, they repayred to the Lacedemonyans, vnto whome the sayde Elyans were contente for to commyt the questyon. But afterwardes fearynge leaste they woolde iudge agaynste them, they made no further pursuyte therin before them, but wente to ouerronne the lande of the sayde Lepreates. That notwythstandyng the sayd Lacedemonyans dyd pronounce their sentence, whereby they dyd declare that the sayde Lepreates were in nothynge bounden to the Elyans, and that those Elyans wrongfully and for an euyll cause hadde ouerronne their land. And the said Lacedemonyans parceyuinge that the sayde Elyans woolde not obey their iudgemente, they sente their people to the succours of the sayde Lepreates. By occasion whereof the Elyans pretended that the Lacedemonyans had done againste the treatie of allyance, whyche was made betwene those Lacedemonyans and the othere Peloponesyans, by the whych yt was prouyded that the landes, that euery of the sayde Cyties dydde holde at begynnynge of the sayde warre shulde remayne vnto yt. sayinge that those Lacedemonyans hadde wythdrawin frome them the sayde towne of Lepreates. whych was their tributayre. And vpon this occasion they made allyance wyth the sayd Argiues. And soone after the Corinthians and the Chalcydes that be in Thrace dyd also make yt. The Beotians & Megarens were in wauerynge to do the lyke, pretendynge to haue bene smallye estemed by the sayde Lacedemonyans. But afterwardes they dydde take better aduysemente consyderynge, that the manner of lyuynge of the Argyues (which was the gouernemente of the common people) was not so conuenable for them, as that same of the Lacedemonyans, who dydde gouerne themselfe by a nomber of people, that is to say, by a counsaylle, whyche hadde all the authoritie.

How the Athenyans and Lacedemonyans entermeddledde and vled theire traffique that same sommer, lyuynge in doubte and dissimulation the one wyth the othere, and of certayne seates and treaties that were made durynge the sayde sommer on bothe sydes.

The.v. Chapter.

Durynge the sommer, whereof we speake, the Athenyans dyd take the cytie of Sycione, and dyd slay all the men of.xiii. yeres and vpwards, and dydde delyuer theire lande to the Plateans for to labour, & moreouer dydde reduce and bryng agayne to Delos the Cytezeins that were dryuene and chaledde from thence, hauynge regarde alwell to the dommaiges, which they had sustayned throughe the warre: as also to the oracles of the goddes. The Phocyans also and the Locrians begaune to warre among them. And the Corinthians and Argyues that already had made allyaunce togiders, came to the cytie of Tegee, hopyng for to wythdrawe it from the obeissance and allyance of the Lacedemonians. And by meane thereof (considered that it hadde a great terrytorie) to withdrawe all Peloponese. But the Corinthians perceuing that those of Tegee wolde not departe from the Lacedemonyans for anny euyll wyll that they bifore tyme had had agaynste the same Lacedemonyans, they retourned very quickly, for they feared that no othere woolde afterwardes render themselfe vnto them, sens that those there had refused yt. And yet notwythstandynge they sente vnto the Beotians, for to require them, to be wylling to reallie themself wyth thē and with the Argyues, & to the reste that they shuld gouerne themself by common accorde. And moreouer for somuche as the sayde Beotians had takene a trefues of tenne dayes wyth the Athenyans, soone after the conclusyon of the peace of fyftie yeares, wherof we haue spokene here bifore: they requyred them that they woolde sende an Imbassade wyth theym to the Athenyans, to whome they wolde go for to compryse theym in the sayde trefues: and in case they woolde not do yt, that the sayd Beotyans shuld renounce the said trefues, and shulde not afterwardes make anny treatie of peace nor of trefues wythout the sayde Corynthyans. whereunto the Beotiens made aunswere, that as touchynge the allyaunce, they woulde consulte and determyne vpon yt. And as for the reste that they woolde sende of theire people wythe theyme to Athenes and woolde requyre the sayde Athenyans to be wyllynge to compryse the sayde Corinthyans in the trefues of tenne dayes. But the Athenyans made aunswere that if the sayde Corinthyans were allyedde wyth the Lacedemonyans, they were sufficyently allyedde wyth them, and that they nededdе no other thynge. Parceyuynge whyche aunswere the sayde Corinthyans made instance vnto the Beotians that they shulde renoūce the trefues of tenne dayes, but they woulde not for all that do it. And finally, the Athenyans were content to make trefues with the Corinthyans wythout anny allyance. That same sommer the Lacedemonyans wyth their armye vnder conducte of Pleistoanactes, their kinge, went agaynst the Parrhasiens whyche be in the countrey of Arcadie, subiectes of the Mantynyens called thider by certain of the cytezeins, by meane of a sedicīō & mutynery which was amongest them: & also to thintente to rase downe the walles, whyche those Mantynīes had made in ỹ town of Cypselle, wherin they had put garnison. whiche towne was in the countreye of Stritide, in the terrytorie of the sayde Parrhasiens, in the lande of Laconye. The Lacedemonyans being than comme into the

Tegea.

Parrhasii.

Cypsele Stritiū

the sayd lande they dyd pyllage and waste it. Whiche perceyued by the Bantynians, they lefte the garde of their cytie vnto the Argiues. And they with their puissance went for to succour their subiectes, but seyng that they coulde not defende them bothe they retourned fromethence. And by that meanes the Lacedemonians restored the Barrhaliens into lybertie, and raised downe the sayd walles, afterwardes they retournedde fromethence into their houses. And they beynge retournedde the men at armes arryued, whiche were gone with Brasidas into the countrey of Thrace, whome Clearidas broughte agayne by sea after the peace made. And it was by decree publisshed and declared that all the esclaues whiche hadde bene in that same warre with the sayd Clearydas shoulde be franke & free, and might go to dwelle where they wouldе. Whome he sone after did sende with certayne other for to inhabitt in the towne of Lepzea in the territorye of Eliens in the countrey of Lacedonia beynge alreadye in warre wyth thole same Elyens. Lepza.

On the one parte the said Lacedemonians did desgraduate and declaire thole to be defamed and dishonered, that were takene by the Athenyans in the Islande, for that they rendred themself wyth their army vnto the ennemyes. Amongest whome there were some, that hadde bene chosene into offices of the towne. And they dyd this, fearyng leste that they, for doubt that they hadde to be reputed to haue bene fayntе harted, shoulde not enterpryse to make change or mutacion in the towne if they came to auctorytie. And so they pronounced theym to be vnhable for to obteigne any office, for to vse marchandise and for to demande annye thyng in iudgement. And yet ne uertheles shortly afterwardes, were auctorised and habled agayne vnto it. In the same somer the Dyctidiens dyd take the cytie of Thylon, which is in the countrey of Athos being confederated with the Athenans. Dicridiens. Thillus Atho.

Durynge all the same somer the Athenyanes and the Peloponesians vsed and trafficqued merchandises togiders, although they suspected the one the other. Chifely the Athenians and the Lacedemonyans fromе begynnyng of the peace, forasmuche as they had not rendred nothere on the one syde nor of the other, that, whiche was accorded and agrede vpon. For the Lacedemonyans, who shulde first haue restored, had not rendred Amphipolis nor the other places, nother also had constrayned their allyes in the countrey of Thrace for to accept the sayd tratie of peace, nother lykewyse the Beotians and the Corinthians, though that they sayd continually, that if the sayd confederates wouldе not accepte the treatie, they wouldе ioigne themself with the sayd Athenyans for to constrayne them thereunto, and thereupon had assigned and prefixed a daye. But there was no mention thereof in wrytyng, that thole, that would not ratefie and accept the sayd treatie, should be reputed ennemyes bothe of the sayd Athenians & Lacedemonyans. But the Athenyās parceiuing that the sayd Lacedemonyans did parfourme nothynge of that whiche they had promysed, in effecte they had no good opinion that they wouldе kepe the peace. And for this cause they likewise delayde to render Pylus vnto them and also repented that they had delyueredde the prysoners that they had takene in the Islande. And so reteigned lykewyse the other townes whiche they shulde haue rendred by the sayd treacie, vntill the tyme, that the Lacedemonyans had accomplished on their partie. Whiche Lacedemonyans did excuse themself, saying: that they had done all that they coulde. For they had rendred the prysoners whiche they had and also hadde withdrawin all their men of warre whiche were in Thrace, and for effecte obserueddе all that was in their power, but as for to restore Amphipolis, that thesame was not in their puissāce. And to the surplusage, promysedde that they wouldе parforce theymself to cause that the Beotians and Corinthians should enter into the treatie & that Panacte

ſhould be rendred to the ſayd Athenyans. And lykewyſe all the Athenyans, that were pryſoners in the countrey of Beoce required the ſame Athenyans that they would be willyng to rẽder the citie of Pylus, or at the leaſt, if they would not rẽder it, that they ſhoulde withdrawe the Meſſenyans & the eſklaues, whiche they had put within it, lyke as the ſame Lacedemonyans had withdrawin their men of warre, whiche were in Thrace: and that they ſhoulde kepe the place with their owne people, if they woulde. In this manner durynge the ſame ſomer, paſſed all their affaires, to witte chiefly by diſſymulacion, and neuerthelas dydde lyue without warre: communicatyng or entremedlyng the one with the other.

Howe the Lacedemonians hauinge, againſte the forme of the treatie agrede vpon with the Athenyans, made allyance with the Beotians without the ſame Athenians, they the ſayd Athenians made the lyke with the Argiues, the Mantynyans and the Eolians. ☞The.vi.Chapter.

THe wynter followinge, the Gouernours of the cytie of Sparte named Ephores beynge changed, vnder whome the peace was concludedde: and newe beinge cholẽ in their ſtede which were againſt the ſame: there was an aſſemblie made in Lacedemony: whereat were the ambaſſadours of the confederate cyties of Peloponeſe, thoſe of the Athenians, thoſe of the Corinthians and thoſe of the Beotians, in the whiche manye thynges were debatedde, but fynallye, they departedde without any reſolucion. Neuerthelas euery man beinge retournedde to his houſe, Cleobolus and Xenares which were thoſe two of the Ephores that than gouerned and deſired to breake the peace: had particuler deuiſes with the Beotians and with the Corinthians, exhortynge them to haue parfaicte knowlaige of the ſayd matters, and chiefly to the Beotians, that euen ſo as they had bene the furſt that had made allyance with the Argiues, that ſo they ſhoulde be willing al togiders to ioigne themſelf afreſhe with thoſe ſame Lacedemoniãs, ſhewyng thẽ that by the ſame meane they ſhulde not be conſtrayned for to accept & kepe the allyance with the Athenians & that bifore the emnitie with the Athenians, & bifore that they had brokene trefues, the ſame Lacedemonians had more deſired the amitie and allyance of the ſayed Argiues than of the ſayed Athenyans, for that, that they did alwayes miſtruſt them, and deſired greatly to be aſſured therof vnderſtãding, that their allyance ſhulde be to thole Lacedemoniãs right pryopice & mete for to make warre without Peloponeſe, praying the ſayd Beotians ỳ they would agree & be contente to reſtore Panacte to the ſayd Lacedemoniãs, to the intent ỳ by meane of hauing of that ſame cytie, they might recouer Pylus, if it were poſſible. And by meane therof begyn againe afterwardes more eaſely the warre againſt the Athenians. Thies thinges beyng ſignefied to the meſſẽgers of the Beotians & of the Corinthiãs by the ſayd Ephores & certaine other their frendes of Lacedemony: they made their reporte therof to the counſell of their cyties. But bifore that they arryued, two of the chiefe officers of Argos came to encounter & mete thẽ vpon the waye, & had many deuyſes with thẽ for to vnderſtand if it were poſſible that the Beotians would enter into their allyance, lyke as the Corinthiãs, the Mantinens and the Eliens had done. Saying that, if that were done, they ſhould be hable for to make warre againſte the Athenians, orels welle by meane of the ſayd Beotians and other their confederates: for to come to ſome good appoynctmente with them. Whiche thynges were ryght agreable to the Beotians for that they dydde agree vnto the ſame, that

that their frendes of Lacedemonye had charged theym, and that thole Argiues consented to the thyng, whiche the other desired. And so they staied vpon resolucion wyth theym, that they wouldе sende their ambassadours into the countrey of Beoce, and that done they departedde. The Beotians beyng aryuedde in their countrey, they reapported to the gouernors of the cytie, all that, whiche they had vnderstandedde, aswelle of the Lacedemonyans as of the Argiues, wherewith thole gouernours were welle pleasedde for that, the amytie bothe of the one and of the other was very mete and conueniente for them, and that of themselfe, the sayd parties dydde agree vnto one self ende, wythoute knowynge the one of the other. Sone after came the ambassadours of the Argyues. Unto whome, after that they hadde bene heard, they made aunswere, that they would sende ambassadours vnto them for to treate of the allyance. In this meane tyme, thole Beotians, the Corynthians, the Megarens, and the ambassadours of them of Thrace assembled themselfes togiders, and concluded amongest them an allyance, for to succoure the one the other against all thole, that wouldе warre against them, and that they myghte not make warre, peace nor other treatie with any parsone, the one wythoute the othere. And also it was appoynctedde that the Beotians and Megarens, who were alreadye allyedde, shoulde make allyaunce vpon the same condicions, wythe the Argiues. But bifore that the Gouernours of Beoce shoulde conclude the sayed thynges, they shoulde make reappoyte thereof to the fower counsailles of the sayd countrey: who hadde all the auctorite, perswading theyme that they shoulde be wyllynge to consente to the allyance with the sayd cyties and wyth all the other that would ioigne wyth them, and shewing them that it was for their profyte. Whiche thyng the sayed counsaylles would not at the firste brunte agree vnto, fearing that it should haue bene against the Lacedemonyans, if they shoulde haue allyed themselfe wyth the Corynthyans, who had rebelledde and were departedde frome theym. For the sayed gouernours hadde not aduertisedde them of the deuyses, whiche they hadde hadde with Cleobulus, Xenares and their other frendes of Lacedemonie. Whiche were, that they shulde furste make allyance with the Argiues and the Corinthyans, and afterwardes should conclude it with the Lacedemonyans. For the sayd gouernours thought assuredly that without declaring that same vnto the comons of the sayd fower counsailles, they would haue done that, whiche the sayd Gouernours wouldе haue counsailledde them. But seing that it chaunced otherwyse therein, the Corinthyans and the ambassadours of Thrace retournedde fromethence withoute doinge any thynge. And the gouernours of the Beotians (who were determyned, if they coulde haue obteignedde and perswadedde the same furste vnto their people for to essaye afterwardes to haue made allyance wythe the Argiues) seinge that they coulde not obteigne it, dydde speake nothyng therof. Also the sayd Argiues, who shoulde haue sente their ambassade, dydde not sende it. So that the thynges remaynedde vndone by a necligence and throughe defaulte of follycytynge. The selfe same wynter, the Olynthians dydde take the towne of Mecyberne with assaulte, wherein the Athenians kepte their garnysone and pillaged it. After that, manye parlamentes beinge made bitwene the Athenyans and the Lacedemonyans, vpon the obseruaunce of the articles of the peace, specially vpon condicion of the places on the one parte and of the other: thole Athenians, hopyng that if they dydde render Panacte vnto the Lacedemonyans, they wouldе haue restorzedde vnto theyme Pylus: sente an ambassade to the Beotians, prayinge theyme that they wouldе delyuer the sayed towne togiders wythe the prysoners that they hadde of theirs. Whereunto the Beotians made aunswere that they

Mecyberne.

they woulde not doo it, excepte the Lacedemonyans woulde make particuler allyance wyth theym, aſwelle as they hadde done wyth the ſayedde Athenyans. Whereupon the Lacedemonyans, thoughe they dyd knowe, that it was agaynſt the allyance that was made with the Athenyans, whereby it was prouydedde that the one ſhoulde not make peace nor warre wythoute the othere, yett for the deſier that they had for to recouer of the Beotians, Panacte, hoppynge, by meane thereof to haue Pylus: and alſo for the inclynacion, whiche the officers than had, more to the ſayed Beotians than to the Athenyans, to the intente to breake the peace: they made and accordedde the ſayd allyance aboutes the ende of the wynter. After the whiche made, in the begynnynge of the furſte ſpryngе tyme, whiche was the .xi. yeare of the warre, the Beotians raſedde and vtterly deſtroyedde the ſayed towne of Panacte. The Argiues perceyuynge that the Beotians had not ſent vnto them the ambaſſadours for to make the allyance, lyke as they had promyſedde, and that they had beaten downe Panacte and made particuler allyance wyth the Lacedemonyans: they hadde greate feare leaſt they alone ſhoulde remayne in warre wyth the ſayed Lacedemonyans, and leſt all the other cyties of Greece woulde reallye themſelf with theym. For they thought that that, whiche the Beotians had done at Panacte: was by knowlaige and with wyll of the ſayd Lacedemonyans and alſo of the Athenyans, & that they were all of one allyance. With whiche Athenyans thoſe Argiues hadde no more hope of appoynctmente. For that ſame, whiche they hadde thereof hadde, was, thynkynge that the allyance whiche was betwene theym and the Lacedemonyans, ſhoulde not haue endured. For this cauſe being in greate perplexitie, & fearyng leſte that they ſhould be forced to ſuſteigne warre bothe agaynſte the ſayed Lacedemonyans and Athenyans and alſo agaynſte the Theagites and Beotians, forſomuche as they hadde byfore tyme refuſed the appoyncteмente with the ſayd Lacedemonyans, & coueted the Empyre & the authorytie ouer all Greece: they ſent their Imbaſſadours to the ſayd Lacedemonyans, to wytt, Euſtrophus and Elon, whom they thought to be great frendes and very agreable to them, for to treate the appountement. For they thoughte that whan they ſhuld be allyed wyth them, to what ſouer ende þ matters ſhuld falle or come, they ſhuld be well aſſured for the time that than ranne. Beinge than the ſayd Imbaſſadours arryuedde at Lacedemonye, they made theire propoſition to the counſelle, demaundinge peace and allyance. And for to treate yt, they dydde requyre that the difference that they hadde wyth the Lacedemonyans, by cauſe of Cynurie (which is in the terrytorie of the Argyues, and hathe vnder ytt woo cytyes, to wytte, Thyree and Athenye, and alſo ys peopled wyth Lacedemonyans) myghte be commytted to ſome tytie being newter, or to ſome notable perſonage truſty to both parties. wherunto the Lacedemonyans dyd incontynencly make aunſwere, that they ſhulde ſpeake no mooze therof. But if the Argiues woolde, they were contente to make a newe treatie wyth theym, in all thynges, ſuche as the former was. Whereupon the Argiues made a certayne refuſall, ſaynge that they were well contente to make the appoyntemente, ſuche as aboue: prouydedde that yt ſhulde be lefulle to aythere of the ſayde partyes, notwythſtandynge the ſayde appoyncteмente, to make warre agaynſte the othere whan yt ſhulde ſeme good, throughe cauſe of the ſayd Cytye of Cynurie, excepte that the othere partye were empeſchedde wyth peſtylence or wythe othere warre, lyke as at othere tyme yt hadde bene conuenaunteddе betwene theyme, than, whan they hadde a battaille, whereof aythere of the partyes pretendedde to haue hadde the victorye, and ſo, that the warre ſhoulde not exceede the lymyttes of the ſayede Cytye, and of hys terrytorye.

Euſtrophus. Elon.

whiche requeste semed at the begynnyng to the Lacedemonyans, beryfolyshe, but neuertheles in the ende they dydde agree vnto it. For that, that they desyredde the amytie of the sayd Argiues. But bifore the concluding of any thynge, albeit that the ambassadours hadde full power and might, yet wylled they that they should retourne fromethence to Argos, and that they should propone and declare the sayd treatie to the commons, for to knowe if they were agreable vnto it. And if they were, that they shoulde comme againe at a daye appoynctedde for to swere to the sayd appoynctmente. So the ambassadours departed frome Lacedemony. But in the meane tyme that they shoulde haue retourned, the Ambassadours that the Lacedemonyans had sent to the Beotians, for to recouer Panacte, and the pryssoners beinge Athenyans: to wytte Andromedes, Phedimus and Antimenides, they founde that the sayed Panacte was rasedde and plucke downe by the Beotians vnder colour, as they sayed, that there was an auncyente treatie bitwene them and the Athenyans, confirmedde by othe, by which it was ordonneide that neyther of the parties, shoulde inhabitt in the sayed place. And as touchinge the pryssoners, they rendzedde those that they hadde of the sayd Athenyans. Vnto whome those ambassadours dydde sende them agayne. And as concernynge Panacte, they shewed them, that they shoulde nomore feare that any their enemye shoulde abyde there, insomuche as the towne was pluckedde downe, thynkynge by that meane that they had welle acquited the promys that they hadde made for to render it. But the Athenyans were not therewith contēt, and shewedde theym that they had not accomplyshedde that, whiche they promysedde, in rendzynge of the towne being destroyedde: and moreouer in haumg made allyance with the Beotians. For it was directly againſt that whiche was spoken and agrede vpon bitwene them to wyt, that they shoulde ioinctly togiders constraigne all the confederatedde cyties for to accepte and ratefie the sayd treatie of peace, to wytt, those, that would refuse it. By meanes of which thinges and of manye other they bled the sayd ambassadours with grosse woordes, and sente them agayne withoute other conclusion. The Athenyans and the Lacedemonyans being than in this difference: they that were not contente to haue peace with the Athenes, they sought meanes to breake it incontynently through occasion thereof. And amongest other Alcibiades sonne of Clymas (who thoughe he was yett ponge, yett for the memorye of his progenitours, whiche were men of worshyppe, was greately brouedde, and hadde greate auctoryte in the cytie) the same counsatlledde the people, for to make allyance with the Argiues, aswell for that, that it semedde profitable for them, as also for this that through the bighnesse and fiercenesse of his harte, he was not content that the peace had bene made with the Lacedemonyans by Nycyas and Lachetes, without makynge estimation of hym for that he was ponge. And somuche the more he was offended with them, that they hadde renewed and establyshedde agayne the amitie with them whiche his grantfather hadde brokene and forsakene. And for despyte thereof he declared hymself than to be agaynste the sayed treatie of peace: and sayed openly that the Lacedemonyans were not to be trusted vnto, and that the appoynctmēt that they had made with them was but for to withdrawe the Argiues, from their amytie, and afterwardes for to begynne againe warre againste them. And seing that the people grudged againſt the sayd Lacedemonyans, he sent secretly with all diligence vnto the Argiues, signefying them, that it was the beste time that euer might be for to pursue the allyance, for the Athenyans desyred yt, and that they shoulde come without any delay and bring the Elyans and the Mantynyans for to conclude it, assuring that he woulde ayde them with his power. The

Argiues

Argiues hauing the newes, and vnderstanding that the Beotians had not made allyance with the Athenyans, and also that thole Athenyans were in greate discorde with the Lacedemonyans, they lefte the practique of their ambassadours, that treated the peace and allyance with the Lacedemonyans: and did geue theselfe to the same of Athenians. The which they reputed better and more profitable for them than the other: for somuche as the cytie of Athens, had alwayes and of all auncientie bene their frende, and further dyd gouerne it self by the comon estate, lyke as they dydde, and moreouer myghte shewe them very muche ayde and fauour by sea if they had there warre, for that that therein it was moste puissante. And so they incontmently did sende their ambassadours with those of the Elians and of the Mantynyans to Athens for to treate & conclude the allyance.

Philocaridas. Leon. Eudius

In that same tyme, the ambassadours of the Lacedemonians arryuedde at Athens, to wytt, Philocaridas, Leon and Eudius, who semed to be moste affectionedde to the Athenyans and to the peace. Whiche were sent aswell for feare that the Lacedemonyans had, leste those Athenyans would make allyance wyth the Argiues, for delyyte of them, as also for to demaunde that they shoulde render vnto them Pylus in stede of Panacte, and also for to excuse themself of the allyance, which they had made with the Beotians, and for to shewe them, that they had not done it for any euill purpose nor to the preiudice of the same Athenians. Whiche thinges were by the sayd ambassadours proponed to the counsaylle of Athens. And besydes that, they declared that they hadde full power to conclude and appoynete vpon all their difference and controuersies. Whiche seinge Alcibiades, and fearynge leste if the thynges were publyshedde and declared vnto the people, that they woulde consente to that, whiche they sayed, and by that meane refuse the allyance of the Argiues, he ymagyned one suche tromperie and deceite for to empesche it. That is that he didde speake secretly to the sayedde ambassadours, and sayed vnto them that they should not in any manner of the world declare to the comminaltie that they had ful might to treauaile and entrete vpon all the differences, promysinge them, that if they would so do, for to geue and restore Pylus vnto theym, and that he had the meane and auctoritie for to perswade it vnto the comons, lyke as before tyme he had had to cause them to deny it to the other ambassadours of the Lacedemonians. And moreouer he promysedde that he woulde appoynete and appease all the other differences that they hadde togiders. And this did he, to the intent, that he myght withdrawe theym fro the practique & knowlaige of Nycias. And also that by this meane he mught calumniate and accuse theym towardes the comons that there were in theym nother trouthe nor loyaultie, and by that doynge to enduce thesame commons for to make allyance with the Argiues, the Mantynyans and the Elians, lyke as it chaunced. For whan the ambassadours dydde comme to the assemblie of all the people, beinge demandedde if they had full power for to procede vpon all the differences, they sayed, nay. Whiche was wholle contrarye to that, which they hadde sayeddeto the counsaille. Whereby the Athenyans were so mouedde, that they woulde no more heare them. But dyd clene vnto Alcibiades, who bigonne vpon this occasion, for to charge them with more, than before. So that through his perswation, they causedd the Argiues and the other that were comme in their compaignie, to enter for to conclude allyance wyth theym. But before the matter was establishedde fully: the earth quaked, by occasion wherof, the thyng was put of or remytted vntyll the nexte daye followyng. At whiche daye Nycyas perceyuing himself to be deceyued by Alcybiades, aswell as the Lacedemonyans, who were enduced to denye vnto the comons that, whiche they had sayd to the counsaille,

saille, leste not of for all that, to shewe afreshe vnto the assemblie, that the allyance ought to be made and renewed with the Lacedemonians, & that men ought to sende vnto them for to knowe more amply their intent, and in meane tyme to differre the allyance with the Argiues. Declaring vnto thē that it was their honour, and the shame of the Lacedemonians, for to differ the warre, for that, that they had the better, wherfore it was to their aduantage that they aboade in that reputacion, where the Lacedemonians, who remayned with the losse, had occasion to diue warre. And so he perswaded them in that sorte that it was concluded for to sende an ambassade vnto the sayd Lacedemonyans. In the which among other was named that same Nycyas. And those ambassadors hadde charge to say to the sayd Lacedemonyans, that if they were willing to enter frankely into the busines and for to enterteigne the peace & allyance, that they shulde restore to the Athenians Panacte hoole, entier and reedefyed. And furthermore that they shulde departe with Amphipolis, and frome thallyance of the Beotians. And if they woulde not enter into the peace, so and vnder the conditions that were spoken: that is to wytt, that the one of the cyties myght not make treatie with an other cytie whatsoeuer, without the other: declaring vnto them furthermore, that if they would proceede against the sayd treatie of peace and allyance, doinge contrary to that, whiche was agrede vpon: that than those Athenyans had already concluded to the allyance with the Argiues, whiche were at Athens, attendynge the resolucion. And many other articles, conteignynge doleance against the sayed Lacedemonians, for that they had not kepte and obserued the sayd treatie: were geuen by instruction to the sayd ambassadours for to make declaratiō thereof to the sayd Lacedemonians. The sayd ambassadours, than being come, and hauing expounded their charge to the Lacedemonyans, & for the last article haupng signefyed, that if they woulde not forsake the allyance of the Beotians, in case they were not willynge to accepte the treatie of peace, as is afore sayd, the Athenyans woulde conclude the allyance with the Argiues & the other of their intelligence: they were forced to answere, throughe the perswation of Xenares and of his faction, that they would not departe frō he allyance of the Beotians. And neuertheles beng required by Nycias for to swere againe to kepe & perfourme the treatie of peace and amytie, which was made bitwene them they were not therwith cōtent. And that did Nycias fearing to haue retourned from thence wout hauing any thing done, leste that he shulde be charged to haue bene cause of the sayd treatie of allyance, lyke as it chaunced afterwardes whan he was come home againe. And moreouer incōtinently as the Athenians had vnderstāde his reaport, & that there was in effect nothing done: at the perswation of Alcibiades, they concluded the allyance with the Argiues, which were there, holding them for outraged or iniuried by the Lacedemonians. The tenoure of whiche allyance doth followe.

The tenour of the allyance bitwene the Athenyans, and the Argiues, the Mantynyens and the Elyans.

ALlyance hath bene made by the Athenians, w the Argiues the Mantynians & the Elyens for a houndred yeares, aswel for thē as for their frendes, ouer whom both the one & the other partie doth preside & gouerne, without fraude & deceite, aswell by sea as by lande, to witt, that ỹ one partie maye not make warre nor endomage the other, nor their allyes, nor subiectes vnder any coulour or occasion whatsoeuer it maye be. And moreouer ỹ if any estranger during the said time shal haue entred ennemylike into ỹ lande of the sayd Athenians, the sayd Argiues, Mantynians & Elyens shalbe bounde to come to succoure thē with al their puissance, fourthwith as they shalbe therunto

requyred by the same Athenias. And if it chaunced that the sayd estrangers were
alreadi departed frō the lande of the Athenians, yet these Argyues, Mantyniens
& Elyens shulde repute them for ennemyes, alwel as the Athenyās. And that it
shall not be lawfull to any of the sayd cōfedered cyties to make any appoinctmēt
with the sayd comon ennemyes wythout the will & consent of the other. And the
Athenians shall do the like against thole, that shall come to assaile the sayd Argi-
ues the Mantynians & Elyans in their lande. And furthermore that none of the
sayd cyties shall permytte nor geue congie or lycence to passe through his lande
nor through that same of his frendes nor allyes, ouer whiche they pretende or go-
uerne, nother yet by sea: vnto any warrpours for to make warre, except it be deli-
berated and agrede by all the sayd foure cyties and sett fourth in their name. And
that if one of the sayd cyties demaundeth succours and ayde of the people of the
other: that the same that shall sende the sayd succours, shalbe bounde to furnyshe
the sayd succours with victuailles at his expences the space of .xxx. dayes to be re-
conned from the first day that the sayd succours shalbe arryued in that same citie
that demaunded it. But if the cytie haue thereof nede for a longer tyme, it shalbe
bonde to geue soulde to the sayd souldyars, to wytt, three half pence of monney,
for the day to euery foote man and to the horsemen a grote. And by that meane
the same cytie shall haue the auctorite ouer the sayd men of warre, & they shalbe
bounde for to obey it so long as they shalbe therein. But if any army were made
fourth in name of all the sayd fower cyties, the Impery therof should be comon
to all fower. The whiche treatie of allyance the Athenians shalbe bounden pre-
sently for to swere in the name of them and of their confederates and allyes. And
afterwardes the lyke othe shalbe made in euery of the sayd three cyties & of their
allyes in the moste straict fourme that they may haue in euery of them after his
custome vpon the aulters of their temples, after that the sacrefice shalbe made
apperteigning to the same, in suche substance as followeth. I sweare for to holde
and kepe the allyance accordyng to the fourme and tenoure of the treatie, whiche
hath bene accorded: truely, loyally and symplie, and wolle not do to the contra-
rye: vnder anycolour, art nor ymagnacion that may be. And the sayd othe shal-
be made in the cytie of Athens, by the people of the senate and Trybuus. And af-
terwardes shalbe cōfirmed by the treasorers. In the cytie of Argos by the senate
and by the foure skoore of the greate counsaille. Of Mantynea by the artificers,
by the senate and by other officers and shalbe confirmed, by the diuynours & by
the cappytaynes of the warre. At Elea or Elides, by the artificers, by the trea-
sorers, fyre houndred of the greate counsaille, and shalbe confirmed by the con-
seruators or kepers of lawes. The whiche othe shalbe yearely renewed, to wytt,
first by the Athenyans, who shall go for that intente and purpose, to the other
three cyties thirty dayes biforе the Olympyades. And afterwardes the other cy-
ties shall go to Athens for to do lykewyse, tēne dayes biforе the great feast, that
is named Panathenea. And the present treate with the othe shalbe wrytton in
stone and sett in a publique place at Athens, in the moste euidente and open place
of the cytie. At Argos in the market place by the tēple of Apollo. At Mantinea
and at Elides, in the market place nigh by the temple of Jupiter. And moreo-
uer at the nert Olympyan feast it shalbe sett vp in the name of al the sayd foure
cyties in a table of copper. And the same cyties maye by comon accorde adde to
this sayd treatie hereafter that, whiche they shalle thynke good. In this manner
the allyance & confederation was concluded bitwene the sayd fower cyties, not-
withstanding that there was nothinge sayd nor any mention made, that for the
same any man shoulde departe frome the treatie of peace and allyance made bi-
twene the sayd Athenyans and Lacedemodyans.

Howe after many enterpzíses and erploictes of warre, that were made bitwene the allyes of the Lacedemonians on thone parte, and those of the Athenians of the other: the sayed Athenyans at requeſt of the Argiues, declared thoſe ſame Lacedemonyans to haue done againſt the treatie of peace and of allyance, and to be pursued.

☞ The. vii. Chapter.

THis allyance & confederacion was not agreable to the Cozynthyans. And beinge by the Argiues their allyes required to racefie and ſwere vnto it, they refuſed that to do. Sayng that theſame was ſuffycient, which they had made with the ſayd Argiues, Mantynians & Elyans. By the which they had pzomiſed not to make peace, noz warre the one citie without the other, and foz to ayde, by defending, the one the other without paſſing further, and to geue thē ayde in aſſaillinge. And by this meane the Cozynthians departed from that ſame allyance & did take newe intelligence with the Lacedemonyans. Il which thinges were done in that ſomer, in the which Andzoſthenes the Arcadian did wyn the beſte pzize with wzeſtelinge at the feaſt Olympian. At the ſame feaſt, the Elyans defended and enterdited vnto the Lacedemonyans that they ſhulde not ſacrefice in the temple noz alſo enter into tourneying noz wraſtlynge: excepte they payde the penaltie & amendes, wherein they were by the ſayd Elyans condempned accozdynge to the lawes and ſtatutes of Olympiades, by this reaſone: that they ſayd that the ſayd Lacedemonyans had putt & beſtowed harmes within the wall of Phircus and had ſett their men of warre within Lezeum during the treatie made at Olympus & againſt the tenoure thereof. The whiche mulcte and amendes did amount vnto two thouſande poundes of Siluer, to wytt, foz euery one of the ſayd men of armes, who were a thouſande, two poundes, lyke as the treatie dydde beare it. Wherunto the Lacedemonyans anſwered that they were vniuſtly condempned, foz ſomuche: as whan they hadde ſente their men of warre vnto Lezeum, the treatie was not publyſhedde. But the Elyans replyed that they coulde not be ignozante thereof, foz theſame treatie had already bene in their handes, and they themſelfes were the firſte that had denounced and ſignefyed it vnto the ſayd Elyans, and yet neuerthelas in goyng againſte yt, were comme to make the ſayed erploicte of warre againſte theym wzongfully and againſte reaſone, wythoute that, that the ſame Elyens hadde innouatedde any thinge againſte theym. Whereupon it was by the Lacedemonyens argued. That if it were ſo that the ſayed Elyans vnderſtoode whan they came to denounce the ſayed allyance to the Lacedemonyans that they hadde alreadye done againſte the ſame, it had not bene nedefull further to haue ſhewed yt vnto theyme (as they hadde done) after the tyme that they pzetended the ſayd erploictes of warre to haue bene done by the ſame Lacedemonyans. And that it ſhulde not be founde that after the ſame denouncyng, they had innouated oz attempted any thynge. But the Elyans perſiſted neuerthelas in their opynion, the ſayd allegacion not wythſtandyng. And yet foz all that offred theym, that if they woulde render Lezeum vnto theyme, they woulde be contente to rempyte one parte of the amendes, to wytt, that ſame that ought to be applyed to theym, and alſo of the other, whiche ought to be applyed to the God Apollo, & to paye it foz them. The whiche offer the ſayed Lacedemonyans woulde not accepte. Whiche parceyued, the Elyans made thē yett an other offer. To wytt, that inſomuche as they would not reſtoze Lezeum, to thintent yet that they ſhould not remayne

Andzoſthenes.

Phircus.

Lezeū.

excluded frome the same feaste of the temple, that they shoulde sweare vpon the great aulter of Jupiter biforе al the Grekes, for to paye the sayd amendes, if they than coulde not pay it. But the Lacedemonians accepted this partie as shēderly as the furst. By reason wherof they were excluded & prohibited from sacrifice & to be present at the playes for that feast, and made their sacrifices in their cytie. And all the other Grekes came & assisted & were present at the playes, reserued those of Lepreum. And yet notwithstanding the Elyans, fearing leste the Lacedemonians shoulde come to the temple & would sacrifice by force, they caused a good nōber of their people to come in armure for to kepe watche in the tēple. And vnto them were sent from Argos & from Mantinia two thousande men in armure, to wytt, from aither cytie a thousande, & belydes that, the Athenians sent thider the horsemen that they had at Argos, attending there the festyuall day. The which neuerthelas had great feare to be assailed and beaten by the Lacedemonians. And specially after that one Lacedemonyā named Lychas sonne of Arcesilaus had bene Lychas
shourged with roddes by the sargeantes vpon the place of the combate: for that that his wagone hauing bene confiscated to the Beotians: for that, þ it had ronne in the sayd place with the other: which thing was not lefull the play & the combate being forbyden to the Lacedemonians, in despraysing and cōtempning the sayd iudgement, for to geue it the better to be vnderstāde that he would wel that euery one shulde knowe that the sayed charett was his, he had openly vpon the place crowned his wagoner. Whereof the other had great feare, thinking that he durst not haue done it, if that he had not perceyued some enterprise of the Lacedemonyans, Who neuerthelas sturred not for that same time, and in suche sorte passed the feast. After the whiche, the Argiues and their allyes dyd come to Corynthe, to praye the Corynthians that they shulde be wyling to sende vnto them for to enter into their allyance. In whiche place metinge lykewyse the ambassadours of the Lacedemonyans, they hadde very muche talke of the treaties togiders, but fynally hearinge a thonder, as they were assembled for to entreate therof, they departedde without any conclusion, and euery man retourneddе into his cytie, and no other thynge was done for that same somer. In the begynnynge of of the wynter followynge, the Heraclyans that be in Trachine had a battaille against the Enyens, the Dolopes, the Melyans & some other people of Thessale: who all were their boysins and their ennemyes. For that that the said cytie was founded peopled and builded for none other ende, but agaynste theym. And for that cause frome begynnynge that yt was buyldedde, they neuer ceassedde to ymagyne for to destroye it. Of whiche battaille the Heraclians had the worse and therein dyed manye of their people, and amonge othere Xenares of Guide Lacedemonyan, who was their leader and capptayne generall. And so passed the wynter: whiche was the twelfe yeare of the warre. In the begynnynge of somer, the Beotians didde take the cytie of Heraclea into their handes, and dyd chase from-
thence Hegesippidas the Lacedemonyan, who had the gouernance thereof, sayHegesippidas.
ing that they gouerned it not wel, & that they feared that the Lacedemonyās, beinge occupied in Peloponese, leste the Athenyans shoulde take it. Wherewith the Lacedemonyans were tyght euylle contentedde towardes those Beotians. In the same somer Alcibiades, Duke of the Athenyans wyth the ayde of the Argiues and other their allyes wente into Peloponese hauing a small nomber aswel of men at armes, as archers. and of the confederates suche nomber as he founde in readines. and trauersynge the sayed countrey of Peloponese, he gaue order for that, which semed necessary for the season. And among other thinges he perswaded those Patras that they shulde make walles from their towne to the sea, & he

was mynded

was mynded for to haue made one on the syde that was towardes the coste of Achaia, but the Corynthians & the Sycyonians, whiche parceyued that the same shulde make against them, did empesche it. In the same somer was great warre betwene the Epidaurias and the Argiues, vnder couleur of this, that the Epidaurians hadde not sent an offeringe to the temple of Apollo Pythius, as they were bounde to do, the whiche temple was in the iurisdiction and power of the Argiues. But in trouthe it was for this, that the sayed Argiues and Alcibiades dyd searche some occasion for to take and occupie the sayed towne, if they myghte, alwelle for to be more sure agaynste the Corynthyans, as also for this, that frome oute of the porte of Egyne, they myght trauerse thider more easely and more directly: than for to go frome Athenes to enuyron the promontorye of Scillea. Scillea
And so the Argiues prepareddе themself for to go into armure and with force to recouer the sayed offrynge of the Epydaurians. In that same tyme, the Lacedemonyans yssuedde fourthe into camps wyth all their puissance. And assembledde themselfe at Leuctra, whiche is a towne in their territorye, vnder the conducte of Agis sonne of Archidamus their kynge, who was wyllynge to conducte Leuctra
theym agaynste Lycee, although he hadde not discoueredde his intente to anny Agis.
parsone in the worlde. But in sacrefyinge for their voiage, they coulde not fynde Liceum
that the goddes wouldе be propice or fauorable to theym therein. By reasone whereof, they retournedde fromethence, euery man into his house. And neuerthelas bifore their departure, they concludedde amonge themself that they shoulde assemble togiders agayne in the moneth followynge, whiche was the moneth of June. And after that they were disassembledde or disseuered, the Argiues yssued with all their power aboute the ende of May. And hauynge tournepedde all that same day, they entred into the lande of Epidaure, and so didde pillage and waste it. Whiche parceiued, the Epidauriens sent vnto the Lacedemonyans and their other allyes for to haue succours. Of whome, some excusedde themselues that the moneth, whiche was to them assigned for to reassēble themself, was not yet come. The other came to the confynes of the Epidauriēs, and there rested, without passing any further. And in the meane time that the Argiues were in the lande of the Epidauriās, there came to Mancinea the ambassadours of the other cyties, their confederates, at the instigacion of the Athenians. And after that they were al assembled, Euphamidas the Corinthiā proponed & shewed, howe that the effectes, Epha-
were not lyke to the woordes, insomuche as they obserued the woordes of peace midas.
and yett neuerthelas in the meane tyme, the Epidaurians and their allyes, were assembled in armure against the Argiues. Wherfore it was reasonable, that the men of warre shulde retyre on bothe sydes, and after ẏ, the treatie of peace shulde be renewed. Whereunto the ambassadours of the Athenians did accorde, & by that meane causeд their people, which were in the lande of the Epidauriās, to retyre. And afterwardes they reassembled themself altogiders for to treate of the peace. But being departed without conclusion, the Argiues marched afresshe in armure to ouerrone & pillage the countrey of Epidauriens. And in the self time the Lacedemoniās yssued for to go against the Caryās, but not hauing ẏ sacrifices propice or fauourable for the voiage, they retourned frōthence. As touching the Argiues, after ẏ they had brent & wasted about the third parte of the lande of Epidauriēs, they retyred, with whom Alcibiades was come fro the citie of Athens, wᵗ a thousand men. Understanding ẏ the Lacedemoniās were yssued into the feldes. Who being aduertised ẏ they retyred, retourned likewise himself, & in thies entrefaictes passed that same somer. In the beginning of wynter the Lacedemonyans sente, secretly and without knowlaige of the Athenians, by sea, three houndred mē to

the succours of the Epidaurians, vnder the conduct of Hegelipidas. Through occasion wherof the Argiues sente to the Athenians to shewe theym that though, that it was sayd and ordeyned in their allyance, that none of their confedered cyties shulde suffer to passe by their landes, nor by their seas anny ennemyes of the other marmure: they had neuerthelas suffred the people of the Lacedemonyās to passe by their sea for to go into Epidaure. Wherefore it was resonable that the Mantynyans and their sklaues shulde passe in their shippes and be transported vnto Pylus. And that doing otherwise, they shulde do them wrong. Upon which demaunde Alcibiades and Laconicus caused to be grauene in stone and to make declaracion by the Athenians, howe the Lacedemonians hadde broken their appoynctemente & falsefyed their othe. And vnder this coloure, they embarqued the esklaues of the Argiues at Eraine, and landed thē in the lande of Pylus, without doing other thing for that wynter. During ỳ whiche, the Argiues were in warre with the Epidaurians, but there was no rengedde battaile, but onely inroades, escharmouches and encountringes. And coming vpon the ende of wyntere, the Argiues came by night with ladders for to take the towne of Epidaure by assaulte, thynkyng that there hadde bene no people of defense within it, and that all hadde bene in the feldes, but they founde it hooly otherwyse, and retournedde fromethence wythoute anny thynge done. In this manner passed the wynter, whiche was the ende of the thirtenth yeare of the warre.

Laconicus.

Howe the Lacedemonians with their allyes beinge prest and readye to fight with the Argiues and their frendes, before the cytie of Argos: A trefues was takē by the chiefe men cappytayne for .iiii. monethes, without consent of the of warre. And howe the sayd trefues were broken on the bihalfe of the Argiues at perswation of the Athenyans, and howe they toke the cytie of Orchomenia.

☞ The .viii. Chapter.

THe somer following the Lacedemonyans, seing that the Epidaurians their allyes were trauailled with warre, and that manye places of Peponese departed from their amytie, and other were in greate variance, & that if they made no prouision therefore their affaires would alway growe from euill into woorse: they al armed themselues togiders vō their bondemen vnder conducte of Agis sonne of Archidamus their kyng, for to go againste Argos hauing with them the Tegetes, with al the other Arcadians, that were of their allyance. And to the other allyes of Peloponese: and of other places, they cōmanded that they shulde be at Philunte. Which thing they did, that is to witt, the Beotians vō syue thousand footemen wel armed, & as many light armed, & from the other places, euery man sence thider accordinge to their puissance. And chiefly the Philisiens, forsomuche as the assēblie was made in their territorye, they sent al thider almany of their people as they coulde make. The Argiues vnderstāding the enterprise of the Lacedemonians, and that they dyd go vnto Philunte, for to ioigne vō their other allyes: they came to mete thē with their puissance, hauing in their cōpaignye, the Mantynians with their allyes & three thousande Elyās wel armed, & did entounter thē nigh to Methydrie, which is a towne in the countrey of Arcadie. And so aither of the parties did his best to wyn the mountaigne, & the Argiues prepared themself to geue the battaill before ỳ the sayd Lacedemonias shoulde haue bene ioigned with those that were at Philunte. But Agis in the night departed fromthence for to go to the sayd Philunte. Wherof the Argiues being

Philuntes.

Methydrium.

being aduertysed, they departed at ỹ breake of the day & went frō thence straight waye vnto Argos, and fromthence to the waye that leadeth to Nemea, by the Nemea.
whyche they thoughte, that the Lacedemonyans shulde haue passed. But Agis, who doubted therof, had taken an other way more sharpe and more difficille, hauynge the Lacedemonyans, the Arcadyans and the Epidaurians wyth hym. By the whiche way they came for to descende into the lande of Argiues by one other coste. And the Corynthyans, the Phallyans and the Phialians by an other coste in the sayde waye. As touchynge the Beotians, Megarens and Sycionians yt was vnto them ordonned, that they shulde descende by the sayde waye that leadeth vnto Nemea, whereunto the Argyues were gone, to the intente that if the sayde Argyues wolde descende into the playne for to go to repoulse the Lacedemonyans that came the lowe waye, they shulde charge vpon them at their backes wyth their horsemen. The assayres than beynge so ordonned, Agis entred by the playne into the countrey of the Argyues, and pyllaged Sampnthe and some Samin
small villages there abouts, whyche parceyued the Argyues ylluedde fourth of thus.
Nemea at the breake of daye for to go to defende their goodes, & hauyng in their Thzali-
waye encountred the Corinthyans and the Phialians, they killed a certayne nō- lus.
ber of the sayd Phialians. But there was welle as many of theirs slayne by the Alcyprō
Corinthians. On the other syde the Beotyans, Megarens and Scycionians did kepe the way, whereunto they were appoynted, and dyd come strayghte way to Nemea, frowhence the Argyues were alreadye departed and descended into the playne. And after that they were there, seinge their goodes pyllaged and wasted, they dydde put themself in arraye for to fyght agaynste their ennemyes. who also dyd the lyke on their partie. But the Argiues dyd fynde themself enuyronned on all sydes, to wytte, on the side of the playne wyth Lacedemonyans and other, were in their compaigny, whyche were betwene them and their cytie, from of the syde of the mountaigne, wyth Corynthyans, Phialiēs, and Phallians: and from of the coste of Nemea, wyth Beotyans, Sycyonyans and Megarens, and also they hadde no horsemen. For the Athenyans that shulde haue brought theyme were not yet arryued, and also they thoughte not to haue had so greate assayre, nother that there had bene so many ennemys. But rather they hopedde, being in their lande and wythin viewe of their cytie to haue obteigned a glorious victorie agaynste the Lacedemonians. The twoo armyes than being ready to combate, twoo of the Argyues, to wytte, Traslylus that was one of the fyue Capytaines and Alcyphron, who had greate acquaynt ance & a house at Lacedemonye, came to speake wyth Agis for to empesche that there shulde be no battaille, offryng on the behalfe of the Argiues, if the Lacedemonyans pretended any quarell against them, for to obey to the ryght, prouyded that they shulde do the lyke for theire partie, and that done for to enter into allyance wyth them. Whiche offres ỹ laide two Argyues dyd make of their pryuate authorite wythout knowlayge or cōsente of the othere. wherunto Agis made them aunswere, likewise without thereunto calling anny other parsone, but only one of the iudges or threasurers of the armye, who was appoyncteddе to hym for a compaignyon in that same warre. & amongest them four they concluded a trefues for foure moneths. Duryng the which tyme, the causes above sayd shuld haue bene treated vpon. And that done Agis retyred wyth hys people wout speaking otherwise to any of the allyes nor also wyth the Lacedemonyans. All the whyche dyd followe him for that, that he was generall of the armye, and for to obsarue the souldarly lawe and disciplyne. But that not wythstandynge they blamed hym greatly, for thys, that hauynge one so greate and apparante occasyon of victoire, consydered that the ennemyes

were enclosed on all sydes, aswell wyth footemen, as also wyth horsmen, he departed fromthence wythout doynge there annye thynge worthye of so fayre an armye, whyche was one of the greatest that the Grekes had yet made in all that warre: and retyredde all vnto Nemea, where they solourneddе certayne dayes. Beynge in whyche place yt was iudged by all the Cappytayns and chiefe of warre, that they were puyssaunte ynough for to defeate, not only the Argiues and their allyes, but also muche more people if they had bene there, and fromthence they retourned all throughly angred, euery one vnto hys quarter. But yet the Argyues were more displeased agaynste the twoo, whyche hadde accordedde the appoynctmēt for their partie, saying that the Lacedemonias shuld neuer haue had so honneste occasion for to wythdrawe themselfe to their aduauntaige, for they thoughte that hauinge so fayer an armye, aswell of their owne people, as of their allyes: and moreouer beynge wythin the viewe of their cytie, they shulde easelye haue defeated the sayde Lacedemonyans. Beinge than departedde fromthence, they went altogyders into the towne of Charadrus, in the whyche, before that they entred into their cytie, & wold leue of their armure, they were willyng both to knowe of the warre and to determyne of the questyons of the warre and of the mylytary & souldearly causes. And so they concluded amonge other for to stoane Thrasylus. But he saued hymself wythin the temple, and yet neuerthelas they confiskated all his monney that he had there. In thies enterfaictes, and they beynge yet there, arryued a thousand fotemen & fyue hondred horsmen, whom Lachetes and Nicostratus brought vnto them from Athens, vnto whom they said that they shulde retourne, for it greuedde theym to breake the appointemente that hadde bene concludedde wythe the Lacedemonyans, in whatsoeuere manner, that it hadde bene made And although that the sayde Cappytaynes of the Athenyans demaunded to be presentedde wyth their people vnto the compnaltie of Argos, yet the sayde Cappytaynes of the armye woolde not agree vnto yt, vntill that the Mantynyans and the Elyans, wythe greate requeste, hadde obteignedde yt of the Argyues. Beynge than broughte in before the commons of Argos and byfore the allyes that were yett there, Alcibiades, who was generall of all the bende, shewedde theym that they hadde no power to make peace not here treatye wythe the ennemyes, wythoute their consente, and sithens that he was there arryuedde at the terme that he hadde promysed wythe hys bende, that they ought to begynne the warre agayne. And in suche manner he perswaded theym by hys oratyon, that they departed all at that presente for to goo agaynste Orchomenia, whyche is in the countrey of Arcadie, excepte the Argiues. who, albeit that they hadde bene of the same oppynyone, were neuerthelas slacke, but soone afterwardes they dydde followe the othere, and all togyders dydde laye siege to Orchomenia, and bledde all the forze that they myghte, for to take yt, aswelle wyth Engynes of artillerye as otherewyse, for they hadde greate delyre to take the same towne for manye reasons: but pryncypallye for thys, that the Lacedemonyans hadde besstowedde there wythin yt, all the hostages that they hadde takenne of the Arcadyans. The Orchomenyans fearynge to be takenne by force byfore that the succoures myghte comme vnto theyme, for that, that theire walles were not stronge, and that the ennemyes were in ryghte greate nomber: they made appoynctemente wyth theym, by meane whereof they became theire allyes, in rendrynge the hoostages that were wythin the towne, and in delyuerynge some for theymselfe vnto the Mantynyans. Aftere that the Athenyans and othere allyes hadde takenne Orchomenia, they deuysedde whider they shoulde goo at theire departure fromethence. For the Elyans woolde that they

Charadrus.

shulde

shulde haue gone into Lepzeum, the Mantynians into Tegea, vnto whose oppynion the Athenyans and Argiues dyd agree, wherupon the Elyans despised thē and retournedde fromthence into their houses. The other abodde at Mantinea and pzeparedde themselfe foz to go to Tegea, where they had some cōfederation wyth certaine of the people of the towne, who shulde haue bzought them into it. The Lacedemonyans, after that they were retourned from Argos, blaymedde greatly Agis, foz the trefues that he had made, and that he had not bzought the sayde cytie vnto their obeissance: hauynge the fairest occasion and the beste meane that euer they myghte haue hadde, nothere wythoute greate payne coulde haue. Foz yt semed vnto them very difficille and harde foz to assemble agayne at an other tyme, one so fayere an armye of theire allyes as that same was there. But whan the newes came of the takynge of Orchomenus, they were muche moze angry and anymated agaynst hym. In such sozte that they determyned to beate and battre downe hys howse, whyche thynge had not bene sene in the cytie, and foz to condempne hym in a houndzed thousande drachmes, so greate was their anger against him. Yet notwythstandinge he so excused hymself and made vnto them so many requestes, thereby promptynge to recompense that same faulte, by some other greate seruyce, if they wouldе lett hym haue the charge of the armye wythoute doynge that, whyche they hadde determyned agaynste hym, that they were contente to leaue to hym the sayde charge, wythout doyng hym other euil. But neuerthelas they made a newe lawe, whych neuer bifoze hadde bene made, whereby they created twelue counsaillours of the said cytie of Sparte, foz to assiste hym, wythout whome, he might nother conducte an armye out of the cytie, noz make peace, trefues noz treate wyth the ennemyes.

Howe the Lacedemonyans and their allyes dyd wynne one battaille againste the Athenyans, the Argiues and their other allyes in the lande of Mantynyans.

☞ The.xi. Chaptre.

IN thys meane tyme dyd come a messenger frō Tegea. who bzoughte theym newes frome those in the towne, that if they were not ryghte shortely succoured: they shulde be constrarnedde foz to render themselfe vnto the Argiues and to their allyes. wherof the Lacedemonyās were greatly astonyed and thereupon dyd all arme themselfe, aswel fre as bonde, wyth greater diligente than euer they had done, and wente fromthence to Orestii. Orestii. And on the other syde, they cōmaunded those of Menalia and the other Arcadyans, whyche toke their parte, that they shulde goo by theire shortesse waye vnto Tegea. And they, after that they were aryued at Orestie at their departure from Orestium, they did sende agayne thider well the sixte parte of their people, Orestria foz to kepe the cytie: amonge whome were those, whyche were to olde & to yong. The other marched straighte fourthe to Tegea, and they beynge there arryued, sone after came the Arcadyans, and besyde thys, they commaunded the Corynthyans, the Beotians, the Phocyans & the Locryans, that they shuld be at Mātynea with moste diligence that might be possible foz them. Now there were some of them there, whyche were nygbe ynough foz to come thider by and by. But foz that, that of force they muste passe through the lande of the ennemys, they were constrayned to attende and tary foz the others, and yett neuerthelas dyd vse the beste

beste dyligence that they coulde for to passe. The Lacedemonyans with the Arcadyans that they had, inuaded the lande of Mantynea, and there dyd all the euill that they could. Hauyng lodged their host bifore the temple of Hercules, the Argiues and their allyes being thereof aduertised, dydde comme to lodge themselfe in a hyghe place, stronge ynoughe and harde for to aboorde or to enter vpon, and there they prepareddе themselfe for to comme to the battaille agaynste the Lacedemonyans, who lykewyse marchedde in order for to combate. And beynge with in the caste of a stoane or of a darte, nighe vnto the ennemyes, one of the mooste auncyente of hys bende, seynge that they wente for to assault their ennemyes in theire forte: cryed greatlye and wyth a lowde voyce vnto theym, Agis wolle amende one euylle, whyche he hathe done, wythe one othere moore greatte, wylynge to geue it to be vnderstande, that thynkinge to amende the faulte whyche he hadde done at Argos, he woolde hazarte that same battaylle agaynste reasonne. Agis than vnderstandynge this, for feare that he hadde to be reprehendedde and rebukedde, if that he hadde assailled the ennemyes in their forte, orels rathere for thys, that it semed vnto hym not to be to purpose: he retyredde wyth hys people wythoute fyghting. And whan he was in the lande of Tegea, he dyuertedde and dydde tourne the water, frome the ryuer that passed throughe that countreye, into the lande of Mantynea. By reasonne of whyche ryuer, the Tegeans and the Mantynyans hadde oftentimes hadde question, for that, that yt wasted the landes, in that parte therof, where it hadde course. This dyd Agis, for that, that he woolde by that meane constrayne the Argiues & their allyes, to descende oute of their forte, wherein they were lodgedde, for necessytye of water, and to cause theyme to come into the playne, to the ende that he myghte combate in a reasonable or indifferente place, and so he aboode in that same place for to diuerte and tourne awaye the water all that daye. The Argiues and their allyes were furste abaschedde of thys, that the Lacedemonyans were so soubdaynelye departedde, and coulde not thinke the cause of theire departure. Afterwardes seynge that they were retyredde, and that they hadde not pursued them, they chargedde theire Dukes and Capytaynes therewyth, sayinge: that furste they hadde suffredde them to passe by appoynctemente, whan they myghte haue destroyedde them bifore Argos, and vowe that they were fledde, that they wold not followe them, and by that meane, the ennemyes hadde wyth their ayse saued themself, and that they were deceyued and betraped by their sayde Capytaynes. who were through that murmuration much troubled, and yet neuerthelas did afterwardes departe oute of their forte, wherin they were wyth their people, and descendedde into the playne, to the intente for to pursue their ennemyes. And the day followynge, they marchedde in battaille, determynedde to fyghte agaynste them, if they myghte mete or fynde theyme. On the othere syde the Lacedemonyans, who were retourned from the ryuer into their furste Campe, nygh to the temple of Hercules, parceyuinge them to comme towardes them, were moore afrayd, than euer at any time bifore, within the remembrance of man, they had bene. For that, that the thinge was so soubdayne, that scarcely they hadde space for to putte themselfe into battaylle araye. Notwithstandinge they toke harte of grace and recouered their espryttes incontynently, and euery man dyd putt himself in order at commandement of Agis their kyng. who had by order of their lawes, al the authorytie to cõmaunde and ordeyne the Dukes of the armye, whyche were the chiefeste vnder hym. And afterwardes, the Dukes commaunded the Trybunes, the Trybunes the Centurions, and the Centurions the Direniers or rotter men, rulers of euery nomber of tenne, for such is their order. By means wher-

of

of, whatsoeuer was requisyt to be done, was quickly executed, for a great parte of the people that be in their hoost, haue charge the one ouer the other, and soo there be founde manye that haue charge of the assayres. At that same tyme the Scirites by their owne accorde placed themself in the lefte poincte. For such, from all auncyente, was the order of the Lacedemonyans, and wyth them, those, whyche had de bene in Thrace wyth Brasidas, and those that had newly bene affranchised and putt into lybertie. After them there were the othere Lacedemonyans in bendes accordynge to their order, and ioigninge to them the Arcadyans. And in the ryght poynct, the Menalyans, the Tegeates and a small nomber of Lacedemonyans, who kepte the poincte, and the horsemen the wynge. On the othere syde the ryghte poincte was commyttedde to the Mantynians, for that, that the feate was done in their lande. After theym, were the Arcadyans of theire partie, and a thousande ordenarye Souldears. vnto whome the Argiues dydde geue ordenary soulde or wages, for that, that they were well experymented for the warre, and after them, were all the Argyues, and successyuely the Cleonians and the Orneates their allyes, and synally at the ende of the lefte poincte were the Athenyans wyth their horsmen. Suche was the order of bothe the battailis, and albeit that the Lacedemonyans were of the greater apparance, yet coulde I not for trouthe describe the nomber of the people, nother of the one syde nor of the other, nother of them both togyders. To wyt, of the Lacedemonyās for that, that they do their feates very secretly and in greate sylence: and of the other, for that, that they make them so greate, that that, whyche they saye, is not to be beleued. But yet neuerthelas the nomber of the Lacedemonyans may be coniectured by thys, that seuen bendes of theirs dyd fyght besides the Scyrites, who were fiue houndred. In euery of whyche bendes, were. v. Centuries, and in euery Centurie, two Manipules, and in ayther Manyppule there were foure men a fronte at the poinct. But more inner in the depth therof, there were more or lesse accordyng to the discretion of the cappytaynes and Bandoliers. And yet neuerthelas euery order was of the thicknes of eight men, and the fronte of al the former seueral bendes was ioygned and locked egally in lengthe, and there were foure houndred, forty and eyght men in the furste poincte, besydes the sayd Scyrites. After that they were thus all sett into battaille araye, aswell of the one syde as of the other, euery cappytayne exhorted & encouraiged hys souldears, the beste wyse that they coulde: to wytt, the Mantinians declared to their people, that the questyon was, of losinge their seignyory and lybertie, and of their comynge into seruytude. The Argyues shewed vnto theirs, that the questyon was to defende their principalitie, whyche was egall to the same of the other cyties of Peloponese, and also for to reuenge the oultrages and iniurves, that their voysins & ennemys, had oftene tymes done vnto them. The Athenyans proponed vnto theirs that it shulde be their honnour (sithens they dyd fyght wyth so greate nomber of their allyes) to shewe that they were no worse warryours thā the other, and also if they coulde at the selfe instante vainquysshe and destroye the Lacedemonyans in the countrey of Peloponesa, their estate and seignyorye shulde forever be in the greatter suertie, for there shulde neuer be any people that durste comme to assaylle them in their landes. Such were the sayinges and perswations that were made to the Argiues and their allyes. As touchynge the Lacedemonyans they were all assured people and experte in warre, wherefore they hadde no nede of exhortatyon. For the memory and recordynge of their many and cheualerous feates dyd geue thē more hardynes, than a shorte declaratyon (though yt hadde bene welle garnysshed wyth wordes) coulde haue done. Thys passed they, beganne to marche the

Scirites.

one

one agaynſte the other, to wytt, the Argyues and theyr allyes wyth greate impetuoſytie or fiercenes, and wyth greate wrathe and anger. And the Lacedemonyans all at leaſure and pace by pace after the ſounde of the trompets. wherof they had greate nomber diſperſed into many places of their battaille, for ſuche was theyr cuſtome and ordenance, to cary many of them, not for any reſpygyon or deuotyon as many other doo, but for to marche in better order at the ſounde of the ſayd trompettes, and alſo to the ende that they ſhulde not be putt into diſorder at the encountrynge of the ennemyes, as it chaunceth oftentymes whan twoo greate armyes do encounter the one, the othere. But before that they dyd come to the encountrynge or metinge, Agis kynge of the Lacedemonyans deuyſedde wyth hymſelfe for to doa thynge for to empeſche and wythſtande that, whyche hadde alwayes bene vſed whan twoo battailles dyd encounter. For thoſe, that be in the ryghte poynete of ayther ſyde, whan they comme to encounter the ennemyes that be in the appoſytte or directly agaynſt the lefte poynete, they ſpreade themſelf in lenghe for to enuyron and encloſe thē. For that, that ayther partie feariuge to abyde in diſcouert of the ryght ſyde, whych the ſhield doth not couer, he wardeth hymſelf wyth hys ſhielde that is nerte hym on the right hande, and they thinke that whan they be moſt locked togiders, they ſhulde be moſte in couert and in ſuertie, and he that is formoſt in the ende of that ſame ryght poynct, ſheweth to the other the way to do yt, for inſomuch as he hath none at his right hande for to warde hym, he taketh the moſte payne that he maye, to ercbue the ennemyes on that ſyde that is openne or diſcouered, and for that cauſe doth the beſte that he canne for to auaunce the ende of the contrarye poynete, that was oppoſit or dyrecte againſte hym and for to encloſe and enuyronne it, for that he woolde not be aſſailled on the ſyde, whyche ys diſcouereddde, and the othere for the ſelfe feare dyd followe hym. Nowe the Mantynians, who kepte the ryghte poynct of their ſyde, were in much greater nōber, than the Scirites. Alſo the Lacedemonyans and the Tegetes, who kepte the ryghte poynete of their ſyde, were in muche greater nōber, than the Athenyans that kepte the lefte poynct of theirs. For thys cauſe Agis fearyng leſte the lefte poincte of his people ſhulde ſuſteigne dammage by the Mantynyans, who were in muche greater nomber, he made a ſigne to the Scirites and to the Bralidians, that they ſhulde retyre oute of their order, and ſoigne themſelfe to the Mantynians, and fourthwyth he commaunded two Trybuns, that were in the ryghte poynete, to wytte, Hipponoides and Ariſtocles, that they ſhulde departe oute of the place, wherein they were in theire bendes, and that they ſhuld readely beſtow theſelf in rome of the ſaid Scirites & Bralidians, thynkinge that by that meane, hys ryghte poynete ſhulde remayne yet well prouyded for, and the lefte ſhulde be greatly ſtrengthened for to reſiſte the Mantynyans. Neuertheles they woolde not do it, alwell for that, that they were already nighe hande to hande wyth the ennemyes, as alſo the tyme was very ſhorte for to do that, whyche they were commaundedde, through occaſyon wherof, they were afterwardes bannyſhed oute of Sparte, as nyce and ſlouthfull. The Scirites and the Bralidians beinge than ſeparated and retyred out of their order accordinge to the commaundemente of the kyng Agis, and the ſame kyng, ſeing that the other two bēdes dyd not come into their place, he comaſided them againe, that they ſhulde putt themſelf into their former order. But it was not poſſyble for them ſo to do, nother for thoſe of that poynct, fromwhence they were departed, to receue them, beinge alredy all locked togider and nigh vnto the ennemyes. And yet neuertheles the Lacedemonyans ſhewedde themſelfe in all thynges the better warryours, and more experimented in warre, than the other.

Hippo-
noides.
Ariſto-
cles.

For

For whan it came to fighting hande to hande, the Mantynyans, that hadde the ryght poincte, at the arryuall dyd put the Scirrtes and the Bralidians to flight, and wyth their allyes and the thousande souldiars of the Argiues, they charged vpon the lefte poincte of the Lacedemonyans, whych they founde naked & voide vō the sayd two bendes, and so repoulsed it and constraigned the Lacedemonyans, that were after them there, to take flight, and chased them into the marelles that were nyghe vnto them, wherein there were some of the mooste aged slayne. And so in that parte, the Lacedemonians were vainquished: but as for the remenante and chiefly the middell of the battaill, wherin the kinge Agis was, hauing aboute him three houndred chosen men, whyche were named, the knightes: the thynges wente whooly otherwyse, for they chargedde wyth suche force vpon the pryncipall and mooste auncyent of the Argiues and vpon the thousand souldears, whyche were named the fyue Cohertes or bendes, and lykewyse vpon the Cleontyns, and vpon the Orneates, and vpō some Athenyans, that were in their bendes: that they caused them to lose the place, and truly manye wythoute makynge resystence, seynge the ympetuosytye or fierrenes of the Lacedemonyans, dyd flye, whereby a nomber of them were oppressed and strangled in the preasse. The Argiues and their allyes beinge in flyght, their battaille was brokenne on bothe sydes, whereby the Athenyans, that were in the lefte poincte were in great daunger. For that, that the Lacedemonyans and the Tegeates, whyche were in the ryghte poincte of the ennemyes, had enclosed them on the one syde, and on the other, their allyes were vainquished, and had not it bene for the succour, whiche they had vō their horsemen, they had bene all destroyed. And also in thies enterfaictes, Agis beinge aduertysed, that those, that were in the lefte poincte of his battaille dyrectly agaynste the Mantynyans, and the thousand souldears Argyues, were in greate parille: he commaunded all his people that they shuld go to succour them, which thing they dyd, by meane wherof, the Athenians had leasure to saue themselfe with the Argiues, which had bene vainquished. And as tou chinge the Mantynyans and the thousand soldyars of the Argiues, they hadde no hart any lōger to pourslue against them, that were oppoūt or directly against them, but yet seinge their people beaten or ouercomme, and the Lacedemonyans that came to ouerronne them, they dyd lykewise flye, and therin many of ꝯ Mantynyans were slayne: but the moze parte of the thousande souldyars, Argiues, saued themselfe in retyrynge all faper and easely wythout flying in disarape. For also the customme of the Lacedemonyans ys to fight aigrelye and longe vntil they haue putt their ennemyes to flyghte, but afterwardes, as they see them flye, they follow not them longe. And suche was ꝯ yssue of that same battayl, the whiche was the greateste and mooste sharpe amonge alle the othere that the Grekes had hadde togider, for also the same was betwene the mooste puissance Cyties of Greece. After the victorie, the Lacedemonyans, spoilled furst ꝯ dead bodies of the ennemyes of their harnes, whervō they dzelledde their Trophee, and than they spoilled them of their habillemētes and apparell which they caryed away, and that done they rendzed the Cariogns to the ennemyes, that requyzed them. As touching theirs, they caused them to be caryed into the towne of Tegea, and there they cauled them to be honnorably engraued or buryedde. The nomber of them that dyed in that battaille, was, of the Argiues, Orneates, and Cleonyans aboutes leuene houndzed, of the Mantynyans two houndzed, and of the Athenyans and Argyues almany: amongeste whome, were Dukes and Cappytaines of the same Athenyans and Argiues. On the Lacedemonyans parte, there was not so many, as there nedeth any greate memozy of them, and also the nomber is

not well knowen but it is comonly sayde, that there dyed of them aboutes thre houndred. Nowe was it happened that at the houre, whan the battaille shulde be made, Plistoanax the other kynge of Lacedemony yssued wythe the olde and yonge people of the Cytie, for to comme to the succours of the othere. But being comme to Tegea, and there vnderstandinge the newes of the victorye, he retourned, and so contremanded or wylled the Corinthians and othere allyes, that be out of the distraict of Peloponese, whyche came lykewyse to the succoures of the sayde Lacedemonyans to repaire homewardes, and geuyng lycence to certayne estrangers, that were wyth them to departe, they afterwarde celebrated theire feast, which is named, Carnea. And by this meane they reuenged and blotted out the infamie and shame, which they had receyued of the Athenyans, aswelle in the Iland, as in other places, (wherby they were reputed nyce people and euil warriours) through this only victory, and yt was knowē that that, which before tyme had happened vnto them, was through fortune of warre, but that their vertue and force therin was such, as had bene accustomed. It chaunsed also that the day before the sayd battaille, the Epidaurians, thinking that the Argiues had bene al gone to that same battaill, & by that meane, that the Cytie remayned voide or desolate, they came with al their strength or power for to enter into their land, and did slay some of their cytezeins, that were left for defence of the cytie, whych came fourth against them. But thre thousand Elyans which did come to ỹ succour of Mantynyans, and a thousand Athenyans, which lykewyse came to ỹ succour of theirs, togiders wyth those that were eskaped from the battaille, ioigned themself togider, and went all againſt Epidaure. And in ỹ meane tyme, that the Lacedemonyans made their feaste of Carnea, they assieged the sayde cytie on all sydes, departynge the quartiers amonge them, and they enclosed yt wyth walles. And the Athenyans in the quarter that was geuene or appoyncted to them, after that the other dyd ceasse to worke, they fortefyed the temple of Juno, whyche was wythout the cytie in their sayd quarter, and therin placinge a good garnysonne, they afterwardes retournedde fromethence into theire houses. And so the sommer endedde.

Plistoanax.

¶ How the peace was made betwene the Lacedemonyans and the Argiues, and afterwardes the allyance. And of some other thinges that were done aswell on the parte of the Lacedemonyans, as of the same of the Athenyans wythout anny declaration of warre.

¶ The.v. Chapter.

IN the begynnyge of the wynter followynge, the Lacedemonyans, hauinge celebrated their feaste of Carnea, they yssued into the feldes and wente towardes Tegea. Being in which place, they sente of their owne mynde their messengers vnto the Argyues for to treate the appoinctmente. Nowe there was in the cytie of Argos many (that were the chiefest) with the Lacedemonyans, the whyche further desyred to aboliſhe the estate and gouernance of the common people, whyche was in the cytie, and to bringe it vnto a small nomber. And after the battaille losste, founde manye of the people of theire opynyon. And for to do that, they wolde furste make peace wyth the Lacedemonyans, and that done, afterwardes make the allyance, by meanes whereof they hoped to subdewe the people. The Lacedemonyans dydde than sende Lychas

the sonne

the sonne of Archelilaus for to treate the peace, for that, that he had a house in the towne, to whome they gaue charge for to demaunde of them the one of twoo thynges: to wyt, in what sorte, they wolde make warre, if they woolde haue yt, or peace, if that they desyred peace. whereupon there were greate altercations, for that, that Alcibiades was there, who trauailed to the contrary wyth hys power. But fynally, they that toke parte wyth the Lacedemonyans, had furste so declared their myndes and vsed sucde diligence, that they induced the comon people to make and accepte the sayde peace, in manner that followeth.

The sonrme of the peace bitwene the Lacedemonyans and the Argiues.

IT pleaseth the counsaill of the Lacedemonyans to make peace with the Argiues in this manner. to wytt, that the Argyues shall render to the Orchomenyans, their children, to the Menaliens their Cytezeins: and those that were wythin Mantinea, to the Lacedemonias. Orchomenii.
And further, that they shulde wythdrawe their people, whiche they hadde biforе Epidaure, and rase downe the walle, whyche they hadde there made. And if the Athenyans wolde not wythdrawe theirs fromthence, they shulde be reputed enemyes, aswell of the Lacedemonyans, as of the Argiues. And likewyse the Lacedemonyans, if they had any childe of the sayd Argiues or of their allyes wyth them, they shulde render and delyuer them. For performance of whyche thinges, they shulde make othe the one to the other, and this much is it, as touching them. As concernynge the remenant, that all the cyties of Peloponese small and greate shall fromhensforwardes be in lybertie, and lyue accordinge to their auncyent lawes and customes, and if anny estrangier shall wyll to enter into the said countrey of Peloponese in armure agaynste one of the sayd cyties, the other shal succour yt, so as it shalbe by them adujsed wyth a common accorde. And as touchynge the allyes of the Lacedemonyans that be without the sayde Peloponese, that they be and remayne in the estate, wherin those of the Argyues be, euery one in hys terrytorye, and that whan anny succoure shalbe demaundedde by the allyes of the one of the parties, and that they shalbe assembled for to make it, after that declaration shall haue bene made of the presente articles, it shalbe in their lybertie, aither to fight wyth them, or to retourne into their houses. whych articles were accepted by the Argiues. And that done, the Lacedemonyans departed frō biforе Tegea and retourned home. Sone after, those, that had treated the sayde peace beinge gone and come many tymes, the one vnto the other, it was fynally concluded betwene them, that the Argiues shulde make allyance wyth the Lacedemonyans, for takinge the same, whyche they had concluded wyth the Athenyans, the Mantynyans and the Elyans, the whyche was accorded in the manner that followeth.

The sourme of the allyaunce betwene the Lacedemonyans and the Argyues.

IT hathe pleased the Lacedemonyans and the Argyues for to make allyaunce and confederation betwene them, for fyftye yeares in thys manner. To wit, that the one partie shall do and mynyster ryghte and reasone vnto the other egally accordinge to their auncyente lawes and customes. And that the cyties that be in Peloponese, free and lyuing in lybertie, shal ? maye enter into thys allyance, to holde theire terrytorye and to exercyse theire iustyce, lyke as they haue accustomedde. And all the othere Cyties, that be

allyed wyth the Lacedemonyans, beinge wythout Peloponese, shalbe of the self sorte and condytion, that the Lacedemonyans be in: and likewyse the allyes of the Argyues of the sorte and condytion of the same Argiues kepynge their territory. And if it be nedefull to sende anny succours to anny of the sayde confederated cyties, the said Lacedemonyans & Argyues shal mutuelly deuyse, what shal be expedient and raysonable, to wit, if any of the sayd cyties haue question & difference wt other cyties, that they may not be of this alliance, by reasone of their lymitts or otherwise. And if any of the same confederated cyties, had any difference the one against the other, the same different shalbe cõmit to one of the othere cyties, that shalbe sõde trusty and indifferent vnto both parties, for to be frendly iudged after their lawes and customs. In such fourme was the allyance made. By meane wherof all the differents that were betwene the sayd two cyties were extinguished and appeased. And so they concluded betwene them not to receyue any herault nother any Imbassadour of the Athenyans, into nother cytie, but yt furst they shuld voyde their people out frõ Peloponese, and rase downe ẏ walls, that they had made at Epidaure, and that they shulde promys, nothere to make peace, nor warre, but by one common accord of both the sayd cyties. Nowe the sayd Lacedemonyans and Argyues had purposed to do many thynges, but principally they were wyllynge to make an enterpryse into the countreye of Thrace. For that cause they sente their Imbassadours vnto Perdiccas for to wdraw him to their allyance. wherunto he wold not at the furst fronte agree, nother departe from the amytie of the Athenyans, not wythstanding that he had greate regarde to the Argyues, for that, that he was borne in their cytie, and therfore he did take a tyme for to deliberate & consult vpon it. And therupon the Lacedemonyans & Argiues renewed the othe that they had wt the Chalcides and also added a new othe. Afterwards the Argiues did sende their Imbassadours to the Athenyãs, for to commone and commande them to forsake and rase downe the wall that they had made at Epidaure. Who parceyuinge that the armye, wyche they had lefte there was small, in comparyson of the othere, that was departed fromethence: they sente Demosthenes for to cause their people to retyre. who beinge there arryued, faygned to make a tourney wythout the towne, and by that meane caused the other that were in garnyson wythin, to issue fourth, and whan they were without, he locked the gates agaynst them, and afterwards caused them of the towne to assemble togider, and renewed the allyance, wyche they had wyth the Athenyans, and in that doinge, rendred the wall vnto them. for wyche the question was. After that the allyance was made betwene the Lacedemonyans and the Argiues, the Mantynyans refused at the begynnynge to enter into it: but leynge that they were to weake for the Argiues, sone after they made appoynctemente wyth the Lacedemonyans, and lefte the townes that they helde in their lybertie. That done, the Lacedemonyans and the Argyues, ayther of them sente a thousande of their people to Sycione, and there dydde take the gouernance fromethe common people, and committed it into the handes of a certen nomber of the cytezeins, and the Lacedemonyans were principall and chief doers thereof. And sone after the lyke was done in the cytie of Argos to the intent, that it shulde be gouerned after the selfe order vsed in the cytie of Lacedemonie. wyche thinges were done aboute the ende of the wynter, the spryng tyme approchyng, in that same yeare, wyche was the fourtenthe of the warre. The sommer followynge, they of Epitedie, wyych be in the cõtrey of Athon, rebelled from the Athenyans, and reallyed themself wyth the Chalcides, and the Lacedemonyans dydde gene order in the affayres of Achaia, wyche were not well to their contentacyon. And

Chalcidenses.

Demosthenes

Epitedieuses.

in the

meane tyme the people of Argos, who had already conspyred to recouer and take agayne the gouernement, espying the tyme whan the Lacedemonyans exercysed themself all naked accordinge to their custome: they arose vppe againste their gouernours in armure, and some of them they dyd slay, and the other they bannished, who, before that they were chased or dryuen fromthence, had sent vnto the Lacedemonyans, to haue theire ayde, but they slacked tomuch their cõming through cause of their sayde exercise or playes, notwythstandinge they sone after deferred or put them of, and issued fourth into the feldes for to succour the said gouernours. But beinge arryued at Tegea, and vnderstandinge there that the said gouernours were dryuen away, they retourned frõthence & acheued or made an ende of their said playes. Afterwardes ambassadours were sent vnto them, aswell by those, that were chased fromthence, as also by those, that gouernedde the towne, the which were hearde by ỹ Lacedemoniãs in the presence of their allyes. And after that the thinges were at length debated, it was declared, that the gouernours were wrongfully and wt out cause bannished, and was concluded to go thider in armure, and by force to place thẽ agayne wythin the towne, but the execution beinge to longe delayed, they, that were wythin the towne, fearynge to be ouercomme and taken, reallied themself afreshe wyth the Athenyans, thinkinge to be by them garded and defended: and that done, they caused forthdamelye the walls to be made from the towne vnto the sea, to the ende that if they were empeached or lett to haue victuails by lande, they might yet haue them by sea, and thys they dyd (hauinge intelligence wyth some of the Cyties of Peloponese) in so great diligence, that there was not man nor woman, ponge nor olde, small nor great, that imployed not himself therin. Also the Athenyans sente thider all their masons & carpenters, so ỹ the said walls, were acheued and fynished at the ende of sommer. Whych perceued, the Lacedemonyans assembled all their allyes, except ỹ Corinthians, and in the beginninge of wynter they wente to make warre against them vnder conducte of their king Agis. And they had also some intelligence in the towne of Argos, but seinge that it came not to effecte, they toke the walles, whyche were newely made and not fully fynished, by force, and raseddе them downe. And afterwardes they dyd take a small towne, that was in the territorye of the sayde Argos, named Hyllas, by assaulte, and dyd slaye all the notable or beste men that they founde wythin it, and afterwardes retourned fromethence into their houses. And sone after the Argyues yssued fourth of their town wyth all their force against the Phliasians, & pillagedde alle their lande. For somuche as they hadde receyuedde their exiles or bannyshedde men: of whome some had there, houses and heredytamentes, and afterwardes retourned fromthence into their towne. That same wynter, the Athenyans made warre against Perdiccas in Macedonie, vnder colour of thys, that they sayde, that he had conspired against them wt the Lacedemonyans and the Argiues, and that whan the same Athenyãs had prepared their army for to sende them into Thrace against the Chalcydes and the Amphipolites vnder the conducte of Nycias, he hadde dissembled wyth them, in suche sorte, that the sayde enterprysle couldе not be executed, and by that meane he was declared their enemy. And in thies entrefaicts passed that winter, which was the ende of the fourtenth yere of that same warre. At begynnynge of the sommer followynge, Alcibiades wyth twenty shipps passed into Argos, and there beinge entred into the cytie, he toke three houndred of the burgeoses of the towne, whyche he suspected to take the parte wyth the Lacedemonyans, whome he caused to departe and to be caryed into the Ilandes whyche the Athenyans gouernedde in that same quarter.

Howe Lytie of Meleas was al

sieged and fynally taken by the Athenyans, and some other thynges that were done that self same yeare.

☞The.xi.Chapte.

IN that same tyme the Athenyans also sente an othere armye by sea vi thirty shyppes of theirs agaynste the Iſlande of Meleas, in whych shippes there were twelue houndredde men well armed, three houndredde Archers and twentye lyghte horses, and moreouer there was in that same armye, sixe shippes of those of Chio, and two of those of Lesbos, beſydes the ayde whyche they hadde of their othere allyes, and of those of the selfe Iſlande, whyche amountedde to, aboutes a thousande, fyue houndredde men. Nowe were the Melians Burgeoles of the Lacedemonyans, and refuſed to be vnder the obeiſſaunce of the Athenyans, like as all the othere Iſles of that same sea. Notwythſtandynge that from the begynnynge they were not so declaredde agaynste them. But for that, that the Athenyans woulde constrayne theym to declare themself and for that cause had burned and waſted that their lande, they shewedde themself openly their ennemys and entred in warre agaynste theym. The sayde armye beynge than arryued in the sayd Iſlande, Cleomedes sonne of Lycomedes and Tilias sonne of Tylymachus, who were the Capytains, before they dyd any dammaige to them of the Iſlande, they sente certayn of the Ambaſſadours vnto them of the citie for to speake with them, who were heard not before all the commons, but before the officers and those of the counſaille onelye. So they declaredde their charge, and were answered, and the matter debated betwene them, lyke as hereafter followeth in maner of a dyalogue.

Cleomenes.
Tilyas.

¶ The conferringe or talke that

was betwene the Ambaſſadors of the Athenyans, and of the officers of Meleas, for to treate the appoyncteminte betwene them.

☞The.xii.Chapter.

FIrſte the Athenyans dyd speake in this manner. Sirs we parceyue well, that youe are not willinge that wee shulde speake before alle the commynaltie, but only in thys assembley, fearinge leſte thoughe that we shulde haue had by long oration declared in preſence of the whole commynaltie, all true and reaſonable thynges: yet that not wythſtandynge, that same commons, not hauinge otherwyſe debatedde the matter frome poyncte to poyncte, myghte thereby be induced to corrupt some errour. wherfore yt ys expedient that ye do ꝯ lyke, to wytt, that ye declare not your purpoſe raſhly or all at ones, but frō poincte to poinct, ſo that if you shal see, that we ſay any thing, that is impertinent or vnreaſonable, ye may answere therunto, and tel vs your oppiniō therin. And before all thinges declare vnto vs, if this manner of speakynge, which we do propone vnto youe, be to your contentatyon or not. The Melyans. Truly lordes, this facyon of speakynge aparte and debatynge cauſes wyth leaſure, ys not to be blaymedde. But there ys one thynge that semethe vnto vs contrarye and repugnante to this, & that is, that ye cōme not to speake of warre to follow, but of the same that preſently is already. wherefore we parceyue well, that youe wolde iudges of thys preſente communycation. And that the ende thereof shalbe ſuche, that though we vainquiſhe youe by reaſon, and therefore do not agree to

youre

pour will, yet you wille warre agaynſt vs. And if we conſent to that whiche you wolle, we ſhall remayne youre ſubiectes and in youre bondage. The Athenyans. Verely if ye be here aſſebled for to debate of matters, that maye chance, or for any other matter: than for to prouyde for the eſtate and wealth of your cytie in the eſtate, that the thynges be: it is not nedefull that we ſpeake further therein, but yf ye be come for this purpoſe, we wolle ſpeake therof. The Melyans. It ſtandethe with all reaſone, and alſo to be licencedde, that people that be in ſuche perplexitie, ſhulde ſhewe many reaſons, and change many purpoſes, hauing regarde to manye thinges, conſidered, that the queſtion is of oure wealth. Wherefore if it pleaſe you, we wolle debate togider in ſuche ſorte, as you haue reherced. The Athenians, Sithens than it is conuenient ſo to talke, we wolle not vſe doubtful termes, as if that by ryght, the gouernance ouer you bilonged vnto vs, by reaſone of the victorye, that we ſometyme had againſt the Medes, nor by long wordes, for to ſhewe you, that we haue iuſt cauſe to moue warre agaynſt you, for the iniurye that we haue receyued of you. Alſo it it not nedeful that ye declare vnto vs that ye be burgeoſes of the Lacedemonyans, and that ye haue in nothing offended vs, hoppyng by that meane to perſwade vs to deſiſt and leue of oure enterpryſe. But ye muſte treate of poſſible thynges accordingly as we and you vnderſtande the affaire and buſynes that preſently is in hande. And to conſider that among people of vnderſtanding the iuſt and reaſonable cauſes be debated by reaſone, whan there is no neceſſitie on the one ſyde, more than of the other. But whan the more ſeoble debate matters, which the ſtronger parte doth demaunde of them: it is conuenient for them to accorde vnto the leſſe euyll. The Melyans, Sythence than, that ye wolle, that, without debatynge wyth reaſone, men ſpeake, to make the beſte, that may be, according to the eſtate of thynges: It is reaſonable, not being hable to do better, that we conſerue that, wherein conſiſteth our comon welth, to wytt, oure lybertie. Alſo it ſhulde be conuenient and honorable for a man, that is continually in danger, ſo that he perſwade an other, that he ſhulde contente hymſelf with that, that he may aduantage and ſaue by his witt, and by his diligence according to the tyme, and to accepte it lykewyſe himſelf, wherefore you other Athenyans, ought welle to take hede, for this, that for ſomuche as ye be of more power, than the other, that if one ſuche aduerſitie chaunced vnto youe, ſomuche youre ruyne ſhulde be ſomuche the greater example of other, for your punyſhment ſhulde be ſomuche the greater. The Athenyans, we feare not the abolyſhynge of oure empire and ſeignorie. For thoſe that haue accuſtomed to rule other: as the Lacedemonyans haue done, be not ſo cruell towardes them whome they vainquiſhe, as they be, that haue bene accuſtomed to be ruled, whan they rebell, if they haue the victory againſt them, to whome they were ſubiect. But as the danger therof reſiſteth to vs, ſo leue it to our parelles and fortunes, & lette vs ſpeake of that, which apperteigneth to the augmentacion of oure empire, for whiche cauſe we be come hider, & for the welth of your citie. And as touching that, we woll tell you plainly our intent. Whiche is, that we wolle gouerne you, and yet not be moleſtuous nor importunate vnto you, and in this doynge ſaue youe, aſwell for youre welth, as for ours. The Melyans, howe may that be, that it ſhoulde be almuche our profyte to be your ſubiectes, as to yours to be our Lordes? The Athenyans. Truelye it is your profyte, to do rather ſo, than to ſuffre all the extremyties of warre. And ours, to haue you to our ſubiectes, rather than to ſlaye you. The Melyans: And if we be newter without medlynge wyth the one partie or wyth the other, and that we be your frendes in ſtede of thies queſtions, being nowe youre enemyes, wolle ye not be therewith contented de? The Athenyans: No truelye, for it

ſhulde be moze damage to haue you foz frendes,than ennemyes,foz this, that if we ſhulde accepte you foz frendes it ſhulde he a argument oz declaration of our weakenes & ympotency,wherby the other,ouer whome we gouerne,ſhall eſteme vs the leſſe. The Melyans:Than thoſe, that be vnder youre empire, be of this mynde that they deſire that thoſe,whiche haue nothyng to do with you, ſhulde be your ſubiectes as they be.And alſo,that your colonies, if there be any of them that haue rebelled againſt you,that they ſhulde be brought againe into your ſubiection. The Athenyans:And wherefoze ſhoulde they not haue that opinion, foz they thinke not,that the one noz the other wythdrawe themſelf frome our obeyſance by any reaſone,but only whan they parceyue themſelf to be puiſſante inough foz to reſiſt vs,and that we foz feare dare not aſſaille thē.Wherby,beſydes this, that whan we ſhall haue ſubdewed you,we ſhall haue greater nomber of ſubiectes:Oure empire ſhalbe alſo thereby moze puiſſant & moze aſſured,foz that,that you be ilanders and people of the Ilande,and be reputed puiſſant by ſea,wherefoze if we ſubdue youe, ye ſhalbe afterwardes moſte feeble. The Melyans.And you, do not you put and repute youre ſuertie to be in youre foze by ſea-but inſomuch as you perſwade vs,that we ſhulde leue aparte reaſon foz to obey to your intent and proffitt,we woll lykewiſe ſhewe you & take paine to do you to knowe, that the thing whiche we demande foz our profyte, ſhall redounde to yours,foz you may well vnderſtande,that by ſubduing vs without other quarelle,yt ſhall cauſe all thoſe of Greece,that haue bene newter,to be your ennemies,foz that,that ſeing what ye ſhal haue done,they ſhal feare leſte afterwardes, you would do the lyke vnto them,by which doing you augment your ennempes,& conſtraine thoſe to be aduerſaries,that were not wollynge vnto it. The Athenians. It is not ſo as you do vnderſtande it,foz we thinke not that thoſe,which lyue in lybertie,be it in maine lande,in any parte that it may be,oz in any Ilandes,that be not ſubiect to any other perſone,as you be,may be ſo ſharpe oz ſo to be feared,as the other,that be ſubiectes & obey by foze,whan they be yll mynded: foz that,that they, whiche lyue in lybertie be moze necligent to defende themſelf,but thoſe that be ſubiectes, through their diſordered paſſions, foz a ſmalle occaſion, do put oftentymes their eſtate & ours in danger. The Melyans: If you than,foz to encreſe your empire,& thoſe,that be in ſubiection,foz to exempt themſelf out of ſeruytude,do put your ſelf in ſo many dangers:truly it ſhulde be muche moze great ſhame and greater ſlacknes to vs,that be yet in lybertie,foz to ſuffer it to be loſte. The Athenyans. That is otherwyſe,and you ſhall not do wyſely if ye followe that counſaille,foz your fozces be not lyke vnto ours,ſo that ye ſhulde not be aſhamed to ſubmytte your ſelf vnto vs but inſomuche as ye be weaker than we, ye ſhoulde deuiſe foz your welth. The Melians. It is true,but alſo we knowe, ỳ the foztune of warre is moſt often comon oz indifferent,alwell to the weake as to the ſtrong,& that it ſtandeth not alwayes with the greater nomber.And on the other part,he that rēdreth himſelf ſubiect,nother hath hope,noz recouery:wheras he that ſtandeth at defenſe,hopeth alwaies well. The Athenās:hope,which is the comfoze of them, that be in danger:though ỳ ſhe bringe damage to thē that vſe her, where there is apparance oz lykelyhode of recouerye: yet doth ſhe not vtterly deſtroy thē,as ſhe doth thoſe,that putt all their truſt in ſuche thing,as of his nature is dangerous and full of hazarde,foz al at one time ſhe cauſeth herſelf to be knowen by thē,that truſte to muche in her, and leueth them no manner meane to defende them. wherby you, that parceyue youre ſelf ſo weake and in in ſuche danger:ought to kepe youre ſelfe,frome ytt, and not to doo as many haue done, who haynge ſome good meane to ſaue themſelfe: whan they parceyue that they be without

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apparence of hope, retourne to other incertain abusions, as be bissions, diuinacions, Oracles and other lyke, whiche by vayne hope, bryngе men vnto perdition. The Melyans, we knowe ryght well that, whiche you vnderstande clerely. And that is, that it shalbe a harde thing for to resist your puissance and your fortune, whiche is muche greatter than ours, and that the chynge shall not be egalle. Neuerthelas we trust in fortune and in the grace of God, considereddе that ye haue nother reasone nor good quarell againste vs, and also we hope that if, of our self we be not puissant ynough for to resist, that yet we shall haue succours from the Lacedemonians, wyth whome we haue made allyance, who shalbe constrayned to do it, though that they haue had no other interest, than for their honoure, considered ẏ we be their burgeoses & parentes, by which reasons ye may knowe that we haue not hitherto bene ouer muche bolde. The Athenyans, we also doubt not the benignitie and goodnes of the goddes, forsomuche as that which we do, and repute to be iust: is not against thopinion of men, and also is according to the deliberation and wyll of the goddes towardes men, and of those men, the one towardes the other. For as touching the goddes, we beleue that, whiche other do comonly bileue of them. As concernyng men, we knowe, that by naturall necessitie, he that hath ouercome an other, remaigneth his lorde. The whiche lawe we haue not made, nother haue we bene the furst that haue vsed ytt. But rather we vse it so, as we haue sene, that other haue vsed yt. and we wolle leauett perpetuallye vnto them, that shall come after vs. And we be full certaine, that if you and the other had power and facultie to do it, as we haue, that ye would do the like. Wherfore as touchyng you, we keare not, but that we be stronger, than you. As concernyng the Lacedemonyans, we knowe that ye take in good parte the opinion that you haue of them, as people finally experymentedde of empiles, that for their honnoure they wolle come to succoure you, but neuerthelas we prayse not your follye. For the same Lacedemonians, amonge themself and in thinges that concerne their lawes and domesticall customes, vse oftentymes vertue, But of suche sorte, that if they gouerned with other men myghte alleage manye examples therof. Notwithstanding for to shewe you the cõmarie: they be the people of all those, of whome we haue knowlage, that moste repute that, whiche pleaseth them, to be honest, and that, whiche is for their profytt, to be reasonable. Wherefore it shall not be youre commoditie, to rest or trust in their fantasies whiche be without any reasone, in this question, that is of your welth. The Melyans, whatsoeuer you do saye: we do bileue certainly: that although their honour dydde not moue them, yet for their singuler profytt, they woll not habandone nor forsake this cytie, whiche is their colonie. For by that meane, they shulde be disloyall and vnfaythfull vnto their frendes and allyes of Grece, and shulde procure the profytt of their ennemyes. The Athenyans, ye presuppose than and cõsesse, that there may be nothyng profitable, that is not suer: and also that no man shulde enterpryse for his profytt, if therein were not suertie: but rather for honour, that is to be done, whiche is honnest & reasonable, ye, though that there were danger therin: the which thing the Lacedemonyans do least regarde of al men in the world. The Melians: verely we hope, that they woll take thaduenture and putt themself in hazart for vs. For they haue cause to do it more for vs, that for any other, both for that, that we be serte neyghbours to Peloponese, and thereby may best ayde themself by vs in their affayres: & for this also, that they may moste trust in vs, for parentage, that we haue with them, beinge discendedde of their eyelzeins. The Athenyans, it is true. But the certaintie of succours consisteth not to be had frome them, that ought to geue it, for the confidence and benyuolence that those

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haue in thē, which require it, but it is to be cōsidered if they be the stronger, where-unto the Lacedemonias haue moze regarde, than any other people. Foz they mi-strusting their domestical puissance, cause the succours of their allyes to come foz to resist euen their boysins oz neyghbours. wherefoze it is not to be bileued, that perceiuing vs to be strongest by sea, they woll put themself in aduenture to passe into this Iland. The Melias: That is true, but they haue other people inough foz, to sende hider. And the sea of Crete, is so spacious & large, that it is moze difficile foz them that kepe it, to encounter those, that wil come thider: than foz them that come, to kepe themself secrett frō them, and if this reason moueth them not, they haue yet an other meane: to wytt, foz to enter into your lande and into that same of your allyes, to wytt those, againste whome Brasidas hath not bene. And by that meane they shal geue you occasion to labour to defende your oune lāde, & not to trouble theisame, wherin ye haue nothing to do. The Athenias, you make your prouf to your cost, if that you abuse your self in such thinges, the which you know sufficiētly by other experiences. in ỳ the Athenyans neuer raised their siege from bifoze any place, through feare, but we do well perceiue that whatsoeuer ye haue saide, whiche you were willing to speke foz your welth, ye haue not hitherto touched one only word, therof, in al the purposes, which you haue takē. And yet it is the only purpose, whiche the people being in your condicion, ought to kepe, and wherunto they ought to trauaile to come: foz ỳ, whiche you propone vō so greate instance, be al thinges to followe, & you haue very shoze time to dekēde oz deliuer your self out of the handes of them ỳ be nowe ready to destroy you, wherfoze me thinketh ỳ you declare your self to be wholy destitute of your wittes, if you cause not vs to withdrawe ourselues without longer debating, & deuise amonge youe self some other partie, ỳ may be better foz you, without cōtynuinge in the shame, wherof ye be afraide. Foz ỳ hath oft entimes bene cause of great incōuenience vnto them, which theron haue arested in great dangers. And many be founde, that, cō-sidering ỳ thinges wherunto of necessitie they shulde come, if they yelded thēself: haue abhozred the name of seruytude, which they reputed to be dishoneft, & haue rather endured the name to be ouercome, whiche they reputed moze honozable. Whereby they afterwardes in effect incurred, through their comuche knowlaige into incurable calamities, and so haue receiued greater shame by their symplenes & folly, than they shuld haue had by foztune, if they wold haue endured it. wher-unto if ye be wise, you wol haue regarde. And so ye ought not to repute noz take it foz shame to geue place oz submyt your self to one so puissant a citie as Athens is, which demandeth but a thing reasonable, to witt, ỳ you shulde be his allyes in paying him trybute. And sence ỳ choyse is geuen you, aither to proue ỳ hazart of warre, oz to put your chaunce in suertie: ye ought not by fantasies & contencions to chose the wozser. Foz as it is wisdome (& allo comonly it prospereth) not to be willing to geue place oz to submytt himself vnto his egalles, whan that a man maye honestly defende him: euene so is it, to relente towardes them that be the strōger, and likewise foz the mightier, foz to vse humanitie & modestie towardes the weaker. withdrawe your self therfoze aparte without vs, and consider dili-gently that you consult of the welth, oz of the losse of your partie, euen at this in-stant, & that you haue no longer leisure, and that by the cōclusion ỳ you shall take therin, you shal make it happy oz vnhappy. Foz this purpose ỳ Melians did with-drawe themselfe aparte, and after ỳ they had consulted togider & determyned a-gaine to deny the demande of the Athenias, they answered in this manner. The Melians. Lozdes Athenyans we be of none other opinion than lately we were, and we cannot be willinge to lose in so shoze time: the lybertie whiche we haue kept and enioyed, from seuen houndzed yeares hitherto, whiche arne passed sence

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our cytie was founded: but rather wyth the fortune, whiche hathe ayded vs vnto this present daye, and with the ayde of our frendes, chiefly the Lacedemonyans, we be determyned for to defende and conserue our cytie, prayinge you neuerthelas to be content, that we may be youre frendes, without beinge ennemyes of the other, & in this manner making treatie with vs, afterwardes to withdrawe you out of our lande. And whan the Melyans had thus spoken, the Athenyans, who had withdrawen themself, from the conferring or communication, answered them in this manner. The Athenyans, we see well that you alone, through youre opinion and euill counsaille, do holde the thinges to comme, for more certayne than those, which you se bifore you eyis, and you thinke that you see in effect, alreadye, the thinges that lye, in the determynation of other, as though they were in execution, wherby through to muche trustinge in the Lacedemonyans and in fortune and puttinge youre cause in vayne hope: ye shall fall into greater ruyne. In this maner the ambassadours of the Athenyans retourned fromethence into their campe, without hauing concluded any thynge: Whereupon the Dukes and cappitaynes perceiuinge that there was no hope to wynne the towne by composition prepareddе themself to take it by force. So they departedde themselfe by bendes into the townes borderinge nighe aboute, and enclosedde the cytie wyth a walle, rounde aboutes, and that done, leauinge a good garnisone aswelle of their people of Athenes, as of their allyes and bothe by sea and also by lande: the more parte of the armye retourned fromethence. In that same tyme, the Argiues being entredde into the lande of the Phialians were circumuented by them of the towne and by the banyshmedde men of the sayed Argiues, who were in an embuschemente, in suche manner that there were slayne foure skore of their people. And on the other syde, the Athenians, that were within Pylus, made a course bifore the cytie of Lacedemony and caryedde away fromethence a good bouttye. And yet for al this the Lacedemonians reputed not the treues broken, nother would begyn warre, but only they made a decree, by which they permytted, that their people might likewise ouerrome & pillage the lande of the sayd Athenians. And there was not of al the cyties of Peloponese, one, that made warre against the sayd Athenians, but onely the Corynthians, who made it for their particuler quarelles. The siege than being bifore the cytie of Meleas, they that were within yssuedde fourth in a night vpon them, that kept the siege nert to the syde of the marbette place, and did take the wall that they had made in that quarter, and slewe a nõber of them that kept ytt, & moreouer caryed away a good quantitie of corne and of other victuailles into the towne, & afterwardes locked themself againe within without doing any other thing during that sommer, Whereupon the Athenyans were afterwardes more vigilant to kepe better watche in the nyght. And in thies enterfaictes that same somer passed. In the beginning of the wynter followynge the Lacedemonyans, hauing determyned for to enter into the lande of the Argiues, in fauour of the banyshed men, for that they had not the sacrifices propice or fauourable, they retourned to their houses, but that notwithstandynge, some of the Argiues, that attended their coming, were takene vpon suspition by thoder cytezeins, some other of their owne will banyshed thẽself, fearing to be takẽ. In this season, the Melyans also yssuedde an other tyme, out of the other syde of the cytie, and did lykewise take the walle that the Athenians had made in that same quarter, by meane that there were fewe people for to kepe it, by occasion whereof, the Athenyans sente thider a greater strength: vnder the conduct of Philocrates sonne of Eudemus, who hauing made great preparations for to geue assaulte to the towne, they that were within, by meane of a mutyne and trahison that was amongest them, yelded themself to the wyll of the Athenyans, who dyd putt to

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deathe all the men that they coulde fynde of. xiiii. yeares and bywardes, and the women and childzen they dyd take foz sklaues, and caryed them awaye vnto Athens. And they left of their people in the towne foz to defende it, vntyl they had afterwardes sent fyue houndzed houfholdes foz to inhabitt therein.

Here endeth the fifth booke of the hiſtozy of Thucydes, and begynneth the fyxth.

Of the Iſle of Sycille and by what people yt was inhabited. And howe the Athenyans enterpzyſed to ſende their armye by ſea foz to conquere it.

The firſt Chapter.

THat ſame wynter the Athenyans determyned to ſende againe into Sycille an armye by ſea greater than that, whiche Lachetes and Eurymedon had befoze tyme ledde thider, to the intent to ſubdewe it, if they coulde, the mozе parte of theym not knowinge the greatnes of the Iſle, noz the multitude of people that inhabited therein, aſwell Gzekes as ſtrangers, and they enterpzyſed a newe warre, which was but lyttle leſſer, than the ſame of the Peloponeſians. Foz the ſame Iſle conteigneth in circuyt, ſomuche as a great ſhyppe may ſayle in eight dayes. And notwithſtanding that it is ſo great, yet is it not diſtante frome the firme lande, but twenty ſtades oz thereaboutes. It was inhabyted frome the begynnynge, by many and diuers nations of people, whereof the furſt were the Cyclopes, & the Leſtrigonyans, who helde onely one parte of the ſame, of whome I cannot tell, what nation of people they were, frõwhence they came, noz whider they wente, nother any other thing haue I learnedde therof, but that, whereof the poetes make mention, and euery one of theyme, pzeſuppoſeth, to haue knowlaige of the ſame people. After thoſe, the Sycanyans were the chiefe that inhabytedde there, who ſayed, that they were the furſte inhabitantes and that they were bozne in that ſame lande, but the trouthe ſheweth it ſelfe clerely to the contrarye, that they be Hyberiens, nyghe vnto a ryuer, that is in the ſayed countrey, namedde Sycania, and beinge chaſed oute of their oume countrey by the Lyguryans, dyd withdzawe themſelf into Sycille, whiche they named by their name, Sycania, where as bifoze it was named Tinacria, and yett at this pzeſent, thoſe of that natiõ holde ſome places of that ſame Iſle in the weſte parte therof. Sence after the taking of Troye, certaine Troyans whiche fledde fromethence, foz feare of the Gzekes, withdzewe themſelf thider into the quarter of the Sycanians, wherein makyng their abode, they were all, aſwell Troyans as alſo Syzaculians, called Elimpans and did holde two cyties, to wytte Erix and Egeſta. Next vnto thoſe, certayne Phocians came to inhabytt there, to wytt, thoſe whiche in their retourne from Troye, were by foztune of ſea, caſt into Lybia, and fromethence, paſſedde into Sycille. As touching the Sycilians, they came out of Italy: beinge chaſed fromethence by the Opicians, whiche thinge is verye lykely, and it is

Cyclopes. Leſtrigones. Sycani. Tinacria. Elymp. Erix. Egeſta. Phocenſes.

and it is commonly sayd, that they passed in small boates, with the tyde whan they perceiued that it sarued them, for that, that the passage is very short. And that it may be so, there be yet of the Sycilians in Italie, which was so named by a king of Arcadie, that was called Italus. Thies Sycilians were passed in so greate nōber, that they vanquished the Sicanians in battaille, & cauled thē to retyre into a quarter of the Ile that is towarde the Southe, and therewythall they dydde change ꝑ name of the Ile & called it Sycille, where as bifore tyme it was called Sycania, for allo they occupyed the greater parte of the good places of the same Ile: and held it frō their first coming vntil that the Grekes came thider which was aboutes three houndred yeares. During which time the Phenycians came for to inhabitt in a certen small countrey of the Ile, & in certaine small Illandes nigh therunto, for to trade marchandise wt the Sycilias, but afterwardes many Grekes, being passed by sea into the same, they left their sailling, & lodged thēselfe with in the Ile, & there foūded three cities in the cōfynes of ꝑ Elymyans, to witt, Motia, Solois & Panhormus, trusting in the amitie that they had wt the sayed Elympans, and also in this, that on the same syde there was a very smalle space of the sea for to passe out of the same Ile into Chartage. In this manner and by such nomber of diuers strange people, the said Ile of Sicille was inhabyted. As touching the Grekes, the Chalcides, which came from Eubea, vnder the conduct of Theocles, were the first that came to inhabyte here, and founded the cytie of Narus, and without the same they made the chappell of Apollo Archageti, that is yet sene there, into the which, whā they purposed to go out of the Illande, they came furste for to make their vowes and sacrefices there. The yeare after the comming of the sayd Chalcides, Archias Corynthian, that was delcēded of Hercules came to inhabyt there, where Siracusa is, hauing furst chased frōthence the Sycilians, which helde that parte of the Ile. Nowe was the same cytie at that time all in mayne lande, without that, that the sea did touche it in any parte, but longe tyme afterwardes, that was added vnto it, that entreth into the sea, and is presently sene enuyroned with a walle, the whiche by succession of tyme was greatlye peopledde. Fyue yeares after that, Theocles and the Chalcydes pssued oute of Narus, and came to chase awaye the Cycilians that helde the cytie of Leon and dyd take it, and the lyke dyd in the cytie of Catana, fromewhence they chased Euarchus, whom, those of the coūtrey named to be founder therof. In that same time Lampis came from Megare, for to inhabytt in Sicille, and lodged himselfe with the people that he had brought thider in a ryuer, namedde Pantatius in a place named Trotylum. Afterwardes he came to abyde with the Chalcides in Leon for a short time, and they gouerned the cytie togiders, but being fallen into dissention, they chased him away: & so he came with his people to tarie in Thalpo, where he dyed. And after his death, his men forsoke the place, and vnder the conducte of a kynge of Sycilians, namedde Hyblon, who: by trahylon hadde delyuered the countrey vnto the Grekes, they came to inhabytt in Megara, and so were, after the kinges name, called, Hyblans: who, two houndred, forty and fyue yeeres after that they came thider, were chased fromthence, by a king of the Syraculans, namedde Gelon. But bifore that, aboute an houndred yeare after that they came thider, they foundedde the cytye Selinus, vnder conducte of Pammillus. who, beinge chasedde frome Megara: whiche was their Cappitall Cytye, wyth the other of hys nation, retyred thider. As touchynge the Cytie of Gela, it was founded and peopledde by Antiphenus of Rhodes and Eutimus of Crete commonly bitwene theyme bothe, who brought thider, aither of theyme out of hys countrey, a certayne nomber of housholders, aboutes .xlv. yeares after that

Italus.
Phenices.
Motya.
Solois.
Panhormus
Chalcidenses.
Theocles.
Narus.
Archias
Leon.
Catana.
Euarchus.
Lāpis.
Pantacius.
Trotylium.
Thapsus.
Hyblon.
Megara.
Gelon.
Selinus.
Pammillus.
Gela.
Antiphemus.
Eutymus.

Syracusa beganne to be inhabyted, and namedde that same cytie Gela, bycause of the ryuer that passeth by nigh vnto it, that is so named, where, byfore time, the place, where the cytie is sytuated was closedde with walle, and was called, Lyndia. Aboutes a houndredde and eyght yeares afterwardes, the sayd Gelyans hauyng furnysshed the sayd cytie with Dorians, they came to inhabyte in the cytie whiche is presently called Agragas, vnder the conduct of Aristonus & Pystilus, and they so named it, by cause of a ryuer that passeth there, which hath the like name, and they establysshed there the gouernement of the cytie according to the lawes and customes of their countrey. As touchyng the cytie of Zancla, it was furst inhabytedde by certeine theues or robbors that came oute of the cytie of Cumes, that is in the countrey of Opica in the lande of Chalcidia, but afterwardes a greate multytude of Grekes aswelle oute of the sayedde countrey of Chalcidia, as also of the rest of the Islande of Eubea, being there landed, it was called Cumes. And Perieres of the sayed cytie of Cumes in Chalcide & Cratemenes of Chalcide were cappytaynes of the sayed Grekes that came to inhabyte there. And that same cytie was auncyently called Zancla, for that, that it was in fourme of a cycle, whiche, the Sycilians name in their language, Zancla, notwythstandynge, theis people were afterwardes dryuen oute of the same cytye by the Sampans and certayne other Jonyans: who flyinge the persecution of the Medes, passed into Sycille, but sone after Anarilas, who gouernedde those of Rhege chasedde theyme fromthence, and inhabytedde the cytie wyth dyuers sortes and nations of people, and calleddeit Mellena, whiche was the name of the cytie wherein he was borne. The cytie of Imera was founded by the Zanclians, who vnder conducte of Euclydes and of Sacon, dydde people it wyth certayne people of their nation, but sone after, came thider manye Chalcydeans and also greate nomber of Syracusans, who were chasedde oute of their cytie by their aduersaries, the whiche were called Miletides, wherupon throughe the mengynge of the sayed two nations, one myngled language was made of them two into one, to wytt, the one halfe Chalcydien, and the other halfe Dorien, but the manner of lyuinge was after the lawes and customes of the Chalcydians. As touchynge the cyties of Acre and of Calmene, the Syracusans founded & peopled thē to wytt, Acroe: aboutes. lxx. yeares after that Syracusa was inhabited, and Calmenoe about. xx yeares after the fundatiō of Acroe. And aboutes, Cccxb. yeares after the fundation of Siracusa, the same Syracusans dyd builde and people the cytie of Camarina vnder the conduct of Daston & of Menecoles, but within shorte tyme after, the sayd Camerins, rebellyng gainst the Saracusans, were by them dryuen frō thence. And by succession of tyme, Hippocrates, who gouerned Gela, hauinge taken certaine prysoners of the Siracusans, had, for their raunsome & deliuerance, the sayed cytie, whiche was desarte and not inhabyted and furnysshedde it with people, but wythin shorte tyme after, it was destroyed an other tyme by Gelon, and afterwardes by hym made agayne and peopledde. Beinge than the Islande of Sycille holdene and inhabytedde by so many nations, and by so greate nomber of people: the Athenyans neuerthelas enterpryled to inuade yt, to thintente and for couetice wythout all doubte for to occuppe and subdue yt, notwithstanding that they did it vnder an honnest coulour to succoure the Chalcydians, specially the Egestyans, who hadde sent their ambassadours vnto Athens, for to require succours of thē, for that, that beinge happened a certayne different betwene them & the Selinuntiās bycause of a certaine mariage, and also for their limittes: those Selynuntians had hadde recourse to the Syracusans, for that, that they were their frendes, and allyes, who empesched and kept from the sayd Egestyās both

Lyndia.
Agragas.
Aristonus.
Pistilus.
Cumes.
Perieres.
Cratemenes.
Zancla.
Anarilas.
Mellena.
Imera.
Euclides.
Sacon.
Melitide.
Acre.
Calmene.
Camarina.
Daston.
Menecoles.
Hippocrates.
Egestani.

both the sea and the lande. For this cause the same Egestains had sent vnto the Athenians, puttinge them in remembrance of thauncyente amytie and allyance that they had made with Lachetes Duke of the Athenyans in the warre of Leontyns, prayinge them that they wouldе sende their armye by sea for to succoure them, and for to enduce & parswade them to do yt: they alleaged many thynges, but principally: that if the Syracusains were suffred to do thē the sayd wrōges, they would afterwardes chase fromethence the Leontyns & their allyes, and by that meane would make themself Lordes of all the Iland, whereby it myghte chaunce, that the sayd Syracusains (who be descēded of the Doryans, that be in Peloponese, and were by them sent into Sycille) shulde come to succour the sayd Peloponesians against those Athenians, for to beate downe & destroy their puissance. And therefore shewed the sayd Athenians, that they shulde do wisely, for to preuent the sayd inconuenience, in good tyme to succour their sayd allyes & to resist the force of the Syracusains. And moreouer did offer to fourniche them with monney for to make the warre. The which declaratiōs being many times made by the Egestians vnto þ people of Athens, it was ordoned to sēde furst ambassadours into Sycille for to lerne, if the Egestians hadde somuche monney as they reported, & further what preparation they had for warre, and likewise for to enquire of the puissance and condition of the Selenuntins. Which thing was done.

Of certaine smalle exploictes of warre, whiche were done in that same wynter in Grece.

And howe the Athenyans enterpryled to go with their army into Sycille, for to conquere it.

☞ The.ii. Chapter.

That same wynter the Lacedemonyans, for to ayde the Corynthians, yssued fourth with their army, & entred into the territorye of the Argiues, which they pillaiged in many partes therof, & caryed frōthence a small nomber of beastes and a certaine quātite of corne, and afterwardes, made an appoinctment & trefues for a certain time, bitwene þ sayed Argiues, that were in the cytie & the exiles or bannisshed men, whome, they lodged againe in the cytie of Ornee vnder this couenant, that the one shulde not attēpte any thing against the other, during the sayd tyme, and that done, they retourned frōthence vnto their houses. Shortly after, the Athenians came thider wt thirtye shippes: wherein were seuen houndred souldiars, & ioigned themself with the Argiues, who yssued out of their cytie, so many of them as coulde were armure, and they al togiders went against Ornee with suche strength, that they did take it in one day, but yet neuerthelas, the night before, they, which were within, seing that the siege was farre ynough without the towne, they al saued themselfe. By occasiō wherof, the Argiues, the morowe after, fyndyng the towne voyde, did vtterly rase it downe. And that done they retournedde fromethence into their houses. But the same Athenians that were come thider with them, did embarque themself againe, and sailled fromthence against Methone, whiche is in the confyns of Macedonia, where they charged or did take in certaine other souldiars aswelle to their owne people, as of the Macedonians, horsemen, that were bannysshedde out of the countrey: and kept themself aboutes the landes of the Athenians, and altogether entred into the lande of Perdicas, & passed throughe, pillaigyng and wastyng it. Which parceyued, the Lacedemonyans comaunded the Chalcidians, that be in Thrace, that they shuld go to succour the sayd Perdiccas. Which thing they refusedde to do, sayinge that they had the trefues wyth the Athenyans, for

Ornee.

Methone.

teme dayes, durynge the whiche, the wynter endedde. Whiche was the .xvi. yeare of this warre whiche Thucicides hathe wryttone. In the begynnynge of the somer, the ambassadours, whyche thathenyans had sent into Sycilie, retourned. And with them came the Egestians, who brought three score talentes of syluer bacoigned, for one monethes payment of .lx. shyps, whiche they demanded of the Athenyans. The sayd ambassadours, being than come bifore all the people, proponed manye thinges for to perswade them to do that, whiche they demaunded, and amongest other thinges they affirmed, that they had in their cytie greate habundance and plenty of golde & siluer, aswell in the treasoury, as in their temples, which was not true, but yet neuerthelas at their persuations, the people agrede to ayde them with three score shypps, which they demaunded and with a good nomber of men, & also deliuered to them of the principallest of the cytie for their heddes and capytaynes of that same armye with ample power, to wytt, Alcibiades sonne of Clynyas, Nycyas sonne of Nyceratus, and Lamachus sonne of Xenophenes, vnto whome they dyd principally geue charge to succoure the Egestyans agaynste the Selynuntyns, and further that if they parceyued that their case did prosper, they shulde set againe the Leontyns into their entier possessions, and moreouer that they shuld do in that same countrey of Sycille all that shuld seme vnto them to be best for the publique welth of the Athenians. Fyue dayes after, the people were assembled againe togiders for to aduise howe that same armye by sea myghte shortly be sette forwardes, and thereupon to delyuer to the Dukes and capytayns therof, that, which shulde be necessary. Than Nycyas, one of the sayd Dukes who was appoynted vnto that enterpryse agaynst hys wyll, forsomuche as he knewe well, that it was determyned without reasone, and for couetice to conquere and subdue the Islande of Sycille, and of the other parte, for that, that it was a very harde enterpryse: he aduaunced himself fourthwarde, and dyd speake in this manner.

Lamachus.

¶ The oration of Nycias bifore the people of Athens, for to disswade and breake of, thenterpryse of Sycille.

☞ The .iii. Chapter.

THe presente assemblie hath bene made, for to aduise vpon the manner of sendynge fourth an armye by sea, and howe that it muste be conductedde. But in my opinion, it shulde furste haue bene determyned, whider the same enterpryse ought to be made or not, and men shulde not conclude in a matter of so greate ymportance, at one so soubdayne a consultacion, nother thereupon geue knowlaige to strangers that we woulde begynne warre, for a matter, whiche in no poynct toucheth vs. And albeit that as concernynge my particularytie, I maye acquire honnoure by beynge there, and also I doubte my parsone, as lytle, as anny man of the compaignie: yet haue I alwayes iudgedde hym to be good and a wyse tytezeine, that hathe regarde bothe to hys parsone and also to hys goddes, for that, that he is wyllynge to be of power to sarue in the comon welthe, bothe wyth the one and wyth the other. And therfore lyke as in tyme past, I haue neuer, for couetice of gettynge glorye, spoken otherwyse than so, as I haue knowin to be for the best of the partie: euen so wyll I at this present dothe lyke. And though perswadyng you to kepe that, which is to be kepte, and not to putte in hazarte thynges certayne, for thynges vncertayne, I knowe welle that it shalle not be throughe thefficacite of my speache, whyche cannot be of so greate substance, as for to moue youre hartes: yet neuerthelas

I wylle

I wylle shewe you, that this your soudayne enterpryse is not at this tyme in seasone, and that the thynges that ye enterpryse, be not so easye as they be geuene to be vnderstanded, for it semeth vnto me, that in dooynge this enterpryse, youe leaue in thies parties manye ennemyes, and also go aboute to cause theyme to comme fromethence hider moze largely, for this, that if youe grounde youreselfe vpon the appoynctemente, that youe haue wyth the Lacedemonyans, and that there be annye suertie therein, I aduertyse youe, that so longe as we remayne in prosperitie, the name thereof shall endure. But if it myshappene in annye manner vnto oure armye, whiche we sende fourthe, incontynenly they will sette vpon vs, forsomuche as thappoynctemente whiche they haue made wyth vs, hathe bene concluded for feare and to their disaduantage. And on the other parte there be in this matter many doubtfull and ambignous poyntes, and also there be manye of the contrary parte, which haue not accepteddet it, and suche truly: as be not of the meanest, of whome some be declaredde, oure ennemyes, the other do not yet sturre, by meane of the trefues of ten dayes whiche they haue, who, if they shalle see our force and strengthe departedde into two (as we be mynded to do it soudaynely) they wylle fourthwyth be oure ennemyes and ouerronne vs, and also will really themself with the Sycilians, lyke as they haue of longe tyme be wylling to do. Wherfore good aduise ought to be taken herin, and not to repute our cytie to be so puissante, as therby we shoulde put it ayther into danger, nother to couett an newe empire, vntil we shall haue well established the same, whiche we presently haue. And if we be not of power to subdewe the Chalcides in Thrace, our subiectes, tha tbe rebelled against vs, nor assure our selues of any other in the mayne lande, of whome we be not welle assured: howe wille we so readely go to succour the Egestains, vnder coulour that they be our allyes, nowe being in trouble. Whome (forsomuch as they be of so longe time departed from our allyance) we may pretende to haue inuryed vs. And though well that, haynge the victorye against their ennemyes, we shall recouer them, yet shall we not by theyme be greatly ayded, aswel for that, that they be farre from vs, as also for this, that they be many in nomber. Wherfore it semeth to me that it is an folie, for to assaille and assist them there, whome, though we shall haue vaynequished, we nother shalbe hable to defende and kepe as frendes, nother enterteigne in our obeysance. And yf we haue not the victorye, we shalbe in wooryse estate than byfore the warre bigonne. On the other parte so farre as I can vnderstãde of the affaires of Sicille, it semeth to me that the Syracusains, although that they obteigne the principalitie in the same countrey: yet be they not hatefull nother hurtful vnto vs. Which is the poynct, wherupon the Egestians do grounde themself. And if paraduẽture they at this present do come towardes the Lacedemonyans for to gratefie thẽ, yet notwithstanding it is not to be beleued that they: who, haue an estate for to lose, wille for the quarelle of an other strange empire, enterpryse warre agaynste an other. For this, that they maye welle thynke, that whan the Peloponesians shall haue, through their ayde, destroied and extinguished our estate and empire: they wylle also afterwardes destroy theirs. Moreouer the Grekes, whiche be in that same countrey: be in a marueylous feare of vs, so longe as we be not there, and yett shalbe in greater, yf that we shalle shewe theyme oure armye in their viewe and afterwardes do withdrawe it. But if we enter into their countrey and receyue there anye shame or damage, they wylle no more esteme vs, but rather wolle ioigne theymeselfe wyth the other Grekes for to comme to assayile vs in oure countrey. For youe knowe welle, that thynges be somuche in greater admiracion of men, as they be further frome theyme, and somuche they haue the

lesser estemynge and reputacion, as they be the more approued and knowin, lyke as may be sene of our selues, for that, that hauing victorye agaynste the Lacedemonyans and the other Peloponesians, where as we were in great feare to resist their power, we nowe already esteme them so litle, that we presume to go to cõquere Sycille, though that they be our ennemyes. which is not wisely done, for no man ought to extole himself, nor to take to muche courage for the aduersitie of hys ennemy: but rather refrayning his courage and his glorye to trust in hys puissance. And also ye ought to consyder that the Lacedemonians for the shame, which they haue receiued of vs, do study no other thing, but how they may cause vs to compyt some folly: by meane wherof they myght reuenge their shame & recouer their honor, & somuche the more, as they be more couetouse of glory and of vertue, than any other people. Lykewyse (Lordes) we ought to consider that this questiõ is not here moued for the Egestains, which be strangers and Sycilians, but howe we shall kepe our self from a cytie, whiche for that, that it gouerneth it self by a small nombet of people, is ennemy to ours, that is gouerned by the generaltie. And also we ought to thynke, that we haue a small respite for one so great a warre and greuous malady: whiche maye brynge vs into greate sorowe. And if we be encreased with nomber of people and wyth ryches, we shoulde kepe and employe them for ourselues, and not for thies banysshed men, which repare vnto vs to haue succours, who haue spokenne fayer and haue lyed, to the danger of their neyghbours: consideredde that they do geue vs nothynge but wordes. For if they, through our ayde, haue the victory, they maye (if it seme good vnto them) mocke vs, and euill acknowlaige the seruice that we shall haue done them. And if it chaunce otherwyse, they shall brynge vs with them into ruyne & destruction. And if there be any one of them, that hath bene by you cholene with their consent for to haue charge of this armye, which parswadeth you, this enterpryse for hys particuler profyte, & paraduenture, through youth, desyreth to haue this glory, for to be in more estimatiõ, and for to shewe a great nomber of horse that he nourysheth: ye ought not to wylle to satisfie the desyre & prouffyte of one particuler: to the great danger & peril of the cytie, but rather to consider that by suche people: the comon welth is dimynysshed & the particulers be destroyed. And moreouer this matter is so waightie & of so great importãce, that it ought not to be treated and consulted by a ponge man so soubdainly. And for the feare, that I haue, seing many in this assemblie, that do assist him & be come at his request: for this cause I pray & exhorte the most auncient, that they suffer not thẽ specially to perswade their ponge people, that it shulde be shame for to dissuade & breake of the warre, and that it shoulde be imputed vnto them for pusyllanymitie, cowardenes and lacke of couraige, and that it shoulde be an euylle thynge not to haue regarde of his frendes, beinge absent, for the same shoulde chance to them that perswade to make the warre: if that it shoulde take effecte, for that, that ye well knowe, those thynges whiche be done for affeccion happene not oftentymes so welle, as those same doo, whyche be done by good and mere delyberation, wherefore and to the intente that we putt not oure estate in the danger, wherein it lately hath bene, we oughte to aunswere to the Sycilyans, that they abuse not their Empire, concernynge vs, beyonde the lymyttes, whiche it presentlye conteigneth, to wytt not to passe or excede the goulphe of the sea of Jonia, frome the coaste of the lande, nor of the other coaste, that same goulphe of Sycille, and furthermore that they gouerne their lande and seignyory, amongest themself, as they shall thynke good. And on the other syde, that the Egestians shulde be aunswered, that inasmuche as they haue begonne to warre againste the Selynuntyns wythout vs,

that

that they also make an ende therof without vs. And for the reste, that we ought not to make newe allyaunces of the sorte, that we haue accustomedde. For we alwayes do ayde the vnhappy and those, which be in necessytie: and whan we require succours and ayde in oure owne affayres, we cannot haue it. And thowe, Threalourer, if thou reputest thy selfe worthy to haue admynistration of the affayres of the cytie, and wilt be a good cytezein: thou oughtest to put this matter agayne into deliberatyon, and to demande the opynions of men therin and oughtest not, nother to haue shame nor feare for to revoke the lawe and deliberation already made. For there be so many good wytnesses in thys so greate an assemblie, that thou shuldeste not feare to be reprehended for haunge agayne demanded the opynyons herin, inlomuche as it is the medecyne of a cytie evill counsailled. And the manner, of a good officier for to rule and governe well, ys to do for his countrey all the beste that he may, or at the leaste to hys knowlaige, not to do ỹ thinge that may be preiudicial vnto it. Thus spake Nycias, and after him many othere Athenyans dyd speake, wherof the more parte were of opynyon that ỹ enterprise of the warre shulde be executed, enlunge the furste deliberation, some were of the contrary opynyone, but above all, Alcibiades perswaded the sayd expedytion, aswel for to contrary and inuey agaynste Nycias, whome he hated, as for other reasons, whyche mouedde hym, concernynge the admynistration of the comon welth, and specially for that, the same Nycias had made mention of him in an evill sorte, though that he had not named hym vnto theym by name. But principally for the desire that he had to be chief of that same armye, hoppinge by meane therof to subdue furste Sycille, and afterwardes Carthage, and also to acquyre glory and rychesse in that same conqueste, if it chaunced well accordinge to thys expectation. For beyng in greate estymation and favour of the people, & by hys ambition wyllyng to kepe a greater trayne than hys revenue myght supporte, he nourysshed horses, whyche was afterwardes, in parte, cause of the evertion of the empire of the Athenyans. For many cytezeins, seing hys superfluytie, aswell in hys fedynge, as also in hys appareille and garmentes, and moreouere hys arrogancye and highnes of his harte in all thynges, that he admynistredde: became hys ennemyes, estempynge that he wolde make hymselfe lorde and tyrant. And although that he conducted the affayres of warre valyantlye, yett for that, that the particulers were the more parte contrary to hys woorkes and particuler enterpryses, they wente aboute to cõmytt the admynistration of the common affayres into the handes of an othere, whereupon did followe the ruyne of the cytie. The same than Alcibiades putte fourth hymselfe and dyd speake to the people of Athens in thys manner.

The oration of Alcibiades vnto the Athenyans, for to perswade the enterprise of Sycille.

☞ The.iiii. Chapter.

IT apperteignethe vnto me (lordes Athenyans) to be Emperour and Chief of your armye, more, than vnto any other. And I am constrayned to begynne my talke in thys sorte, for that, that I haue bene therunto prycked by Nycias. And wythout that, it semeth vnto me conuenyent. For the thynges, for the whyche, I am renommed and estemed amongeste men, besydes thys, that they redounde to the glory of my ancesters and to myne: bryngе also honnour and welthe vnto the commmon welth. In thys that

the Grekes, whych haue bene at the feastes and solempnites of Olympus, seing the magnificence and sumptuousnes of my facyon of lyuing, estemed therby our cytie to be most puissant, most opulente, and ryche of itself, where as bifore they thought, that they might easely haue subdewedde it. For I was laste at the saide feaste with fire chariots well appointed. whiche thing no man hath yet done wt suche a nomber, and also I dyd wynne the firste pryze of the courle, the seconde and the fourthe. And moreouere I made the apparaille so sumptuous and soo noble, as apperteigned to such a victorie. All whyche thinges be honnorable, and that declare vnto the people, the puissance and rychesse of the lande and cytie of hym that maketh them. And albeit that suche woorkes and other lyke, for whiche I am estemed, ingender greate enuye by the other cytezeins agaynste me, yet to the wayfaryinge men and estrangers, they shewe a greate argumente of puissance and rychesse. And also me thynketh that the fantasie of him: that goeth aboute by suche meanes and at hys expenses, to do honnour, not to hymself only, but also to thys countrey: is nother hurtfull nor prendiciall to the comon welth. And also he ought not to be estemed for euill, that hath suche opynyō of himself, yt he wyl not only be agaīst to other, but rather wylleth also to excede them by such meanes. For he that ys vnfortunate, fyndeth no man, that therein wylle be hys companyon, if than we be displeasedde of the othere, whan we be vnfortunate: they oughte also to endure and suffre, yf we esteme theym not muche in oure felycitie, and to wayte to doo the lyke, towardes vs, if they thynke good, whanne they shalle be in lyke estate. Neuertheles I am not ignorannte that suche people and othere, whyche excelle in anny honnoure and dignytie be greatelye enuiedde. Specyally of theire egalles and matches, and also somewhatte of othere, whyche haue accompaignyedde wythe theyme: but that ys, for the tyme that they be in thys lyfe onely. For aftere theire decealle, the renomme and prosperytie, that they haue hadde, ys of suche efficacytie to theym that comme aftere, that manye gloresye themselfe to haue bene theire parentes, and specially somme saye, that they be of them, whiche be not, and many other repute themselfe honnouredde to be of the lande, towne and countrey, whereof they haue bene, and for to name them their fellowe Burgeolles & countrey men. And though, for the honnorable thinges that they haue done, I haue attemptedde to imytate and followe suche parsonaiges, and for this cause haue lyuedde more honnorable, than the othere: yet ye see for all that, that I beare myselfe in the affayres of the common welthe no woorse than othere of the Cytezeins. And truelye ye shalle fynde, that the puissance of the Peloponesyans beynge assembledde, I haue wythoute youre greate daungier and expense, constraynedde the Lacedemonyans one daye at Mantynea to putte all theire estate in hazarde wyth one battaile. Wherof though that they hadde the victorie, yet the hazarde was soo greate, that vnto thys presente, they haue not recouered suffycyente audacytie agaynste vs. And thys my yongth and ignorance, whyche semed nothere by reasone nor by nature, to be of power, to resiste the puissance of the Peloponesians: hath caused, and aptly to speake, hath geuene suche opynyon of my audacytie, that at thys presente there oughte noo doubte to be hadde of yt, nother feare that it shulde be dangerous to the partie. but rather so longe, as I shalbe in vigoure and auctorytie wyth this audacytie, the fortune and admynistratiō of Nycias shall seme good and prosperous. And ye maye serue yourself bothe with the one and also the othere, as ye shall thinke good. And for to come to the matter, whereof is questyon, it is not nedeful that ye reuoke youre enterpryse of Sycille, for feare to haue to do with many people. For though that there be many cities in ȳ same countrey, yet they be peopled wt mē

of all

of all sortes. who be easy and accustomedde to change their estate and gouernemente. And there is none that prepareth harnois for hys parsone, nother that maketh fortresses in necessary places for defence of the countrey: but euery one, hauynge opynyon to be of power to perswade other to beleue whatsoeuer he wyll say, or if that he cannot perswade them, for to trouble and subuert the estate ayther by practyse, or ells by mōney: prepareth hymself to do yt. Wherfore it is not to be bleued that one suche a tourbe and assemblie of people, woll wyth one will heare what shalbe spokene. The woordes of hym that speaketh be, that they assemble for to conclude anny thynge wyth a comon accorde but euery one prepareth himself to do that, whyche he vnderstandeth aftere his appetyte and wylle, and specyally whan there is anny mutynery or discension amonges theym, as I vnderstande, that there is at thys presente. And also they haue not so many men of warre, as it is reported, for suche thynges be alwayes made more greate thā they be. And verely the other Grekes, beynge hertofore all togider, haue not bene in so greate nomber, as one nation of them bosteth itself onely to be. whych thing hath well appeared in this warre, and that Grece hath bene deceyued by the sayynges of poetes, touchinge the nomber of people. For though it hath bene all in armure, yet skarcely coulde it bringe to the campe such nomber of people, as was sufficient. Being than the affayres of Sycille in suche sorte as I saye, like as I haue hearde spokene by many people, the enterpryse shalbe the muche more easy for you, and chiefly for thys, that there be many Barbarous and strangers, who, for the emnymytie, that they haue agaynste the Syracusains woll ioygne themself wyth vs in thys warre: and also we owe not to feare such busynes here, that it empesche vs in that same there, if we woll prouyde reasonably in our case. For it is fully certayne, that our progenytours, hauynge those for enemys, which are named, that they wyll declare themselfe agaynste vs, whan oure armye by sea shalbe in Sycille, and also the Medes: haue neuerthelas acquiredde and gotten thys empire, that we nowe haue, and that by none othere meane, but in beinge puissante by sea, whyche is the onely occasyon, through whyche the Peloponesians haue lost their hope to vainquisshe vs, and moreouer if they shal determine for to enter into our lande, they may do it, although that we shall not haue sente thyder thys armye by sea. And also they cannot thereby hurte vs wyth their armye by sea, for that same of ours, whych shall remayne, shalbe yet so puissant as theirs. Wherfore beinge required by oure allyes and frendes to go to their ayde, we cannot shewe them any reasonable cause, wherfore we shulde not do it: and in not doinge it, why they shulde not reproue vs and say, that ayther it is greuous vnto vs to do yt, or ells that we haue vnder vayne and fryuolus excuses, refused the ayde, whyche we be bounde to delyuer them by our othe. And also we cannot pretende agaynste them, that they haue not succoured vs in oure warres, for we ayde them not in their countreye, to the intente that they shulde comme to ayde vs in oures, but to the ende that they shulde busye oure enmenyes, whyche be there wyth them in warre, and do them somuche anoyance, that they haue noo power to comme to assaille vs in thies parties. And by suche meane, we and all other, that haue acquyred greate empyres and seigniories, haue encreasedde and maygnteyned them, in geuinge promptely and liberally succours, to them that haue demanded yt of theyme, were they Grekes or Barbarous. For if we refuse to gene ayde to them, that require it of vs or if we woll debate, to what sort of people we shulde accorde or refuse: in that doynge, we shalle not obteigne greate thinges. And thys, whyche we haue acquired, we shall putt in dangier. Furthermore men ought not to attende to defende theire fortresses, vntill he that is the

stronger

stronger comme to assaille them but rather to prepare them in suche sorte bifore the chance happene, that he feare to come thider. And also it lyeth not in our free will to appoinct an limit to our Empire, for to say, that one shal passe no further. But rather sithens that we haue yt, it is nedefull to wayte that we be not circumuented of the one, and also to defende ourselfe from the crafftes and deceittes of ye othere. For if we haue not dompnion ouere the othere, we be in daungier to be ruled by them. And also we shulde not desyre nor take reste in that sorte as the other do, excepte we lykewyse determyne to lyue of that sort, as they do lyue. Cõsidering the whyche thynges, and that in executinge oure enterpryse, we shall increase oure estate and seigniorie, we ought to mounte into the sea and to go thyder, for to beate downe the courage of the Peloponesians, whan they shalle perceyue that we, contempninge and despylinge them, shall passe into Sycille, without willing to vse the reste that presently we may haue. For if the enterpryse do take good effecte (as it is to be bileued that it shall do) we shall obteigne the empire ouer all Grece, or by the woorst that may chaunce, to the profit both of vs, and our frendes, we shall greatly endommage the Syracusains. And howe soeuer it happene, hauinge our shippes in those parties, we may without oure losse or dammaige, ayther abyde there, if we haue the better: or els comme agayn frõthence, whan we shall thynke good, for all the Sycilians woll rule themself after oure wylle. And the talke of Nycias, who pretendethe to preferre reste bifore trauaille, and to sowe diuision and sedytion amonge youe, ought not to bringe the yonge men to be at contention wyth the olde, but rather ye oughte all wyth one accorde to ensue and followe the actes, dedes and examples of our ancesters. And lyke as by counsaillinge and consultinge the yonge wyche the olde vpon generall affayres, they haue encreased and established oure Empyre in that estate, wherein yt presently ys: youe shulde by the selfe meanes and reasons nowe assay for to encrease and enlarge it, and to esteme, that nother the yonge the nor the age, is any thynge worthe, the one without the other: but rather to consider, that the feoble, the stronge & the meane, whan they be all togider well agreinge, do cause the comon welth to tryumphe. And to the contrary, whan a cytie ys ocyous and pyle, yt destroyeth and corrupteth it selfe euen of it selfe. And that lyke as all other thynges ware aged by reste, euen so shall our dyscyplyne do: but by exercysing vs in dyuers warres, it maigntaigneth and amendeth by many experyences. For a man obteigneth not science for to defende and warde hymself by speakynge, but by accustommyng and exercysynge hymselfe in labours and in feates of warre. And for effecte and conclusyon my opynyon is, that whan a cytie, whyche hathe bene accustomedde to bulynes and trauailles, doth geue itselfe to lyue in reste: yt cometh shortlye vnto destructyon, and that those amongeste all other be moste assured, whyche rule and gouerne their commone welthe, alwayes of one sorte, after theire auncyente lawes and customes, yea though they be not in all partes good. After that Alcybiades had thus spokenne the Ambassadours of the Egestains, and of the Leontins came fourth. Who wyth great instance requyred that the succours myght be sente vnto them, remembringe the othe, that the Dukes of Athens had made vnto them. Whereupon the comon people, hauinge hearde their requeste, and the perswation of Alcybiades, was yet more enclyned and encouraged for to execute the sayde enterpryse. Which parceyued by Nycias, and that there was no remede for to reuoke it according to his opynion by ye meane: he thought that by an other meane he might haue letted the enterpryse, to wytt, by declarynge vnto them, that a greate preparation was to be made for the executyon of yt. And so dyd speake vnto them in thys manner.

The

The narration of Nycias vnto the Athenyans, meanynge by an indirecte or contrary perſwatyon to breake of, the enterpryſe of Sycille.

The.v.Chapter.

INaſmuche as I parceyue youe all determyned (lordes Athenyans) for to execute this enterpryſe: I deſire that it maye come to paſſe accordinge to oure hope. And therefore I wyll ſhewe yow myne aduiſe, in that, whiche ſemeth to me to be done at thys preſente. For as farre as I vnderſtande, we go agaynſte many cyties bothe greate and puiſſante, the which be not ſubiected the one to the other, and which deſyre not to change their eſtate and manner of lyuing (for thys is to be done of thoſe, that be in greate ſeruitude, for to comme to more lybertie and eaſe and that hope to be delyuered fro ſubiection) and ſomuche the leſſe, they beinge franke and free, will bicomme oure bondmen and ſubiects. Amongeſt the whyche cyties, there be many inhabited by Grekes. Of the whyche, Excepted Naxum and Catana, the whyche I hope wel that they wyl tourne to our ſyde, for the affynitie, that they haue wyth the Leontins, I parceyue not, that there be many of the other, of whome we maye aſſure vs. And alſo there be ſeuene, whych be well prouyded and fourniſhedde with all thynges neceſſarie for warre, aſmuche as the armye ſhalbe, whyche ſhalbe ſente thider, and ſpecially Silenus and Saragoſſe, agaynſte the whyche, we pryncypally do go. For beſydes thys that they haue there force & ſtrength of warryours and Archers: they haue moreouer greate nomber of ſhipps, and be all full of maroners and of people for to ſarue in them. And alſo haue great quantyte of gold and ſyluer, aſwell in common in the temples, as in partyculer. And further here, ouer and aboue thys that they haue in the countrey: I vnderſtande that certayn Barbarous or eſtrangers, be contributours vnto the Syracuſains. They haue alſo greate nomber of horſes, whyche thynge we haue not, and alſo they haue greate habondance of corne wont hauing nede to haue therof from other places. Wherefore it is neceſſary for to ſende thider not only nomber of ſhipps, but alſo ſtrōge warryours (if ye entende to do there any thyng of importance) for to reſiſte their horſe men, who wyll wythſtande and empeſche our landynge: and that chiefly, if the cyties of the ſayd coūtrey doo for feare of oure army cōſpier and confederate theymſelf togiders agaynſte vs. And if we haue no other ſuccours of horſe men, than of the Egeſtains, I knowe not howe that we ſhall well reſiſte thoſe horſe men, beinge oure ennemyes. And forſomuche as it ſhulde be greate ſhame to vs, that our people ſhulde be conſtrayned to retourne fromthence, beinge vtterly repoulſed, aythere elis to haue made the enterpryſe ſo flaightly, that after the aryuall it ſhulde be mete for them to demaunde renforte or newe ſuccours: it ſhalbe much better to go now thider, ſo well prouyded & furnyſhed, as ỹ caſe requireth. and to conſyder that we go into a farre countrey, where we muſte fyght to oure diſaduantage. And alſo ye paſſe not through a countreye of ſubiectes, nothere of people, whome ye haue ayded. And howe than can ye hope to haue ayde or comforte of victuails or of other thynges as in the land of frendes? But we muſt paſſe alwais through contreis & ſeignyories, and ſcarcely in four monethes in winter, we maye haue newes of them, nor they of vs. whyche is the reaſon, wherefore I ſay, that it behoueth vs to ſende greate nomber of people from amonge vs, both of our ſubiectes and allyes, yea and of the Peloponeſyans, if we maye recouer or gett any of them, aythere for practique or for monney, and alſo a greate nomber of Archers,

of Archers for to resiste their horsmen, and beysdes this, to haue greate habou-
dance of ships, for to cary victuails & other necessaris, togiders wyth mylners &
bakers in so great nomber, that they may always grinde & bake by courses. In
such sorte, that in whatsoeuer parte they be in lande, though þ they may not saile
they may alwais haue meanes yet to liue. For also we must haue so great nõber
of people, that one only Cytte may not be hable to lodge and susteyn them. And
in effecte they muste go prouyded of all thinges, in moste plenty that shalbe pos-
sible, wythout trustynge to any estranger. And aboue all they muste haue muche
monney. For though that the Egestains here do preache, that they haue greate
quantytie therof, yet knowe youe, that it is in woordes and not in effecte. And if
we departe fromhence, before that we be well prouyded, aswell wyth men as wt
victuailes, and all other thynges (trusting to that, whych the Egestains do saye)
we shalbe skarcely puissante for to defende thies here, & to vainquishe the other.
Wherfore it is conuenyent that we go thider, prepared as if we woolde builde a
cytte in a strange countrey and of ennemyes, and to determyne fromthe furste
day that we shall enter into the lande of Sycille for to make ourselues maisters
therof, or if we fayle so to do to holde it for moste certayne to haue the whole coũ-
trey for ennemye. Wherfore, for the feare and knowlaige that I haue of the thin-
ges aboue sayde, and consyderinge that this matter muste well be consulted vp-
on, and parfore ourselues to be daylly more happy and happy, whych is a thing
very harde, beynge men, I wyll goynge in thys enterpryse, putt the affayre in as
lytle hazart that I may, and that to doo, I wyll be prouyded and fournyshed of
all thynges necessarye. In suche sorte, that I commyt not the matter to fortune.
Whych shalbe a thynge assured for oure cytte, and helthsome for them, that shal
haue charge of that enterpryse. And if there be any of an othere opynyon, I remyt
vnto hym fromhensforwardes bothe myne authorytie and my charge.

Howe the people of Athenes

at the persuation of Alcybiades concluded the enterpryse of Sycille. And howe the armye, after that it was leuied, departed out of the porte of Pireus.

☞ The.vi. Chapter.

NYcias dyd so speake, to the intent, aythere to tourne the people fromе that same enterpryse, for the greatenes and difficultie of the matter: orels to go to yt in good suertie, if therunto he were forced: but what-
soeuer difficultie that he sett afore them, the Athenyans woolde in noo parte lose theire desyre and purpose, whyche they hadde to that nauigation and iourney: but rather were the more heated to set it forwardes, than they were bi-
fore. And so it happened vnto Nycias, the whol cõtrary of that, that he thought. For euery man thought, that he counsailled sagely: and that in doing þ whych he had sayde, the case shulde be well assured. whereby they all had yet greater affec-
tion & towardenes to the voiage, than bifore. To witt, the ancyentes, forsomuch as they thought, that aythere they shulde subdue Sycille, or if the worste happe-
ned, that they shuld be so puissant, that they could incurre no danger. And þ yong and galliart men, for that, that they desired to go to see the same strange land, as-
suring themself to retourne and come agayn fromthence in sauluetie. And gene-
rally þ meane people & souldiars, for couetousnes of the soulde or wages, which

they

they hoped to haue in that same armye: and also continually after the conqueste, for the encrease, which fromthence shuld follow by that meane vnto their Empire. And if there were any, that was of an other opynyon, perceiuing the inclynation of the whole cytie therunto, he durst not say to the contrary, but rather held his peace, fearyng to be iudged to haue counsailled noughtly. So there was some one of that assemblie, that sayde vnto Nycias with a lowde voyce, that he neded to preche no more therin, but that he ought to declare, what army he iudged to be necessary for that same enterpryse. who made him answere, that he wold therupon consulte wyth his compaignyons and collegues, more at leasure. But neuerthelas at the furst brunt, there were no fewer at the leaste to to be requiredde that an houndred galleys of Athenes, for to carry their souldyours, & some good nomber of other, wherby they myght recouer of their allyes: vpon all the which there must be at leaste fyue thousande good warryors, and more if it might be, and beside that a certayne nomber of Archers, aswell of their owne, as also of the countrey of Crete, togiders with all other prouysions, necessary for suche an army. which things heard, the comõ people, euen at the self houre by a generall decree, did graue full power to the capitains and emperour of that same army for to proupde for all thyngs, to witt, aswell for the nomber of men, as for all other thngs necessary as they shuld thinke expedyent. After wherby deliberation they attended diligently all things that was to be done in the cytie, & sente vnto their allyes to do the like on their partie, for the cytie was already recreated of ỹ griefe & damage, which it had had, aswell by the pestilence, as by the contynuall warre. And also was greatly augmented aswell wt people, as wt monney, by meanes of the treues: by occasion wherof, the matter was muche soner and more easely executed. The Athenyans than beyng attentyse & diligent to prepare that, wherby was necessary for ỹ same enterpryse, all the hermes or pictures ỹ were in the cittie were in one night broken by the borders, & the greater parte in the vilaige. Thes hermes were certen statuers of stone entailled or carued looze kante wise, which were comonly sett at the entringe into churches & other sumptuous edifices as wel publique, as priuate, the nomber wherof was infynitt, wout that, that anye man coulde knowe or haue any manner of token who had done it, or who was the author therof, although that there was great huyer offred to thẽ that shuld haue reuealed or betred the dede. And also it was proclaymed euery where that if there were any parson, that had knowlaige of any thing, which had ben comitted against ỹ religion of gods, he ought to bter it wout any fear of whatsoeuer estate he were, were he cytizein or stranger, free or bonde. For they estemed that case much more, than it meryted: for that, that it semed to thẽ to be an euill signe for that same voyage, and a pronostication of a conuiration or conspyracy for to change the comon estate and gouernemẽt of the cittie. And although that it could by no meane be knowin, who did the acte, yet neuerthelas certen pryuate persõs cytezens & seruants came and declared, that there had bene in times paste certen other statures and images, broken by the yongth of the town, who did it ayther through childishnes, ozells through rashnes, & also ỹ in some particuler houses, men did indiuely make sacresyces: wherwt they, vnder a manner, charged Alcibiades. Wherunto those, of whom he was hated, dyd wyllyngly geue eare: for that, that they thought, that he empesched them to haue authorytie ouer the people, and that yf they myghte remoue hym, they myghte easely haue yt. To thys intente they made the thyng more greuous, and did sowe and dyuulge it through the towne, that those faults, which were comytted in sacresyces, and the breking of ymages, concerned the subuersion of the comon welth. And they fortified their

oppynyon agaynſte Alcibiades by manye tokens of his lacyon of lyuinge, and of the fauour that he had towardes the commons. For the whyche they concluded that the ſame acte coulde not haue bene done wythout hym. whereunto he anſwered to the contrary, offrynge himſelf to ſtande to the lawe and for to ſuffre ſuche puniſhmente as appereigned, bifore his departure, if he were founde coulpable. And if he were founde innocent or giltles, he deſired to be abſolued bifore he proceded in that ſame voiage, ſaynge that yt was not reaſonable that informations ſhulde be taken or any proceſſe made in his abſence, but rather if he had offended, that he ſhulde be condempnedde to deathe. For alſo he ſayde that it ſhulde not be wyſely done of theym, to ſende a man fourthe with ſo greate authorytie and puiſſance, charged wyth one ſuche a caſe, bifore that he was purged. But his haters or enemyes, fearynge leaſte if the matter were knowin before hys departure, that thoſe that ſhulde go wyth hym in ỹ enterpryſe, ſhuld not beare him fauour, and that the meane people, who was fauorable vnto him, ſhuld ware faint towardes hym, forſomuche as through hys cauſe, the Argiues and ſome of the Mantynyens were accompaigned to the Athenyans for that ſame voiage and enterpryſe: perſwadedde the contrary, and that the accuſatyon ſhulde be delayedde vntill after the retourne of the armye, truſtinge duringe his abſence to imagyne and compaſſe againſte hym greater troubles. and to bryng ỹ to paſſe they cauſed newe Imbaſſadours to comme, who haſted the expedition of the ſayde armye, in ſuche ſorte that yt was concluded that it ſhulde be ſo done. And the ſame armye lanched fourth and toke ſea aboute the myddell of Somer for to ſaile into Sycille, hauynge many marchantes ſhippes aſwell of theirs as of their allyes, for to tranſporte victuailes and other preparation of warre, whyche had bene ordened, bifore that they were all ready at the porte of Corcyre, to the intente that all togiders might paſſe the ſea Ionū by the promontory of Lapigea. And thoſe Athenyans and other their allies, which than were at Athens, at the day, that they had taſkene, were ready in the porte of Pyreus about breake of the day for to embarque them ſelf. wyth whome did iſſue furth the greater parte of the people, aſwell of the cytezeins as of eſtrangers, ſome for to accompany their chyldren and their parentes and the other their frendes, all hauynge bothe hope and ſorowe. To wyt, hope, that the voiage ſhulde be profitable: and ſorowe, inſomuche as they thought, that they ſhulde not ſee agayn a good parte of thoſe, that wente ſo farre a voiage, and alſo goinge thider, they ſhulde leaue thoſe, whiche aboade at home, in manye daungers, and dydde purte and offer theymſelfe into many othere, on whyche dangers they than thought much more, than they had done in determinynge the voiage. And yett neuerthelas they conceyuedde ſuche confydence, by ſeing one ſo greate a puiſſance togiders, that the meane people (yea euene thoſe: that hadde nother frendes nor parentes there) and all the eſtrangers did comme for to ſee that ſpectacle or ſight, whyche they eſteamed woorthye to be ſene, and greater than any man wolde haue thoughte. Alſo in veray trouthe for an armie of one only cytie it was better appointed & more ſumptuous, than anye othere ỹ had euer bene ſene. For although that the ſame, whyche Pericles in tymes paſte did leade into Epidaure, and thother that Agnon did cõduct into Potidea, were as puiſſant aſwel in nomber of ſhips, as alſo of people, forſomuch as in the later there were had foure thouſand warriours fotemen and three houndred horſmen all Athenyans: one houndred galleis of theirs and fyftie, aſwell of the Leſbies as of thoſe of Chio, beſides many other cõpaignyons of their allyes: yet notwithſtãding thappareill & preparation was muche leſſer, for that, that the voiage was not ſo greate as thys. And for that cauſe, and alſo that the warre was to endure

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longe in Sycille, they had muche the better prouyded and fournished it, aswell wyth people, as wt al other thinges. Wherunto aswell the Cytie generally, as also the particuler patrones and cappitains of the shipps did employ themself with all industrie & diligence. For ye cytie did pay a grote a day to euery maroner, of whom, there was a ryght great nombre in so greate quantytie of shippes, to wit, fourty longe galleis, which caried their fouldyars, and thre skore other that were light. And aboue the said soulde that the cõmons paide, the sayde cappitains & patrons did gene an other salary to those that drewe the longest Oares, & also to others ministres, of their particuler purse. And on the other parte thappareil & preparation aswell of armure, as of enseignes & of accoustrementes was muche more pompious and gorgeous than the same of the other had ben. For that, that euery patrone going in so longe a voiage parforced himself to cause, ye his ship should be both swiftest & also best and most gorgiously esquipped and trymmed. Also ye fouldears that were appointed for the same voiage toke payne to decke themself aswell wt harnois as wyth other things, euery mã to his vttermost best. And also they were moreouer attentife and couetous of glory, to wit, whiche of them might be preferred bifore the other in order. In such manner that it semed that the same armye was made for an ostentacion and shewe of the puissance of the Athenyans, to the prayse of all the other Grekes, rather than for to fight wt the enemyes against whome they wente. For truly, he, that shulde make the estimation and accompte of the expences that were made in that same army, aswell by the cytie generally as by the cappitaynes and fouldyars in particulere, to witt, of the myles and charges, whyche the cytie had deburssed for that preparation and what cappitaynes they sente thider, and of that same, whyche the partyculer parsons had made aswel in their harmes, as appareil, and the captains and patrons euery one in hys ship, and of the prouision, which euery man made for to succour himself for a longe tyme ouer and aboue the soulde or wages that he had generally, and further of the great quantytie of marchandyse, the whyche aswelle the fouldears did cary for to ayde themself therwith, as also many marchants that followed them for gaignes and winninge: shall fynde that the same armye emporteth the valeur of many talentes of the countrey. The whyche armye dydde bringe into greate admyration, those, agaynste whom they wente, aswelle for the greatnes and sumptuositie of it in all things, as also for the hardynes and audacytie of them that hadde enterpryled it: whiche semed a strange and a maruelous thynge for one onely cytie to haue durst to enterprise one such a thynge: wbych for trouth exceaded their porte and force: and specyally being so farre from their houlene. After that the fouldears and the othere people were embarqued & all the shipps charged, sylence was cõmanded wt the voice of a trõpet. And than they made their vowes accordinge to the custome vnto the goddes, not euery shipp aparte, but all togiders by the mouth of the trõpett, and afterwards they dronke in cuppes of golde and of siluer, thone to the other, aswell headds and cappitayns, as fouldears and maroners. And the lyke vowes did those make, which were on lande, for the army in generall, & particularly euery man for his parent & frende. And after that the instrumentes of the shipps and the fouldears hadde sowndde and songe their songes to the prayse of ye gods, and acheued and fynished al their mysteries, they launched fourth, and departedde in the beginninge, all togyders rainged or sett in order in fourme of a horne, afterwardes they dilleuered themself, euery shipp saylinge accordynge to hys force and swiftnes, & they came furst to abourde at Egine, and fromthence wente strayght to Corcyre, in wbych place the other shipps dyd attende and tary for them.

Of dy-

Of dyuers opinions that were amonge the Syracusains for the army of the Athenyans. And the Orations, whych Hermocrates and Athanagoras made vnto the people of Sarragosse, and the conclusion that thereupon was taken.

The. vii. Chapter.

IN thies entresaictes, the Siraculains, albeit that on many sydes they were aduertysed of the army of the Athenyans that came agaynst thē, yet they could not beleue yt. And in many assemblies that were made of the commons for thys matter, diuers and many reasons and oppynyons were spokene, aswell by those that bileued the sayde enterpryse, as by thē, whyche byleued it not. Amongeste whome, Hermocrates sonne of Hermon perswadynge hymselfe to haue certayne knowlaige of the sayde armye, putt hymselfe fourth and dyd speake in this manner.

The Oration of Hermocrates.

LOrdes, it maye be, that thys that I shall say vnto youe of the armye of the Athenyans who come agaynste vs, shall seme incredible vnto youe: euen so as that, whiche hath oftentymes bene already spokenne by many other. And also I am not ignorant that they, whyche shewe and reaporte thynges, that excede the apparance of trouthe, besydes thys that they cannot perswade that to be trewe, whyche they saye: they be moreouer reputedde and holdene for fantasticall and madde. But yet notwythstandynge, I wyll not feare therof for to saye and speake for the welthe of the commonweale, (seinge the daungier, wherein I perceyue yt to be) that, whych I knowe further therein, than anny othere, that hath therein spokenne. That ys, that the Athenyans, of whome ye maruayll soo greately and wolle not bileue yt. They comme agaynste youe wyth so greate a puissance aswelle of shyppes as of people, vnder couloure to gene ayde to the Egestains and to their allyes, and to sette the bannyshed Leontyns agayne into theire houses: but in trouthe it is for couetyce to make themselfe lordes of Sycille and chyefly of oure Cytie. For they thynke wel that if they haue it in their power, they shall easely subdewe the othere. wherefore yt muste be thoughte on, howe we shall honnorably reliste, wyth the people that we haue at thys presente, agaynste thys greate puissance, whyche wolle not longe slacke to comme. And not to lett the thynge at noughte throughe willynge not to beleue yt, nothere by that meane to suffre ourselues to be betrapedde, as vnprouydedde. And yf there be annye amongeste vs, that esteme the not thys thynge incredyble, but taketh it to be true, I woll not for that, that he haue doubte or feare of the audacytie of the Athenyans, nother of their puissance. For suerlye, they shall receyue almuche dammaige of vs, as we of theym, yf wee prouyde therefore. And in thys, that they do comme wyth so greate nomber of shyppes and of people, is not for oure disaduantage: but rather it shall redound to our profyt, chiefly vnto the other Sycilians, who seing those Athenyans so puissant shalbe the soner on our parte, rather than on theirs. And also it shalbe our greate glorye to haue ouercommed one so greate an armye, yf we can do yt: or at the leaste to haue empesched and brokene their enterpryse, whereof I haue noo doubte, but that yt shall not comme to their passe. And also me thinketh, that we may reasonably hope the one or the othere. For it hath not bene oftene founde,

that

that an armye by sea, be it of Grekes or of Barbarous or strangers, that wente so farre from home, prospered well. Also the nober of people, whych they bringe wyth them, is not greater, than the same of our cytezeins and of those, that inhabitt wythout in the feldes wythout the cytie, who, for the feare, whyche they shal haue of the ennemyes, woll assemble vnto it oute of all partes. And if those, that comme to assaulte othere, throughe faulte of vyctuailles or of othere necessarye thynges be constraynedde to retourne from thence, wythoute doynge that, whyche they intended, ye, al though that it happene more through their errour, than through the valyantnes of those, whyche came for to assaulte them: yet the glory thereof remayneth alwayes to those assailled. Whiche is the reasone, wherby the saide Athenyans, of whome we speake, haue acquyred so great glory against the Medes, who, beinge comme agaynste them, hadde oftentymes the woorste, mooze by myschance, than by the vertue of the sayde Athenyans. And we maye hope that the lyke shalle happenne vnto vs. Wherefore, Lordes, hauinge thys firme hope, lette vs vse dylygence for to prepare ourselues to oure power and for to prouyde for all thynges necessarye, and moreouere for to sende vnto the othere Cyties of Sycille for to confirme and entertaigne in good amytie, those, whyche be oure allyes, and for to make newe allyances wyth the othere. And we shulde not onely sende Ambassadours vnto the Sycilians, but also to the other estraungers, whyche inhabycte in Sycille, shewynge them that the daungier ys common, almuche to theym as to vs. And also we shulde sende from thence into Italy for to praye those of the countrey to ayde vs, or at the leaste not to receyue the Athenyans into their lande. And me thynketh that we shulde not onelye sende into Italie, but also vnto Chartage. For vnto them, that be alwayes in feare of their estate, yt ys easye to perswade, that the Athenyans hauynge subdewed vs, maye wythoute difficultie go against their cytie. Wherfore, considerynge that if they neglecte or sette thys thyng at noughte, their estate maye in tyme to come be in daunger: they wolle ayde vs openly or secrettelye, in whatsoeuer manner that yt maye be: whyche thynge they maye doo if they wolle, better than annye people that be thys daye vpon earth, for that, that they haue force, power, golde, & siluer, whyche ys the mooste necessarie thinge in all affayres. We ought also to sende to the Lacedemonyans and to the Corynthians to praye theym, that they wylle, bothe to sende succours hythere, and also to moue warre agaynste the Athenyans there in those quarters. And also I wyll tell yowe one thynge whyche semethe to me mooste necessary and conuenyent. That is, that we shulde require all the Sycilians (if youe thynke it good) or at the the leaste the mooste parte of them, that they come wyth all their shyppes victuailledde for two monethes, to ioygne themselues wyth vs to goo to encounter the Athenyans at Torrente or at Lapigea, for to declare vnto them, that it ys not a questyon for them to come so easely into Sycille, but that they muste fyrste passe the Sea Ionum. By whiche doynge, we shall putt theym in greate feare, and into greate thoughte. Forsomuch specially as we shall sillue fourth of the lande of oure allyes before them for to defende ours, for ỳ Tarentins woll receue vs into theirs, as frendes. And it shalbe veray harde for those Athenyans, hauynge so longe a sea for to passe, to goo wyth so greate an armye alwayes in order, and by that meane we may there assaulte theym to oure aduauntage. For some of the shyppes maye not so faste followe the othere. And if they wyll discharge those, whyche be the heuyeste, for to haste theym to ioygne wyth the other, whan we shall assaulte them: of necessytie they muste do yt wythe oares and wythe sayles, and by that manner, that the maryners shalle trauayle themself beyonde measure. Wherby they shalbe

moste weary, and by consequent the more unhable to defende themself, if we wol assaulte them. And if we thinke yt not good to be done, we may retyre unto Tarente. And on the other parte, if they comme with a small provision of victuals, as for to geue onely one battaylle by sea, hoppinge afterwardes fourthewyth to gette the lande, they shall haue greate nede thereof whan they shall fynde themselfe to be in desarte places. And if they wool soiourne therein, they shalbe ayded. And if they enforce theymself to passe further here, they shalbe constrayned to forsake and leaue one parte of the apparayle of theire sayde shyppes, and also beysdes thys, not beynge assuredde to be receyuedde by the othere Cyties, shalbe in great sorowe. Whyche causethe me to beleue, that if we encountredde theyme and that they parceyuedde that they coulde not lande here as they thought: they woll not departe from Corcyre But rathere in consultynge together upon theire affayre, and in sendynge espyes for to knowe what nomber of people and of shippes we haue, and in what place we be, the wynter shalle comme upon them, whiche shalle anythere breake of and utterlye lette theire passage: orelles seynge oure preparatyon greatter, than they thoughte, they shalle desyste and leaue of theire enterpryse. And somuche the more that I am enformedde, that the pryncypal of theire Dukes and Capytaynes and that knoweth moste in warre, commeth hyther agaynste hys opynyon, and therefore wolde ryghte well contended to retourne frombence, if we make on our bthalfe anny good occasyon or honorable moustre. And also the bruyt of that, whyche we wolle doo, shalbe greatter, than the effecte, for that, that in suche case men grounde theire opynyone upon the bruyte of the people. And whan that he, whyche cometh to assayle, ys mett by hym that shulde be assailledde, it putteth hym in to more feare, than if the other preparedde onely for to defende hymselfe. For somuche as he parceyuethe hymselfe in daungier and studyeth to defende himself, where as he thought, but to assayle: whyche thynge shall nowe happenne to the Athenyans, whan they shalle see vs comme agaynste them, where they thoughte to comme agaynste vs, and also not to haue founde anny resistence in vs, whyche they had some occasion to thynke, forsomuche, as notwythstandynge that we haue bene allyedde wyth the Lacedemonyans, yet we haue not troubled them by warre. But if they parceyue vs to take courage, and to do clerely otherwyse, than they imagyned, they shalbe more astonyed for to see one thynge so newe and contrarye to their expectation, than of the power that we for trouth shall than haue. And therefore I pray you Lordes, that ye wyll beleue me herein, what is the beste that ye maye doo. And that is, that ye take courage to doo that, whyche I haue sayde. And if ye wol not that, yet at the leaste prepare wythout further prolonginge, all thynges, whyche shalbe necessary. And conceyue in youre mynde in that doynge, not for to esteme the ennemye that commeth to assayle youe: whyche thynge cannot be declared, but by shewynge yt by sayer and notable feates. And those feates be declared, if that fearynge the ennemy, preparatyon were made agaynste hym in suche sorte, that men myghte be in suertye. Takinge this maxime or chiefe poincte, that the beste whyche may be done, is to prouyde for thynges biforе the danger, euen as if it were present and sene. For also the ennemyes do truly come wyth a great armye by sea, and be already nygh at abordinge, and there resteth onely, but this, that they arne not sene. Thus did Hermocrates speke. But yet notwythstanding his sayings, the people abodde in great altercation, for some said that it was not true that the Athenyans came, as Hermocrates said. The other sayd yalthough they did come, yet coulde they do no dāmage, but that they shulde receyue more largely of it. Othere dyd utterly despyse the thynge that mockedde at yt. And

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there were very fewe, that did geue layth to that: which Hermocrates had spoke, and that had feare of thynges, that were to come. Than Athenagoras, who had greatest auctoryte among the comon people and that coulde best perswade the in that same tyme, stoode fourth and dyd speake vnto them in this manner.

¶ The oration of Athenagoras to the Syracusains.

¶ The.viii. Chapter.

WHosoeuer will saye: that the Athenyās be so farre out of their wyttes, as to come assault vs, or that if they do come they shall not falle into our handes, he is truly aither comuche fearefull, or elles he vnderstandeth not welle the affayres of our comon welth. And also I meruayle not somuche of the temerayte of them, that sowe thies newes amongest vs for to make vs afrayde, as of their sollye, except that they perswade themself not to be perceyued. But it is the facyon of them that haue particularly any feare in themself, to go aboute to putt it into the comons heades, for to hyde and couer theirs vnder shadowe of the comynaltie. Herunto tende the newes and the bruyte that presently ronne abroade, the whiche be not come rashely: but haue bene maliciously lowedde by those, whiche be customers of the lyke thynges. But if youe be welle aduysed, ye woille not make any foundation or coniecture vpon the speche of thies people here, but rather ye wylle make coniecture by the qualitie of those, of whome it is spoken, whider they be experymented and sage people, as I do esteme the Athenians to be. Wherfore knowing them to be such, I thynke yt not credyble, that being not yet delyuereddе frome the warre of the Peloponesians, they should habādone their countrey: and come through gayneys & Lustynes of herte to begyn here newe warre, in nothing lesse than the other. But as touching my selfe, I am of opynyon that they owe to repute themselfe happye that we go not to assaulte theym in theyr countrey: so manye and so puissante cyties beynge in this Iflande. And admytt that they shall come, as it is reaportedde, yet they ought to thynke that Sycille is more sufficyent for to beate and destroye them, than the Peloponesians be, forsomuche as they be better prouided of al thynges. And specialye oure cytie alone ys more puyssante, than all the armye whiche ys reaported to come agaynste vs: yea truly two tymes almuche, consideredde that they may not bryuge hyther any horsemen, and also I beleue that they shall gett none in thies parties, if it be not a certaine smalle nomber: that the Egestayns may delyuer them. And of fotemen they cannot also be in so great nomber as we haue of theym, sithens that they must transporte theyme by sea. For it is ryghte harde and difficile that so greate nomber of shyppes, as be necessary for to carye victualles and other necessities for so greate an armye, as is requyred for theym that woll to subdewe and and ouercome, one so puissant a cytie, as ours is, may comme hider in fuerte. And I fynde the thynge so farre vnlyke the trouthe, that albeit the Athenyans hadde an Colonie peopled wyth their people, euen so greate as this cytie is, in whatsoeuer place here adioigning, and that frome hence they would come to assault hyr: yet scarcely they should retourne fromehence without shame and damage. Wherfore with much greater reason it ought to be hoped, cōmyng from so farre agaynst all Sycille, the whiche I take for hole certayne, that it woille declare it selfe intierly their enmemye. For they shalbe constraynedde to kepe themselfe in their campe in whatsoeuer parte where they shall lande at the-

arryualle oute of the sea, vnder suche suertie of their shyppes whyche they wolle haue at their backes, without to be so bolde as to enter further into the cõtrey: for feare of our horsemen, wherof we haue greate nomber, in suche manner that with payne they shall abyde on lande, somuche do I esteme our men better than thiers. The Athenyans vnderstandyng the whiche thinges, studye for to defende and kepe their lande, as I am certainly aduised without thinking to come for to wynne ours. But we haue some people in this cytie, that go reaporyng liberally thinges, whiche nother be in vse, nor neuer shalbe. And this is not the furst tyme that I haue attayncted thē of lyke cales. But many other times I haue founde theym to haue sowed suche newes and also woorse, for to putt the meane people (who of their nature be light of bilefe) in feare, to the ende to take and vsurpe by that meane and vnder the same coulour, the empire frome the cytie. And I feare greately least they wylle so ostene make suche inuentions, vntyll the matter by some meane shall come to their intente, and that we shall shewe ourselfe so nyce and so slouthfull, that they shall betrappe vs bifore that we may remedy it, and that we haue not the herte to chastise theyme, thoughe that we knowe their euylle wylle. Forsomuche as I parceyue that by suche occasions oure cytie is oftentymes troubledde wyth seditions and mutyneries, whereby enluych Cyuill battailles, by whyche it hathe bene more often troubledde, then by warre of estrangers, and also hathe bene some tyme subdewedde by certene tyrantes or euylle rulers of thys selfe cytie, but yf ye wolle followe me, I wylle take payne to remedye it, in suche sorte that in oure tyme, we shalle not nede to feare thys danger. And that aswelle by declarations whiche I wylle make vnto manye amongest youe, as also by punyshynge of the seditious, that ymagyne suche thynges, and not those onely that shalbe conuicted and attaynctedde thereupon (for it is right difficile for to fynde out suche thynges, but also those that at other tymes haue enterpryssedde the lyke, although that they haue not hadde power to execute theyme. For he, that wolle prepare to defende hymself agaynste hys ennemye, oughte not onely to haue regarde to that, whyche hys ennemye doeth: but rather to that, whiche maye be presumedde that he entendeth to doo in tyme comynge. And yf he doo not so, he maye furste receyue damage thereby. And it seemeth vnto me that thies people, that goo aboute to putt the generall estate and gouernemente of thys cytie into the hande of a smalle nomber of men: maye not welle be knowyn frome their euylle wylle; but by doynge of three thynges, to wytte, by rebukynge and discouerynge in some parte their dedes, partlye in kepynge theym frome executynge of theym, and partly by causynge their enterpryses and wyttes to be vnderstande by coniectures and by reasones. And truely I haue oftentymes musedde wyth myselfe, what thynge it is, whyche youe the other yonge men do intende, to witt, whider ye nowe presently coueite to haue charges and Empires. For the same is not reasonable by oure lawes, the whiche haue bene made for to empesche and lette that youe maye not haue theyme, not for to doo youe wronge or shame, but onely for the ymbecillitie and weaknes of youre age, for ye maye obteigne theyme, whan youe shalbe of due age. Canne ye not endure to be in the selfe degree that the other cytizeins be in. And howe canne thys be reasonable, that people of one selfe cytye and of one selfe estate shoulde not enioy lyke honours and prehemynēces. There ys peraduenture some one, that wylle saye: that the common estate canne nother welle nor egallye be counsailledde, and that those, whyche be ryches and moste puissante, be alwayes most sufficiente for to gouerne the estate. To whome I furste answere, that the comon gouernement ys the gouernemente of all the cytie, where the gouernemente of a smalle

a small nomber ys but onely of one parte therof. Afterwardes I saye: that for to defende generally: the ryche mē be most mete, but to gene counsaile, those which haue best wyttes and that vnderstande most, be the best: and the compnaltie well assēbled, after that yt hath herde all the oppynyons, doth therupon iudge muche better. And all thinges, that be departed, bett particulerly or vniuersally be egallye departed in the comon estate, where as, whan the smal nomber gouerneth, it departeth the dangers and the charges vnto manye: but of the proffyttes it geueth but a small parte vnto other, but taketh them holy to it selfe. And that is it, whiche those, that be this day the most ryche and most puissant in the cytie (specialiye the ponge people) do coueyte, whiche is a thing impossible in so great a citie. And they, who do desyre it, be aither out of their wyttes, if they vnderstande not that they desyre the destruction of the cytie: aither elles be of the most ignorante of all other Grekes, that I haue knowyn. And if they do vnderstāde it, they be to muche vnreasonable for to desyre it. Therefore vnderstandynge yt aither by my speache or of yourselues, vouchsaulf to studye all for that, whiche apperteigneth to the comon welth of the cytie. And to consyder that they among you which be best and the most riche, haue more parte in the comon welth: than the remnaute of the compnaltie. And that yf youe goo aboute to accepte the contrary: ye putt yourselle in danger to be therof vtterly depryuedde, wherefore ye ought to reiecte and caste oute thies bryngers of false newes, as people alreadye knowyn for suche, and not to suffre them to prouffitt to any meanes, by their inuentions. For though the Athenyans shulde comme, yett ys this cytie puissante ynoughe for to repoulse theym. And there be officers sufficiente for to proupde therefore. And yf the thynge be not trewe (as I do thynke) youre cytie for feare of suche conterfeated newes, wille not putt it self in subiection of people, that for the occasion herof, go about to be your Dukes & superyours: but rather vnderstandyng the trouth therby, shall iudge their wordes and enterpryses, equipolliente or lyke in effecte to the dede. In suche manner that it shall not lose his lybertie for the bryut, which nowe romneth, but rather shall enforce it self to kepe it, for the good order that it shall gene in thynges to come. Thus did Athenagoras speake. And after hym other would haue spoken. But one of the pryncipall officers and rulers of the cytie woulde not suffer any parsone to speake, but he in briefe woordes concluded the matter, saying in this manner.

The conclusion of one of the officers of Sarragosse.

IT is nother wytt nor wysedome to vse suche pryckyng and outragious talke, the one agaynste the other, nother for them that speake it, not for those, whiche gene eares to heare it, but rather we shoulde haue more regarde to thies newes ỹ be comon, to thende for to gene order alwelle generally: as particulerly for to reiist those whiche come agaynste vs. And though happely it were not trewe, yet coulde it in nothing noy nor hurt the cytye to prepare it self with horses, with harnes and with all other thinges that be requysitt for the warre. And for the rest, we other officers woille vse diligence to proupde: and also vnderstande the enterpryses of the ennemyes. And further we woille sende to the other cyties of Sycille and deuile in all other thynges as we shall thynke expediente for this case. And we haue alreadye prouyded therefore, and woille aduertise you of that, whiche shall herafter come to our knolaige. Upon this conclusion, the counsaille departed.

How

Howe the armye departed from Corcyre, and howe yt was euylle receyued alwelle in Italye as in Sycille.

The.xr.Chapter.

IN the meane tyme that thies thynges were debated at Sarragosse, the Athenyans and their allyes were all assembled at Corcyre. And bifore their departure fromethence, the Dukes and capptaynes hauyng made their moustre, dyd determyne in what order they would passe the sea, & after that they were landed, howe they would departe their hoast. And so they departed all the sayd armye into three partes, of the whiche three, the Dukes shulde haue the conduct, so as shulde happene to euery of them by lotte. And that they did, fearynge that if they shoulde go all togiders, they shoulde not fynde a porte sufficiente for to receyue theym, yea though nother water nor other victuales shulde not fayle thē. And besides this the same bendes, beyng so departed, shulde both make the greater shewe & also shulde be more easye to conducte & gouerne hauing euery one his capitayne a parte. Afterwardes they sente there shyppes, to wytt of euery bende, one, bifore into Sycille & into Italy for to lerne what cyties would receiue them as frendes, & comanded them that they shulde come agyne to mete them by the waye to make them answere what they had declared vnto them that they would do. After that all the same was so done and ordeyned, the Athenyans with that great preparation departed for Corcire, and toke the way towardes Sycille, hauyng in all one houndredde thirty and foure galleys wyth three oares, and two Rhodiens wyth twoo oares. Of the whyche with three oares, there were one houndred of Athens, wherof three shoore were light galleys, & the other caryed the men of armes. Those of Chio, and the other allyes of the sayd Athenyans did fourniche the resi of the shyppes. As touchyng the nomber of people, that were in the sayd armye, there were in ỹ hole some fyue thowsande & one houndred fotemen, wherof fyftene houndred were Athenyans, who had seuen houdred seruantes for the nauigation or sayling & of other, aswel allyes, as subiectes, & specially of the Argiues fyue houndred, of the Mantynyans, and other Mercenaries or huyred souldiers two houndred and fyftie, and of archers in all foure houndred and foure shore, whereof the foure houndred, were Rhodyens & the foure shore of Creta. There were also fyue thousande men lyght armed, of Megara, and thirty horsemen, vpon a barke, for to carie horses. Such was the Athenyans armye by sea at the begynnynge. And besydes thys there were thyrtye marchandes shyppes caryinge victuales and other thynges necessarye for the sayedde armye, besydes a greate nomber of other, of dyuers sortes, whiche followedde the sayedde armye for feate of marchandise, whyche were at Corcyre, and all togiders passedde the goulphe of the sea Ionium. But afterwardes, they departedde theymselues and aboorded one partie at the promontorye of Lapigea, one other partie at Tarente, and the other in dyuers places in Italye, so as they perceyuedde the landynge propice, and mete for them. But yet neuerthelas they dydde not fynde any cytie, that woulde receyue theym for marchandise nor otherwyse, but rather dydde onely permytt them to lande for to refresh themself vō water and with other thinges, excepted the Tarentyns and the Locryans, who suffredde them not to make any descente in their lande. In such manner they passedde wythoute restynge themself vntyll they came to abooarde at the promontorye of Rhegium in the extremitie of Italye. In whiche place beynge refusedde to lande, and beynge alreadye strongelye assembledde, they

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lodged themselfe without the towne, nyghe vnto the temple of Diana, and thider they of the sayed towne sente vnto them victuailes and other necessaries for their monney. And there haunge brought theyr shyppes into the porte: they for a certene tyme soiourned, and in the meane tyme spake vnto the Rhegyns perswadynge theyme that they woulde ayde the Leontyns, consydereddе that they were Chalcydes, lyke as they were. Who answered that they woulde not meddle wyth the warre of the Sycilians, but they woulde earnestly do in al thinges as the other Italyans comonly woulde do. Notwythstandyng the whiche answere, the Athenyans, delygnge to execute their enterpryse of Sycille, attended the answeare of the shyppes, whiche they had sent to Egestes, for to understand the affaires of the sayd countrey: and chiefly touchynge the monney, whyche the ambassadours Egestayns had vaunted and bragged of to the Athenyans, that shoulde be founde in their Cytie, whether it were for trouthe or not. In thies enterfaictes the Syracusains had newes frome many quarters, and pryncypallye by the Brygantins (whiche they hadde sente for to espye and discouer) howe the armye of the Athenyans was arryued at Rhege. So they were no more harde of Rhegiū.
bilene, but rather vsed all diligence that they coulde, for to make al preparations for to defende them, & sent vnto all the other Sycilians, to some ambassadours, and to other people, for to defende and kepe theyme. And moreouer they withdrewe into their cytie all the shyppes that they myght, frome all coastes for defence thereof, and made monstre of their people, and a description of their harnnes and of their victuaile, whiche they hadde in the cytie. And for effecte prepared all other thynges that was possible for theym, euene so, as yf the warre had bene alreadye bigonne. In this meane tyme, the three shyppes, whiche they had sente to Egeste, came agayne to them to Rhege, who made reaporte vnto them: that there was none other monney in the sayed cytie of Egeste, than the same, whiche they hadde promysedde, whiche myght amounte to the some of thyrty talentes onely, wherewyth the Dukes Athenyans were all astonyedde and discouraiged, seing that at the ayde all the pryncipalle dydde faile them, whereupon they were foundedde, and that the Rhegians refuseddе to enter into the warre wyth them. Who were the furst that they had abourded, and thole, whome they myght hope somest to wynne, aswelle for that, that they alwayes hadde bene parentes of the Leontyns and of one selfe nation, as also for that, that they were alwayes affectyonedde to the partie of the Athenyans. Whereby Nycyas was in nothyng abused. For he had neuer other opynyon of the Egestayns, but that they woulde abuse the Athenyans, but the other two capptaynes founde theymselues deceyued, who had been abusedde by the cautell and craft that the Egestayns hadde vsed, whan the furst ambassadours of the Athenians was sent vnto them for to see their treasuer. For after that the sayed ambassadours were landed and come into their cytie, they brought them into the temple of Venus, whiche is in Eryce. and there shewed them basyns, the centars and other hallowedde vesselles that were in the sayedde temple: togiders wyth the offerynges, bowes and other moueable riches, whiche were of greate valeur. And for that they were of syluer, they made a great monster and apparance, that there had bene a great some of monney in that same cytie insomuche as beinge so smalle: there was somuche in that same temple. And beyldes this in diuers houses, where the Athenyās that came in that ambassade were lodged, and vpon their shyppes, their hoastes shewedde them greate quantitie of vesselles of golde and of syluer, aswell for seruice at the table, as for the kytchyne, whyche they hadde for the moste parte borowedde of their neighbors, aswell of the self countrey, as of the Phenicians & of the Grekes

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laignynge, that it all was there oune and that it was their manner of lyuynge. Whereupon, the layd Athenyans perceyuing so great quantitie of vesseil and so ryche in all their houses, and as all of one sorte, were all astonyed. And after that they were retourneddе to Athenes, made reaporte that they hadde sene a merueilouse quantitie of golde and syluer. And by that meane the Athenyans were abused, whereby, after that the men of warre, that were at Rhege vnderstoode the trouthe to be contrarye by the messengers that they had sent thider, they became hatefull and seditious agaynst them. And thereupon the Dukes consulted togyders of the affaire. And the opynyon of Nycyas was that they altogider shoulde go fromethence to Selynunte. To whiche place it was pryncipally ordeynedde that they shulde go in fauour of the Egestayns. And if being there the Egestains made whole payemente of all the armye, that they myght consult what they had to do. And if they made not the layd payment, that than it shulde be demaunded of them, that at the least they shoulde victuale the three skooze shyppes whiche they had required for their succours. And in that doyng that men shoulde abyde there vntill that they had reconcyled the layd Selynuntyns with thole Egestayns aither by frendeshyp or by force. And after that, ỹ they shulde passe through biforе thother cyties of Sycille for to shewe the puissance of the Athenyans, and also to geue courage and hope to their frendes, and that done to retourne fromthence all into their houses wythoute otherwyse to soiourne in that same quarter, except that in shorte tyme or by some opportunitie and occasion, they myghte doo some aduantage and seruice to the Leontyns, and withdrawe any of the other cyties to the allyance of the layd Athenyans. For it semed vnto him that doing othewise, they shoulde putt the estate of Athens in danger by that expences onely. But Alcibiades was of contrary opynyon, saying that it shulde be to much great shame, to be come with one so great a puissance into a countrey so farre of, and to retourne fromthence without doing any thinge there. Wherefore he was of aduyse that heraultes and trompettes shoulde be sent vnto all the cyties of the countrey except Sarrogosse & Selynunte, for to aduertise thē of their comyng, and to essaye for to wynne theym, to wytte, for to cause the subiectes of the sayed Syracusains and Selynuntyns to rebelle agaynst them and to withdrawe the other vnto the allyance of the Athenians. And by that meane to haue victuailes and people of theyme, and bifore all the other they shulde essay to gette the Mamertyns, for that that they were moste nighe to the ryght landynge for to come out of Grece, and also there was a great porte and ryght suer, whervnto the said Athenyans myght withdrawe themselfe and retyre in suertie: and fromethence practise wyth the other cyties. And after that it shulde be learned what they were that would be ernest against the said Syracusains, and thole, that would be to the contrary: to go agaynst the Syracusains and against the Selynuntyns for to constrayne them, at the least, to wytt, the Syracusains, to appoyncte with the Egestayns, and the Selynuntyns, that they shulde permyte the Leontyns to abyde in their cytie and houses. As touchynge Lamachus his opynyon was that men shulde go as sone as they myght agaynst Sarragosse and assault them being vnprouyded, bifore that they myghte prepare, for to reliste, and whilest, that they were astonyed, lyke as wythout fayle, they would haue bene at the begynnynge, for that, that an armye is alwayes fearefull at the aryuall. But if it delayeth to go to assault his ennemyes, they consulte, vpon their affaire, and in so doinge doo recouer their courage. In suche manner, that afterwardes they despyse thole, whiche were fearefull, vnto them, wherefore he concluded, that thole men that would fourthwith, and wythout delaye, come to assaulte the forelayd Syracusains,

raculains whileſte they were, in that ſame feare, ſhoulde haue the better thereof, and ſhoulde putt the ſayedde Syracuſayns in greate tremblynge and feare, aſwelle for the vieu of the ſame armye whiche ſhoulde ſeme at the furſte ſyghte to be of muche more people than there was, as alſo for feare of the euylles which they ſhoulde conſider to be lyke to happene, yf they were vanequyſhedde in the battaille. And ſomuche the more that it was to bileue that manye of the citizeins ſhoulde be in the feldes whiche doubted not the compynge of the ſayd armye, who retyrynge haſtely into the Cytye ſhall leaue behynde theyme muche of their goodes in the feldes, and alſo many of them ſhalbe takene bifore that they may retyre, whereby, hauyng afterwardes allieged the cytie, men ſhall not lacke monney. And on the other parte, by this doynge the other cyties of Sycille, vpon that poynete ſhall chooſe the rather to make allyance wyth theyme, than wyth the ſayedde Syraculains wythoute taryinge or attendynge whiche of the twoo, ſhall haue the victorye. He ſayedde moreouer that in all euentes and chaunces (were it that they retyredde, or that they aſſaulteddе) that they ſhoulde make the ſtation and ſoiourne of their ſhyppes at Megare, for that, that it was delarte and nyghe ynoughe to Saragoſſe, aſwelle by ſea, as by lande. Thus Lamachus, dydde ſpeake, and neuerthelas he came agayne to the opynyon, of Alcibiades. who, after theis thynges, ſailleddе wyth hys ſhyppe to paſſe bifore the cytie of Mamertyns, and requyredde theyme to enter into allyance wyth the Athenyans, whereunto they wouldе not conſente, nor ſuffre hym to enter into theyr cytye, neuerthelas they offredde to cauſe victualles to be delyueredde to be ſolde wythoute the cytye for hym and hys people, who perceyuynge that, wythoute reſtynge there, retournedde fromethence to Rhege. And after that he was aryuedde, wyth other the Dukes, they cauſeddе incontinentlye one parte of the armye to be embarqueddе wythin three ſhooze ſhyppes whiche they victuailleddе ſufficiently. And leauynge the reſte of the people, and of the ſhyppes at the porte, of Rhege, wyth one of the ſame Dukes, the other two went wyth the ſayed three ſhooze ſhyppes ſtrayghte to Nare, whereinto they were receyuedde by the Cytizeins. And fromethence they wente to Catane but there they were not receyuedde, for that, that there was one parte of the cytizeins, whiche toke parte wyth the Syraculains. For this cauſe they were conſtrayneddе to retyre vnto the contremounte, of the ryuer of Teria, where they ſoiournedde all the ſame daye. And on the morowe after, they altogether wente fromthence tyle bifore Syracuſe. hauynge their ſhyppes in order in fourme of a cornette, whereof they ſente tenne bifore towardes the greate porte, for to ſee if there were anye ſhyppes of the enemyes. And after that they were nyghe the entrynge of the ſayed porte, they cauſeddе it to be cryed wyth the ſoundе of a trompett, that the Athenyans were come thyder, for to reſtore the Leontyns into their houſes, bycauſe of the amytie and parentage, that they hadde wyth theyme. Wherefore they declareddе to all thoſe of the ſayed natyon of Leontyns, that were wythin Syracuſe, that they myghte retyre to the ſayed Athenyans, as their frendes and bene factors. And after that they hadde made that crye, and welle regardeddе and conſydereddе the Syte and the ſcyon aſwelle of the Cytye as of the poorte, and alſo of the countrey rounde aboute, for to knowe on whyche ſyde they myghte beſte allieget, they all retournedde fromе thence to Catane, and agayne demaundeddе the cytizeins, that they ſhuldе ſuffer them to enter into the cytie, as their frendes, who, after that they had holden their counſaille, made aunſwer that they would not ſuffer the armye to enter but if the Dukes and heddes would enter in their ſymple eſtate: they would receyue them wyllyngly and ſhoulde heare what they

Naxus.

The ryuer of Teria.

woulde saye, wh'che thynge was done. And the comon people beynge assembled. for to geue audyence: euen as they were amasedde to here Alcibiades, who spake vnto them, the men of warre entred soubdaynly by a false gate, perceyuyng that it was euyll walled, dydde beate it downe, and wythout makynge any bruyte or noyce, wente cheapening and buying through the towne, that, whiche was necessarye for theyme. Whiche perceyued, certene of the cytizens, that toke partie with the Syracusains, were greatly astonyedde, and fledde secretly out of the towne, but there was no greate nomber of theyme, and all the other agrede to make alyance wyth the Athenyans. And by thys meane all the other, whiche were abydynge at Rhege, were commaunded to come thider. And they beynge aryuedde, after that they haddde fortefyed and furnysshedde yt, they dydde putt them into yt. And hearynge that the Syracusayns prepareddde theyr armye by sea, they altogiders dislodgedde themselle fromethence and went straight waye towardes Syracuse. But seynge that there was no preparation of shyppes, they retournedde fromethence: and came the waye of Cameryne. And after that they were nyghe the entryng of the porte, they causedde it to be cryedde with the boyce of a trompett, that they were come. But for all that, the Cameryns woulde not receyue theyme, saying, that they had sworne, not to suffre the Athenyans to enter into their poarte, with more, than wyth one shyp, excepte, that they themselfe had requyredde theym to come thider with a greater nomber. Thus they retourned fromethence wythoute doynge any thynge. And in their retourne they landed in some one quarter of the territorye of the Syracusains for to pyllage it. But as they were buysyed in that pillage and in disorder, the horsemen, that were in the cytie, pssuedde fourth agaynste them, and dyd slaye some nomber of those, whiche were lyghtly armed, and the other, retyred to Catana.

¶ Howe Alcybiades beynge adiourneddе for to aunswere at Athenes, to certene crymes, whiche were obiecteddе agaynst hym, went fromethence into Peloponese. And incidentlye howe Hipparchus, the brother of Hippias, sometyme Tyrante or cyuyll gouernour of Athens, was slayne.

☞ The.x. Chapter.

After that the Athenyans shippes, were retyred to Catana, one shyp of Salampne, sent by the people of Athens, arriued, for to adiourne Alcibiades to come to aunswere to many crymes and trespalles that openly were obiected and layed agaynst hym, and with hym certene other that were in the Armye, who were lykewyse chargedde by tokens, to haue bene hys accomplices, aswelle for to violate the mysteries of sacrifices, as also for to cutt a sonder and defface the pictures or ymages called Hermes at Athenes. Of which thynges, after his departure wyth tharmye by sea, the Athenyans ceassed not to pursue the inquyrie. And they atesied not onely vpon the proues and apparant coniectures, but rather geuynge faythe to all lyghte suspicions, vpon the sayinge of certeine vnhappy men and of euill name, they dydde take many of the moste honest of the cytie, whome they dyd putt into pryson, groundyng themselfe vpō this, that it were better to go serchyng and verefying that same matter by all

by all sortes of coniectures, than for to suffer a man to escape, of whatsoeuer good renome that he were, through faulte of sayinge, that the accusations, whiche were agaynste hym were not suffycyente, and so that he shoulde not be conuycteddē. For that the people hadde herde saye, that the tyrannye of Pysystratus hadde sometyme bene harde and cruell about the ende of hys gouernement, and coulde not be extinguyshedde, nother by the people, nor by Hermodius, but by the Lacedemonyans. By reasone whereof they were in greate feare and suspicion of the thynges abouesayed, and dydde take all in euylle parte. Albeit that for trouth the enterpryse of Arystogiton, and Harmodius, dyd take audacytye, for dishoneste loue, as I wylle shewe herafter, and wylle declare, what the Athenyans, and other Grekes, speake of their tyrantes or euill rulers, and of thynges, whiche they haue done hedling, and at their plaisure without knowing in anye thing, the trouth, for the thing, was this. Pysystratus beyng in his olde age dead, Hippias who was his eldest sonne (and not Hypparchus, as it hath pleased some to say) succeded hym in the pryncipalitie. Nowe there was in the cytie of Athenes, a ponge man, namedde Harmodius, excellente in beawltie. Of whome, by meane thereof, Arystogiton (who was a man of a meane condition) was amorous, and mysusedde hym carnallye. So the same Hermodius, was accused by Hipparchus, sonne of Pysistratus, of that same lewdenes and shamefulle matter. Whereof he beynge conuicteddē, dydde complayne to Arystogiton, who for feare, that he hadde to be deprysuedde of hys boye, and of hys lewdenes: by the auctorytie of Hypparchus, enterpryseddē vnder coulour to be wyllynge to vsurpe the tyrannye of the cytye, for to kepe the sayed boye, and to wythstande that he shoulde not be takene, frome hym vnder couloure of iustyce. In thys meane tyme, Hipparchus, wente aboute for to withdrawe the sayed Hermodius by faier speche and flateryes, and perceyuyng, that he coulde nothynge profyte by that meane, preparedde hymselfe to bringe hym to shame by iustice without vsynge of anye force, for also it was not lawfulle for hym to do it, inasmuche as the tyrantes of that same tyme hadde not yet taken vpon theym greater auctorytie ouer their subiectes, than by forme of iustice. By occasion whereof, and also that those whiche vsurpedde suche tyrannycall gouernemente, exercisedde theymselfe in the remenante in all vertues and in all prudencie: Those same tyrauntes were not greatly noysome nor displeasante. For also they dydde not exiorte of the cytizeins any other trybute, but the twentith parte of their reuenue, wherewyth they made many fayer reparations in the cytie, and also susteignedde manye greate warres agaynste theyr neyghbours. And as touchynge the other thynges, they lefte theyme intierly vnto the cytizens accordynge to their auncyente lawes, forprysed and relarued onely this, that they founde manner by their auctoritye, that one amongest theyme was alwayes chosene by the comons vnto the pryncypall offices of the cytye, whereby some of them be founde to haue yerelye offices in the cytye Athenes. And Pysystratus, sonne of Hyppias, who hadde the name of hys grandefather, holdynge the seignorye after the deathe of hys father, dedicatedde, in the myddelle of the markette place, the temple of the twelue goddes and that same of Apollo Pythius. And he causeddē to be defacedde or blotteddē out one Epigrame or Epytaphy: whiche was sette vp in the markett place, whyche was afterwardes repaired and enlarged by the comons. And yet neuerthelas the sayd Epigrame was not vtterly defaced, but onely duskened or so rased, that yet it myght be redde, thoughe that with some difficultie, which was of this substance. The Epigrame, which Pisistratus setteth in the temple of Apollo

Pysystratus.
Hermodius.
Aristogiton.

Of ỹ tyrānye of Pisistratus & of his infātes in ỹ cytye of Athens, & howe it was extinguished.
Hippias Hipparchus.

Pythius, that Hippias lefte for remembrance, of hys Empire. And this, whiche I haue sayed that Hippias sonne of Pisistratus obteignedde the seignioryе after hys father, insomuche, as he was eldest, I canne affirme yt clerely to be true, by this that I haue inquired, and serched more of the common renome of that same time, than any other. And euery man that woll serche & inquier may knowe yt, by this that it is not founde, that any of the legytymate sonnes of the sayed Pysistratus, had any childzene, but onely he, as it may be parceyued, by the auncient monumentes, or graues that be in the sayed temple, and also by an Epitaphie, whiche is in the castell of Athenes, grauene in stoane, makynge mention of the noughtynes, of the sayd tyrantes, wherin no mention is made of any childrē of Hipparchus, nother of Thessalus, but welle of fyue chyldzen, whiche Hippias hadde by Callis, doughter of Hippocride. Also it is lyke to be trewe, that he maryedde the eldest of this chyldzen, furst: and also beinge eldest, it is to bileue, that he succededdе, nerte in the Seignioryе, and tyraunye. And it semeth not vnto me to haue any apparance, that if Hipparchus, had bene slayne, possessyng the Seignyoryе: that Hippias incontmently after coulde haue obteigneddde yt, and also exercise it the selfe daye, that the other dyedde, but rather hauyng already a longe tyme bledde hys auctoryte imperially towardes the subiectes, and lyued frendely and discretelye wyth hys adherentes and frendes: feared not to receigne and kepe hys Seignioryе and pryncipalytie, whatsoeuer thynge had happenedde to hys brother: euene so, as hys sayed brother woulde happely haue done, if that the chaunce hadde happenedde to that same Hippias, for that, that he was alreadye exercisedde and accustomedde, in the Seignioryе. But that, whiche geueth thys reaporte to Hipparchus and causeth theyme, that came after to bileue, that he had obteigned, the pryncipalitie and Seignioryе of Athens: was through cause of the myschance, whiche happenedde vnto hym, by occasyon of that, whyche is bifore sayed. For parceyuynge that he coulde not wythdrawe or bryng Hermodius to hys wyll, he ymagined agaynst hym one suche wooрke and despyte. The same Hermodius, hadde a ponge suster, a maydene, who commynge in an assemblie of other maydens, of her estate, to a certene solempnytie that was made in the cytie, carying a paynyer or balkette, as the other dyd: Hipparchus, by hys ministers, cauledde her to retyre and to be putt oute of the sayedde compaignie, sayinge that she was not calledde, to the sayed solempnyte, for she was not wooрthy to be there, wyllynge to doo it to be vnderstande, that she was no maydene, whereby Hermodius, was more and more, grudgedde and spitefull, and Aristogitonne also for hys sake. And so, they cogiders wyth the complices of that same conspiratie determyned, whan it shuld be expedient for to execute it, but they taryedde the daye of the feaste, whyche ys calledde, the greate feaste of Panne, for that, that on the same daye yt was permytted to euerye man, without any suspycion, to weare harnnes, throughe the towne. And so yt was concludedde amongeste theyme, that on the sayedde daye: the same Hermodius and Arystogiton, shoulde charge vpon Hipparchus, and the other complices, vpon the garde or sargeantes. And albeyt that the same complices were in smalle nomber, yet for to kepe the thynge secrett, they perswaded theymselfe that whan the other cytezeins, that should be assembled, should see them charge vpon the tyrantes or gouernours, thoughe that they knewe nothynge of the enterpryse, beynge yet in armure, they all wouldе ioigne wyth theyme for to recouer their lybertie. Than, whan the feast daye came, Hippias was in a place, a parte, namedde Ceramicus wyth the souldyars of hys garde, and ordeyned the ceremonies of that same solempnitie as it apperteigned. And as Hermodius and Aristogiton came directly

Thessalus. Callis.

vnto

vnto hym wyth their daggers for to slaye hym, they parceyued one of their complices, that was speakynge with the sayedde Hyppias very familiarlye for that, that he was gentle to geue audience) whereby they were afrayed that their sayd compaignyon hadde discouered the enterpryse, and leste they shulde be incontynently taken. And so determyned before that they would be empeigned or layde hande vpon, to take vengeance on hym, that was cause of their conspiracie. To wyt, Hipparchus, if they coulde. And fourthwith entred into a place, called Leocorius, wherin Hipparchus was. And so they rushed vpon hym wyth suche a furye, for hatred and disdeigne, whiche they had agaynste hym, that they dyd slaye hym incontinently. And that done Aristogiton at begynnyng saueddе hymself amonge the souldeours and garde of the tyrantes, notwythstandynge he was afterwardes taken and sooze hurte, but Hermodius was slayne vpon the place. Hippias being aduertised in the sayd place of Cerannicus of this matter: did not soudainely repaire vnto the place, where the chance was commytted, but wente straight waye thider, where as the people of the towne being armed were assembled for the pompe or solempnytie, before that they had any vnderstandynge of the dede. And makyng good chere, and shewynge a ioyfull countenance euene as as no suche thynge had bene done, he cauled to comaunde them, that they shulde all withdrawe themself without armure into a certein place, whiche he cauled to be shewed vnto them, whiche thyng they did, thynking that he would haue sayd somethyng vnto them. And fourthwith as they were there, he sent his souldears, and garde, for to take from them, their armure, and to apprehende those, whom he had in suspection, principally them that were founde wearynge daggers. For the custome was in that same solempnytie, to carye speares and targottes onely. In this manner, throughe foolyshe loue, the furste conspiracie was bigonne and enterpryseddе agaynste the Tyrantes of Athens, and executed foolyshly for the soubdayne feare, whiche they had, that enterpryseddе yt, to haue bene discouered, whereby greate euyll inluedde afterwardes to the Athenyans. For in tyme folowynge, the tyrantes were more cruell, than they hadde bene, for that that Hippias fearynge to be circumuenteddе: causeddе manye of the cytizeins to dye, and also prouydeddе hymselfe wyth allyances and frendeshyps, wythout the towne, for to withdrawe and saue hymselfe, yf anye mutation or change happenedde wythin the cytie. For this cause, he maryed his doughter, named Archedice, vnto Hippoclus sonne of Cantydes, Tyrante of Lamsaque, for that that he knewe that the sayed Cantydes hadde greate amytie wyth Darie, kynge of Perse. The Sepulcre or graue of whiche woman is yet to be sene in Lamsacque aforesayd, wherevpon was an Epitaphe of this substance. Here lyeth Archedice, doughter of Hyppias defendoure of the Grekes, who, although that she was doughter, wyfe and suster of Tyrantes, dydde not yett therefore anye proude or violente thynge. Neuerthelas three yeares after this, whiche we haue spokene, Hippias was chasedde by the Lacedemonyans and by the Alcmondes oute of the Seignioryе and tyrannye of Athenes. And wente fromethence wyth hys good will vnto Cantides in Sigee and vnto Lamsaque, and fromethence vnto the kyng Darius, and twentye yeares after (beyng than verye olde) he dydde come wyth the Medes agaynste the Grekes at Marathonie. The people of Athenes, bryngyng thies auncient thynges to remembrance, was more sharpe and more chasedde to enquier of this same matter of the dysfygureddе ymages and of the corrupted sacrefices, fearynge to come agayne into subiection of tyrantes. And perswaded themself that the sayed excesse and myspedes had bene done to the same entente. By occasion whereof many greate personages of the cytie were putt into

Archedices. Hippoclus. Cantides

Sigee.

pryſone. And the perſecution and wrath of the commons encreaſedde dayllye to apprehende, and imprylone men, bntylle that one of theym that hadde bene takene and was reputed for moſte coulpable, at perſwation of one of the other prylloners, diſcouereddе the thynge, were it truely or faulſelye, for the trouth coulde neuer be knowyn nother than nor after wardes. But ſomuche there was, that he was perſwadedde, that if he diſcouereddе the caſe, by acculynge of hymſelfe and of ſome other, he ſhoulde putt the reſte of the cytye oute of ſuſpition and of danger. And alſo by ſo doynge ſhoulde be in ſuertie for to eſcape and to be delyueredde. By this meane he confeſſedde the caſe of Hermes or pictures, as touchyng hymſelf, and alſo accuſed a compaignie of other, whome he declared to haue bene partakers therof, whereby the comons, thynkyng that he had ſayed the trouthe, were ryght toyfull. For they were tomuche angry, that no knowlaige coulde be had of a dede, done by ſo great nomber of people. And ſo he, that had confeſſedde the matter, togiders wyth the other, whome he had not chargedde: were fourthwyth delyuered. And of thoſe, which he had charged, al they that might be taken were putt to execution by ſentence or iudgemente. The other, that fledde fromethence, were condempnedde of contumacye to death, and a huyer was lympytedde and appoynctedde for all men, whiche dydde ſlaye theyme. And yett was it not knowyn for trouthe, whider that thoſe, whiche had bene executed, were gylty or not. Neuerthelas in all the reſt the cytie reputed itſelfe to haue gaigned and prolyttedde greatly. But the comons were diſpleaſedde, wyth Alcibiades, who was accuſed of this chance, of the ymages by his ennemyes, to wytte, by thoſe ſames that had charged him therwith bifore his departure. And takyng it to be trewe that he had bene gilty of the caſe, of the Hermes or pictures, they eaſely perſwaded themſelf, that he likewiſe had bene partaker of the other caſe of the ſacrefices with the other complices & conſpirators againſt the comons. And the ſuſpection dидde growe ſomuche the more, that a certene ſmall nomber of warryours beyng Lacedemonyans, did in that ſelf time come vntill the diſtreate of Peloponeſe, for to appoynte and intreate of ſome matter, with the Beotians. Wher by the Athenias had ſuſpition, that it had bene through conſent of the ſaid Alcibiades, vnder coulour of the ſayd treatie, and that if the ſame Athenias, had not preuented to take the ſayd citizeins, whome they had taken vpon ſuſpition, the cytie had bene in dāger to be taken and betrayed. And the ſuſpition was ſo great, that a great watch in armure, was for one nyght, kept in the cytie of the temple of Theſeus. In the ſelfe tyme the geſtes and frendes of the ſame Alcibiades, which were in the cytie of Argos, were ſuſpected, to be willing for to inuade the comons, which thing, being by them ſignefyed vnto the Athenyans, they licenced the ſayed Argiues for to ſlaye the citizeins of Athens, which they had in their citie of Argos, who were deliuered vnto them, for hoſtage, and by them to be ſent vnto certaine Iſlandes. In this manner, Alcibiades was ſuſpected, on all ſydes. Whereupon they that were wyllynge to cauſe hym to come to iudgemente, for to condempne hym to death: purchaſed to cauſe hym to be adiournedde or ſomoned in Sycile, togiders vnto the other, of whome hathe bene ſpokene, and gaue charge vnto the Meſſenger: that he ſhoulde comaunde hym to followe hym incontinentlye, and not to take hym, for feare that they hadde alwell of the compaignions of warre which he had vnder his charge, as alſo that the affaire of the enterpryſe of Sycille ſhulde not be troubledde, and yet moſte pryncipallye that the Mantynyens, and the Argiues (who at the delyre of the ſame Alcibiades accompanyedde the ſayed Athenyans in that ſame enterpryſe) ſhoulde not be mouedde or loſte. Than Alcibiades, percelyuynge the comaundemente and adiournynge, that was made vnto hym,

mounted

mounted into a shypp, and the other also adiourned did mounte withe him, and departed fromthence togiders wyth the ship of Salampne, whych was comme for to adiourne them: fayning to be willing to saille in compagnie vnto Athens. But after that they were in Thurie, they followed it no further: nother afterwardes were sene by those of the sayd shipp of Salampne: who, hauynge carefullye enquyred, what way they were gone, and not learnyng any newes therof, they sayled frōthence their right way. Sone after Alcibiades departed from Thurie, and sailled fromthence to lande in Peloponese: being already bannyshedde from Athens. And so after, he and the other, whych were in hys compaignye were condempned for contumacye vnto death by the Athenyans.

¶ Howe after the departure of Alcibiades, the other two Dukes Athenyans, hauynge done certen small thynges in Sycile, did come to allege the cytie of Saragolle and hadde a victorye agaynste the Syracusains. ☞ The.xi. Chapter.

After the departure of Alcibiades, the other twoo Dukes Athenyans departed all the armye into two partes: and aither of theym. dyd by lott take the charge of the one of theym. And afterwardes they bothe togiders wyth all the hoste, wente fromthence vnto Selynunte, and to Egeste for to knowe if the Egestians were determyned to delyuer the monney, whyche they had promysed, and also for to vnderstāde the affayre of the said Selynuntyns and the question or difference, whyche they had wyth the Egestains. And they sayled a length the sea, hauynge the Isle of Sycile of the coste of the sea Jonum on the lefte hande, and came to abooarde bifore the cytie of Imere: the whyche only in that same quarter is inhabyted wyth Grekes, neuertheleile they woolde not receyue the sayd Athenyans, who, at their departure fromthēce, sailled to a towne named Hiccara. The whyche, though that it were inhabytedde wyth Sycanians was yet ennemy to the Egestains. For this cause, they pillaged yt, and afterwardes did set of the Egestains wythin it. Thys dependunge arryued the horsemen of the Egestains, wyth whome the fotemen Athenyans came by lande wythin the Isle, pillaginge and robbinge vntill Catana, and their ships came vnto them coastynge alongeste the sea, wherin they charged their butyes & pillage, aswell of beastes as of the other. Nycias at departure frō Hiccara, wēte incontynently to Egeste. where he receiued of the Egestains thirty talentes. And hauynge geuen order for certen other thynges, returned fromthence into the armye. And beside that some, that they had taken for the sayd butye, whych was solde, they receyued one houndred and twenty talētes of golde. Afterwards they wente enuyronnyng the Isle, and in their passage dydde geue order to their allyes that they shulde sende them the nomber of men, whyche they had promysedde. And so they came wyth the moytie of the armye before the towne of Hibla in the terrytory of Gela (the whyche toke the partie againste them) thinkyng to take it, but they coulde not, and in this meane tyme, the ende of Somer dyd come. At begynnynge of the wynter, the Athenyans prepared themself for to come to allege Sarragolle, and on the other syde the Syracusains prepared themselle for to come to mete them. For insomuche as the Athenyans did not at beginning come to assayle them, they toke dayly more and more courage. And somuche the lesse they feareddе and estemed them, that they had enuironned and compassed about the other countrey by sea very farre fromе theire cytie, and also coulde not take

Hiccara.

Hybla.

Hybla. Hybla. whereupon the sayd Syracusains were so pulled by, that they requyred of their Dukes that they shulde conducte them vnto Catana, where the enemys were, insomuch as they durste not come thider vnto them. And the lyght horsemen Syracusains, whych romed dayly vnto the campe of the said Athenyans, among other reproches, whiche they vsed, demanded of theym, if they were not more comme to inhabitt rather an other mans lande, than for to restore the Leontins into theirs. The Athenyans, knowinge suche thyngs, ellaiedde to wythdrawe thole Syracusains so farre, as they couilde, from their cytie, to the intente that the more wyth their ease, they myght in one nyght wyth their shyps, saille to lande before the towne, and lodge theire campe in place, where they shulde thinke most mete. For they knewe well, that if at landing out of their shyps, they founde the ennemyes in order and prepared for to defende theire landinge: oreels if that they wouilde take their waye fromthence by lande vnto the sayde cytie: they shuld haue much more difficultie. For their horsmen might do greate dammaige vnto their fotemen beynge lyght armed, and also to the reste of their fote men, considered that they had yet small nomber of horsmen there. And doing as they had enterpryled, they might wtout any great empeschement take the place, whych they desired, before that the horsmen Syracusains shulde haue bene retourned, which place had bene caught and shewed vnto them, by the bannished men of the same cytie, who followedde them, to witt, nyghe vnto the temple of Olympus. And for to execute their enterpryle, they vsedde one suche a cautelle. That is, that they sente one (whome they right wel trusted) vnto the Dukes of Syracusams, knowinge also that they wolde geue fayth vnto that, whyche he shulde shewe them, fayninge to be sente from certen of the principalle of the cytie of Catana, wherof he was, whom the said dukes did well knowe, saying that they yet helde their partie, and that if they wolde, they wold cause them to haue ỹ victorie against the Athenyans by suche meane: for one partie of the armye of ỹ said Athenyans kept thēselfs wtin the towne without armure. So that if the said Syracusains, issued fourth, at one dayne named, oute of Sarragosse and arryued at the breake of the day wt all their puissance: those same Catanyens, whome he named vnto them wyth their complices, shuld easely enclose the Athenyās, that were wtin the towne, and also wold put fyer into their shyps, which were in their port. By which doing, if the said Syracusains wolde rush out and charge vpon them that were in the feld, which was without the towne, enclosed wyth Dales, they might take it without any great difficultie, and destroy all that they shulde fynde wtin it: saying moreouer that there were many cytezens of Catane of thys intellygence and conspyracie, all ready and determined for to execute it: who had sente hym thyder. The dukes Syracusains, which were bolde, and besides that had already desire to go vnto the enemyes in their campe, did lightly bileue the espie. And hauing taken a day wyth him, whan they wold be at Catana, they sent him agayn vnto them, frō whom he sayd that he was come. And at the said daye failled not to issue fourth all the people of the cytie wyth the succours of the Selynūtyns, and some other their allyes that were already come, and for haste they went fourth wtout order altogiders for to lodge nygh to Catana vpon the ryuer of Symethe in the lande of Leontyns. Than the Athenyās, vnderstanding their comyng, did charge all their people, that they had, aswell Athenyans, as Sycilians and othere, in their shippes, and sayliedde by nyght, towardes Sarragosse. where they arryued at breake of daye wythin the greate porte, bifore the temple of Olympus for to lande there. In thys meane tyme, the horsemen Syracusains, whyche were goone to Catana, vnderstandynge that all the Athenyans

Syme-thus.

shyps

shyps were departed out of the porte of Catana, admertysed the fotemen thereof, and all togyders dyd take their way for to retourne to the sutcours of their cytie. But for that, that the wave was longe, byfore that they coulde aryne, the Athenyans had already landed, and taken their lodging in the place, whyche they had chosen: out of the whych, they myght defende themselfe to their advantaige, with out beinge in dangier before that they had made their rampares, nother yet by makynge of them, inso much eas they were shadowed covered or defended wyth walles and buildinges in that same quarter. And moreouere there was manye trees, a standing water, and hollowe or broken places. So that none could come vpon them out of the same quarter, specyally horsmen. And on the other parte, they had already hewed downe a great quantytie of the sayd trees, whyche they had carved to the sea syde, and there planted and locked togyders in manner of ouerthwarte crosses, for to defende and let, that no man shulde isshue fourthe into theirs shyps. Moreouer in that same quarter, where their campe was most lowe, and where the cõming therinto was most easy, they had rampared it with great stoanes and wyth woode in haste, so that yt was very harde to enter there, and afterwardes they dyd breake the bridge, whyche they had made for to goo vnto their shyps. All whyche worke they dyd at their ease, without thys, that annye man yssued oute of the citie for to empesche them, for they were all gone fourth & were not yet retourned from Catana, of whom the horsmen were the firste that came agayne, and sone after all the people that were isshued fourthe, and came directely agaynste the Athenyans, to presente theym battaylle. But seing that they yssued not fourth, they wythdrewe and went to lodge themselfe on the othere syde of the way, whyche leadeth to Helorye. The morowe after, the Athenyans yssued fourth for to fyght, and they ordeyned their battaille in this sorte. For at the ryght poynct they sett the Argiues and the Mantynyans, at the lefte, the other their allyes, and in the myddell the Athenyans. And also the one moytie of the armye was of the thicknes of eyght rentes in the fronte & the othere moytie, whyche was on the syde towards the Pauillyons or Tentes, almuch, the whole beynge foore squared. And a certayne parte was ordeyned to comme to sutcour that same moytie that was the viere warde, if they shulde see that the other were oppressed, betwene thies twoo battailles, they beset owed the baggage and the me that were not mete to fyght. On the other syde, the Syracusians dyd putt all in armure, aswell those of the towne as estrangers, whome they had welle armed. Amonge whome, were the Selynuntyns that came furst thider. And after, those of Gele, whyche were aboute twoo houndred horsmen, and those of Camerye aboutes lxx. Arbalestriers or crosbowes. Also they dyd put all their horsmen on ỹ ryght poynct, and after followynge, the archers or slyngers. The battails thus beynge ordered, for that, that the Athenyans shulde fyrste begynne to marche, Nycias, wente rounynge to and fro a lenghe wythout hys battaylle, and dydde speake to euery renke in thys manner.

The exhortation of Nycias to hys souldears.

The.xii. Chepter.

WHat nedeth it, Lordes, that I make greate exhortation for to fighte valyãtly, vnto youe, that be here ready to do yt. Truly the preparation, whyche I see here, semeth to me to haue more effycacytie for to geue youe courayge and audacytie, than all the talke, that anny man lyuinge

lyuynge coulde vse, if that we were euyll appoincted. Nowe be we here, Argiues, Mantynyans and Athenyans, the moste principall and superiours of all the Islanders and inhabitantes in the Illandes. Howe can we than in so great a nōber of such frends & allyes not haue certen hope of the victorie, specially hauing to do against comō people & those, which be not chosen as we be. And also thies be Syciliās ỳ dispyse vs afarre of, but being nighe vnto them they wyl not tary vs, vnsomuch as they haue lesse of knowlaige & experience, than of audacytie. I wol also ỳ euery of you do bring to his remembrance, that we be here in a strange land farre from ours, and not being our frende, the whyche we cannot obteigne vnto the victorie. For his cause I will exhorte by all reasons contrary to the same, by the whych I presuppose that our enemys shalbe exhorted by their capitains. For they woll shewe thē, that they haue to fyght for defence of their owne land. And I do shewe you that we be in a strange lande, in the which we must ayther vainquishe, or els haue no greate hope for to retourne into ours, for they haue plenty of horses that wil oppresse vs greatly, if that we breke our aray. wherfore, as mē valyant & hardy, be willing to assaile the enemys manfully, remēbring youre ancyent vertue & force, & setting before your eyes, that the necessitie, wherin we be, is muche more to be feared, than the puissance of our ennemys. After that Nycias had thus spokē, he cauled his men to marche against thennemys, who loked not ỳ they shulde haue so sone presented them battaill. For this cause, some of them were gone into ỳ citie, which was very nigh their cāpe. who neuertheles incontinently as they had knowlaige of thaffaire, issued fourth and came to ioygne thēselfe wyth their men, not in their order, for that they coulde not do. But where as they came, there they mingled themself with the other, and shewed alwel in that same battaill, as in all other assayres, that they lacked not nother harte nor hardynes, more than those, that did assaile them: but rather did defende thēself valyantly, so long as they perceyued any meane to be hable to dout. And whan they were cōstrayned to retire, they did it vnwillingly & slackly: but howsoeuer it was, not thinking at that present, that the Athenias wold haue come to assaile them, & by that meane being soubdainly taken, they armed themselfe hastely and came to mete their enemys. And the Archers, slyngers and casters of dartes, began first theskarmouche by chasing and recueilling, alwel on thone syde as on ỳ other, for a certen shorte space, so as such people, which be lightly armed, be accustomed to do. Afterwardes the southsayers and dyuynours on both sydes, shewed aythere vnto hys nation that the significations of the sacrefyces were good. Upon which knowlaige, they cauled the token of battaill to be geuen, and the one marched agaynst the other in their order, such, as hath bene aboue said, very fyerslly, and wt great courage. For ỳ Syracusains cōsidered that they did fight for their cōtrey, both for their present welth, and also for their lybertie in tyme comyng. As touching their enemys the Athenyans, they did fight for to obteigne an other mans land, and not to bring dāmage to their owne, if they were vainquished. The Argyues and the other their allyes, not subiected to those Athenyans for to do thē ỳ seruice, for the which they were cōme to the same voiage, & yet euery of thē desyringe to retourne frothence victoriously into his house. And ỳ other allyes, that were subiects of ỳ said Athenias, did also fight ioyfully & with good courage, principally for that, that except they had ỳ victorie they hoped not to be hable to saue thēselues. And although ỳ none other reasone had moued them, yet they hoped that in seruinge well & valyātly, they shuld be better intreated of their lordes, hauyng ayded them to conquere a land so farre of, as Sycille. Being than after the stroaks of shot, come hāde to hand, they did fight a good space wout that, that ỳ

one

one or the other of the parties did recuille or geue backe. But being in the same conflicte, there forthdaimly came a greate cayne wt lowde thondringes and thicke lightnynges out of heaue. wherof the Syracusains, whych than did furst fight, were muche astonyed, for that they were not vsed nor experimentedde in warre. But they, whych were moore wonted to such thynges, did attrybute it vnto the tyme of the yeare and passed not of it. Wherby the Syracusains were yet more astonyed, fearynge leaste their ennempes had takene the same for a token or prophecie vnto their aduantage and that it came in the distaunce of them. So it happened that the Argiues furst, and afterwards the Athenyans on the syde where they were, made a charge so sharpely vpon the Syracusains, that they dyd put them into disorder: and sone after to flight. Neuertheles they followed them not farre, for feare of the horsmen, which were in greate nomber and hadde not bene broken or putt out of order. who, after that they parceyued somme of the sayde Athenyans to followe their people to farre before the other, they repoulsed them stourdely. For this cause the Athenias pursued the Syracusains being in flight, somuche as they coulde, all locked togiders. Afterwards they retyred in the selfe order into their campe, and there they reised vp their trophee in signe of victorie. And the Syracusains retired the best that they could, likewise into their campe. And fourthwith sent a good nomber from them to the temple of Olympiades, whyche was therby, fearynge leaste the Athenyans wolde come to pillage it, for that, that therin was great quantyte of golde and syluer. The othere retyred into the cytie. Neuertheles the sayde Athenyans wente not agaynste the said temple: but haynge receyued and brunned the carrogns of their men that were dead at the battaill, they caryed there that same nyght. And on the morow the Syracusains knowing to haue bene vainquished, they sent vnto them for to demãde their dead men, whych were in all aswell of theire cytezens as of their allyes aboute two houndred and thzee skore, and of the Athenyans togiders with their allyes aboutes fyftie. whose boanes, after that they were burned, they dyd withdrawe and caryed them to Catana, togiders wyth the spoilles of the ennempes, and by thys meane they retyred, for that, that they were already in wynter, whiche was no tyme to make warre. They could not also cõduct nor endure it without horsmen: wherof they attended a good nomber, aswell from Athens, as from their allyes, & also monney for to fourniche necessaries. They hoped also durynge the wynter, for to practique and wynne, throngh fauoure of that same victorie, many cyties of Sycille vnto their partie, and moreouer to make prouysyon of victuailles and of all other thinges, for to come agayne to laye theire Siege to Sarragosse immediatly after the winter. Thies were in effecte the caules, whyche mouedde theym to comme for to wynter at Catana, and at Nare.

Howe the Syracusains hauing chosen newe Dukes, and geuene order in their affayres, they made an assaulte agaynst them of Catana, and how the Athenyans fayiled to take the Cytie of Mellane.

The.xiii. Chapter.

After that the Syracusains had causled their dead men to be buryed, the people was assembled. In the whyche assemblie, Hermocrates, sonne of Hermon, who was estemed as greatly wyse and prudente, as any man of the cytie, and moreouer valyante and experymented in mat-

in matters and feate of warre, made vnto them many declarations and perswa-
The de- tions for to geue them courage, and that they shuld not be astonied for the losse,
claratiõ which they had had, shewynge vnto them that the same losse was not chanced
of Her- to them through lacke of courage, but through faulte of order, and also that yt
mocra- was not so greate as by reason it shulde haue bene, consyderinge that on theire
tes vnto side, there were none but comon people and men not often experimẽted in warre:
the Sy- and the ennemyes were the beste practysedde of all Grece, and suche as vsed the
racula- crafte and feate of warre, more than of any other thynge. Also the multytude of
ns. their capytaynes dyd noye them greatly. For there were fyue of them that had not greate obeyllance of their souldyars. But in case that they wolde chose some small nomber of more experte and of more mete parsons for Capitains, and du-rynge that same wynter assemble a good nomber of souldyars, fournishyng thẽ wyth harnes, that had not therof, and moreouer wolde exercyse themself in feates of armes durynge the sayd tyme: he had good hoope, that they shulde haue the better agaynste their ennemyes, addyng good order and conducte vnto their couraige and hardynes, whyche thynges be necessary for warre. To wytt, order and conducte, for to knowe, foresee and archue the dangers, and hardynes for to execute that, whyche shalbe deuysed by wyt. And also it were necessarye that the Dukes and Capytayns (whych are to be chosen in small nõber as is aboue said) shulde haue power in the feate of warre, for to order and do therein, euene as yt shulde seme to them to be expedyent: for the weithe of the cytie, geuynge them othe, suche as ys requysite in the same sylke cases. For by thys meane, the thinges, whyche shulde be nedefull to be holden secrett, may be kepte close, and moreouer the prouysyons may be made without any contradiction. After that Hermocrates had ended hys aduertysements, all the people founde them good, and
Heraclides. dyd chose hymself for one of the Capytayns and wyth hym Heraclides, sonne of
Lysymachus and Sycanus sonne of Execestus. whome also they dyd chose Am-
Sycanus. balladours for to go to the Lacedemonyans and Corynthians for to perswade them that they shulde ioygne togiders wyth them agaynste the Athenyans and that they shulde make so stronge and fierce warre in theire countreye, that they shulde be constrayned to habandone and forsake Sycille, or els that they shulde sende to the sayde Syracusains succours by sea. In this meane tyme, the armye of the Athenyans, whyche was at Catana, went from thence agaynste Messane, hopinge to haue taken it by treatie and conspyracie of some of the Cytezeins. But they were decey uedde of their enterpryse, for that, that Alcibiades, who knewe ꝑ sayde treatie, after that he was departed out of the hoste, holding hymself in all poynctes assured, that he shulde be banysshed out of Athens: had secretely discouered the treasone to those of the sayd cytie, whyche toke parte wyth the Syracusains. who hauynge furste slayne the transgressours and afterwardes moued the comons agaynste them and their complices: obteygned what they woolde, to wytt, that the Athenyans shulde not be receyued into the cytie. who, after that they hadde bene in the campe .xiii. dayes before the sayde Cytie, parceyuinge that the wynter increased and waxed more bitter, and that they begaune to lacke victualles, also that theyre enterpryse fayiled them: they retyredde to Naxe and to Thrace, where they fortefyed their campe with dyches and pales, and there passed that same wynter. Durynge the whyche, they sente a galley vnto Athens, for to demande newe succours wyth horsemen and wythe monney for the sprynge tyme followynge, that they myght be hable to issue fourth into the feldes. On the other syde, the Syracusains, durynge that same wynter, enclosed wyth walles, al
Epibola the suburbs, whyche was on the syde of Epipole, to the intent, that if by fortune

they

they loste an other tyme the battaille in the feldes, they might haue the greater space for to retyre wythin the closure of the Cytie: and besydes that, they made newe rampares aboutes the temple of Olympus, and of the place called Megare: and therin they put a good garnyson. And moreouer in all sydes, where men might descende from the sea to lande against the Cytie, they made strong crosse barres and pales. After that, knowinge howe the Athenyans had embarqued thē self nighe vnto Nare for to wynter there, all the people issued fourthe agaynste Catana, and they pillaged all their territorie, & raised downe and burned all the lodginges and campe of the Athenyans, that they had made, whan they were there: and afterwardes retourned from thence into their houses.

CHowe the Athenyans and the Syracusains sente Ambassadours towardes the Camerins, apther partie for to withdraw them to their allyance, and the answer, which they made to them both. And also the preparations & practiques, that the Athenyans made that same winter against the Syracusains.

☞The.xiiii.Chapter.

THies thinges thus done, the Syracusains being aduertysed that the Athenyans had sente to the Camerins, for to confirme the allyance, that they hadde in tymes paste made withe Lachetes, at that tyme Duke of Athens, they sent thider lykewyse for their partie: for they had not very great confydence in them, insomuche as at the other battaille, they had shewed themself very cold in sending their succour, wherby they had greate doubte, least they wold sende no more in tyme to come: and also least they wold take part wt the Athenyans, seing them to haue had ỹ victorie in the said battail, vnder colour of the said auncyēt allyance. Hermocrates wt some other Ambassadours being than come thider for the Syracusains, & Euphemus & certen other for the Athenyans, the same Hermocrates didde speake before the people of Camaryne, who was assembled for that purpose, in thys manner, in presence of the Ambassadours of Athenes.

The Oration of Hermocrates to the Camerins.

WE be not sente hither vnto you Camerins, for doubte that we haue, that ye be afrayde of thys army of the Athenyans: but for feare leaste throughe their artificiall and subtille woordes (before hauinge bene by vs aduertised) they shulde induce and allure you to their purpose. Whyche is to do vnder the coulour, whiche youe haue perceyued, the thinge that we all do suspecte. And as for me I am ryght certeine that they be not come for to restore & set the Leontins again into their houses: but rather to chase vs oute of ours. For it is not to beleue that they, which dryue those same of Grece out of their cyties, be come hider for to sett agayn those of this countrey into the same, out of which they be chased. Nother that they haue so great care, as they saie, for the Leontins, as for their cousins for that, that they be Chalcydes, seing that the self Chalcydes (of whom thies be descendedde) be by theym broughte into seruytude & bondage: but rather vnder the coulour, wherby they haue obteigned those there, they wold presently obteigne the cosirrey in thies parties. For being voluntarely chosen capitains of tharmy of Grekes for to reliste the Medes, by ỹ Ionians and other Colonies of their allyāce, they haue reduced & broughte them into their obeissance. Some vnder colour ỹ they had forsaké tharmy wout lycence

Some other by occasions of warrs & questiõs that they had amongest themself & the other vnder suche other coloures as they did finde for their purpose, whan they dyd see opportunitie. In suche maner that it may be sayd for trouth, that the Athenyans made not warre agaynste the Medes for the lybertie of Grece, nor the other Grekes to enioye their owne, but rather they dyd make it to the intent that the Grekes shulde serue to them and not to the Medes. And those self Grekes for to change the lorde, and not for to change him that ruled moste stronge for the same that ruled more weakely: but onely him that imagined moste euil, & how he shuld gouerne hym, that intended beste. And albeit that the same Cytie of Athenes be greately worthye of reprehension and reproche: yet we be not come hyder to procure it before people, whych knowe ynough of their wyll: but rather for to rebuke vs other Syciliens, whyche haue before oure eyes the example of the other cyties of Grece, that they haue subdued: and yet not withstanding thynke not to defende ourselues from them, nother to reiecte and caste of the fallaces and sophemes, that they wolde delyuer vs, to wytte, that they be come for to ayde the Leontins, as their cowsins, and the Egestains, as their allyes. Wherfore me thinketh that we shulde the sooner thinke on our case, and doo them to knowe, that we be not Ionyens, Hellespontyns nor Islanders: whyche haue alwayes accustomed to be subiects of the Medes, and also of other, so that they do but change the lorde, into whosoeuer handes they fall. But we be Dorians of a free nation and come oute of Peloponese, whyche is a franke countrey and inhabyting in Sycille. And ought not to abyde vntill we be taken towne after towne, knowynge that by thys onely meane we maye be taken, and that for this cause they haue prepared themself, and by that meane they goo about to separate and set vs alonder, some by their practises and vnder the colour of their alliance, to set some to warre against the other, and in speakynge gracyous and ioyful words, to do all the euyll that they maye vnto vs all accordinge as they shall fynde occasion. And if there be any one amonge vs, that perswadeth himself that the euil, which cometh to an other, that is not his next neyghbour, is yet very farre frome hym, and that it shall remayne there wout comming to him, and that it is not he, to whome the Athenyans be ennemyes, but well they be the Syracusains, and that by this meane it shuld be follie to put his part in dangier, for to saue myne: I say vnto him, that he vnderstandeth not well, and that he ought to consider y defending myne, he defendeth his owne proper almuch as myne. And somuche he doth it more assuredly and more to his aduantage, that he hath me in his cõpaigny before that I be destroyd, for so I may helpe hym. Also, whosoeuer hath suche fantasie, he ought to consyder, that the Athenyans be not comme for to reuenge themself of the Syracusains for any ennemytie that they haue to them, but rather vnder coulour herof, to confirme their amytie with yone. And if there be any, which enuieth vs or that feareth vs, for that, that it is the custome, that the more puissant be alwaies enuyed or feared of the more feoble, and therfore it semeth to him, that if we receyue any dammage, we shalbe more tractable and more gracious, and that he neuertheles shall remaine the more in suertie: truelye he trusteth in the thinge that is not in the power of hys intente and wylle. For men haue not fortune in their power, euen as they haue their wyll. And therfore if it happene otherwyse, than he thynketh: whyche hath suche fantasie, peraduenture that for the grief of the euyll that shall come vpon himselfe, he shall desire at an other tyme to enioye me and my goods lyke as he hath done before tyme: that shalbe impossyble for hym: sithens that he shall haue forsaken and refused to be vnto me in daungiers of fortune, that were almuche hys, as myne, not in name

and in

and in worde: but in effecte. For he, that aydeth vs in this affaire, he in name defendeth our estate, but in effecte he defendeth hys owne. And truly reasone wolleth well, that ye other Camerins, which be our neighbours and in the self dãger, wherin we be, shulde consyder thies thinges here and ought to haue cõme to our allyance more readely than ye haue not done, and that of your owne good will for to comforte and admonisshe vs that we shulde not lose oure courage for any thinge that mighte chaunce vs, and alleage and declare vnto vs, the selfe same thynges, that ye woolde haue alleaged, if the Athenyans had furst come against youe: whyche thynge ye nor the other haue not yet done. And yf ye woll say that youe woll kepe and vse reasone somuche towardes vs, as towardes oure ennempes for feare to offende the one or the other, and take youre occasyon vpon the allyance, whyche youe haue wyth them: Truly ye haue not made that same allyaunce for to go to assayle youre frendes at their pleasure and appetite: but rather onely for to succour the one the other, if any dyd come to assaile youe. For thys cause the Rhegins, though that they be Chalcydes, haue not bene willinge to ioygne wyth thies here for to restore the Leontins into their houses, who be Chalcydes as they be. And if thole there, wythout hauing any reasonable excuse, but for that, that they haue had this iustification or prouise so well coulloured of the Athenyans, for suspected, gouerned themself herin wysely: woll you (hauinge reasonable cause for to excuse youe) beare fauour and proffitt vnto them, that naturelly be youre ennempes, and habandone and forsake thole, whyche be youre neyghbours and your parentes, for to ioygne youreself vnto thies here? Certainly ye shall do agaynste reasone, yf ye woll ayde thys puissance of enempes, which ye ought rather to feare, although that if we were ioigned and vnited togider, we shulde haue no cause to feare: but iustly if we separate or deuyde ourselues the one from the other. Whiche is the thinge that they attempte for their power, for that, that they be come into thys countrey not onely agaynste vs, but rathere agaynste all. And yet they haue not done agaynste vs that, whyche they wylledde, though that they dydde vaynquishe vs in battaille, but after their victorie, they wente fromthence. Wherfore it may be clerly knowin, that whan we shalbe ioigned togiders, we ought not greately to care for them, and chiefly attendyng the succours that is to come from the Peloponesyans, whyche be better warryours than thies here. And truly yt ought not to seme to anny to be good for youe, not to helpe youreselfe or not to meddle, nother for theym nor vs, and that the same shalbe reasonable as touching vs, consyderinge that ye be allyed togyder, and also the more fuertie for you. For though that the ryght be at the furste sight lyke and egall betwene them and vs as concernynge you for the reason abouesaide: yet the dede ys greately dyuers. For if they agaynste whom warre ys made for fault to haue bene by you succoured, be vainquished, and the other vainquishors and ouercommers: what other thynge maye be sayde, than that by your absence, the one hath bene ouercomed and the other haue not bene prohybited or lett to do euyll. Therfore lordes, it shalbe muche better done for to ayde thole, whome men wolde oppresse, whiche be your parentes and neyghbours, in defending the comon welth of all Sycille, and not to suffer the Athenians to offende: than not to meddle wyth nother partie. And for to shewe you in fewe wordes all that we woll saye, insomuche as there nede not many wordes, for to declare to you or to any other that, which ye vnderstande of yourself: we praye and require youe for to ayde vs in thys present busynes. And we protest that if youe do it not: ye shal suffre vs to be wasted and destroyed by the Ionyens our perpetuall ennempes. And being Doryens, as we be, ye habandones forsake vs noughtly. And if we be

baynquyshed by the Athenyans, it shalbe youre faulte, and they shalle haue the glorye of the victorye. And as touchynge the huyer or rewarde, it shalbe none other, but the same, that hath geuene the victorye. And if we ouercomme, ye shall suffer the payne; for that, that ye haue bene cause of the dangeire, where in we shall haue bene. Consider than the whole, and chose ye presently aythere to incurre and submit yourselfe into the seruitude presented without any danger, or in ouercommynge thys people, both to eskape wyth vs from beinge their subiectes, and also not to be for a right longe tyme our ennemyes. After that Hermocrates had thus spokene, Euphemus the Athenyan arose vp and dydde speake in thys manner.

¶ The Oration of Euphemus the Athenyan to the Camerins.

¶ The.xv. Chapter.

WE were comme hider, Lordes Camerins, onely for to renewe the ancyent amytie & allyãce that we haue with you. But sithens that this same Syracusaine hath charged and maliciously spoken agaynst vs, It is here nedefull to speake of our Empire, and howe, by good and iuste cause and reasone, we haue obteygned it: wherof thys same here, who hath spoken, beareth good wytnes by that, which he hath said, that ꝑ Ionyens haue alwaies ben enemys of the Doziens: but it muste be vnderstande, how it is. We be truly Ionyens, and the Peloponesyans Doziens. And for that, that they be in greater nomber than we and our neyghbours, we haue trauailled to kepe ourselues, that they shulde not bringe vs into their subiection. For this cause, after the warre of the Medes, hauinge our army by sea, we wythdrewe ourselfe from the Empire and conducte of the Lacedemonyans, which were cayptaines of all the armye of Greece, for that, that it was not more reasonable that we shulde be vnder them, than they vnder vs, but for that, that they haue bene more puissant than we. And consequently beinge made prynces and superiours of Greekes, who before tyme were subiectes vnto the Medes: we haue kepte and maigneigned oure regne: knowynge that whan we shall haue asmuche puissance as they, for to relyste their force, that than we shall in nothynge be bounde vnto them. And for to speke more clerely, we haue vpon good cause brought into our obeissance and subiection the Ionyans and the Ilanders, though that they be oure parentes, as the Syracusains do say. But it was for thys cause, that they came wyth the Medes agaynste our cytie, whyche is their Metropolitaine and fromwhence they be descended, for feare of losynge of their houses and domesticall goodes, & hadde not the hardynes to forsake their townes and Cyties, for to conserue and kepe their lybertie, as we dyd, but rather they loued better to be bondemen and subiectes of the Medes for to saue their goodes, and also to comme wyth them agaynste vs, for to bringe vs into the self seruytude and bondage. For thies reasons we haue well deserued to haue the seignorye and rule ouer the other. For also for trouthe and wythoute anye difficultie we founnished in that same warre more ships, and shewed more harte & courage, than all the other cyties of Greece. And chiefly we deserued to haue the rule & dominyon ouer ꝑ Ionyens, who did vnto vs the euyll that they coulde, beynge ioygned wyth the Medes. Wherefore if we desire to encrease our force agaynst the Peloponesians, and not to be more vnder the conducte and charge of others: we truly deserue to haue and obteigne Empire and lordeshyppe, as they, whyche all alone chalebde awaye the Medes,

or at

or at the leaſte for the generall lybertie, haue taken and ſuſteigned the dangier of other, aſwell as of ours, and ſpecyally of thoſe here. And moreouer it is lawfull & without reproche for euery man to ſerche his welth by all meanes that he may: which is the cauſe wherfore we be come hider vnto youe, knowing alſo that that, whyche we demande of you, ys aſmuche profytable for youe, as for vs: and for to ſhew you what it is, wherfore thies here do blame vs, and wherof they wold make youe afrayde. For we knowe well that thoſe, that for feare haue ſuſpytion of anny thynge, be ready to perſwade at the begynninge by ſwete woordes: but afterwardes whan it cometh to the dede and buſynes, than they do, as they fynd it for the beſte. And in effecte we kepe and enterteigne oure Empyre and authorytie, for feare, as we haue ſayde, and for the ſame cauſe we be comme hydere for to conſerue oure frendes, not for to putte theym into ſubiectyon and ſeruytude, but for to defende, that othere ſhulde not brynge theym into theirs. And men ſhulde not be abaſſhed, that we haue made ſo greatte an armye for to ayde and defende our frendes, nother ought yt to be ſaid that we wold not make ſo great coſte for a thynge that touchethe vs but lytle. For we doo repute and thinke that whan ye ſhalbe of power for to reſiſte the Syracuſains: oure eſtate ſhalbe in muche moore ſuertie from the Peloponeſyans: for that, that they ſhall haue ſomuche the leſſe ſuccours frō the Syracuſams, and that is the principall thing, for whyche youre allyaunce and amytie ſarueth, for the whyche alſo it is reaſonable and conuenyente that the Leontyns be reſtoredde and ſette agayne into theyr howſes, and that they be not ſubiectes, as their parentes the Eubeyans be: but puyſſante for to ſuſteigne warre agaynſte the Syracuſains for vs, for we be puyſſance ynoughe of oureſelfe for to ſuſteigne warre in Greece agaynſte oure neighbours. And the Chalcydes, who be oure ſubiects, and for whom thys Syracuſaine blayneth vs (ſayinge that it is not to be bileued, that we be wyllinge to ſette agayne into lybertie thies here, holdynge the othere in ſubiectyon) ſhall ſarue vs well, for in exemptynge theym frome delyuerey of men for the warre, they ſhalle fournyſhe vs wyth monney: and lykewyſe the Leontins ſhalle ayde vs that be in thys countreye of Sycille and oure other allyes and frendes, chiefly thoſe, whyche lyue in lybertie. For it muſte be vnderſtande, that a man that ruleth by tyrannye and a cytie that hath Empire, repute nothinge diſhoneſte, that maye be profytable vnto theym, and eſteemeth nothynge hys, that he hathe not in good ſuertie, and in all thynges he reputeth the othere, hys frendes or hys enemyes accordynge to the chances and occurrances of tymes and of affayres. Nowe it ſhulde not be profytte for vs at thys preſent for to anoye our frendes, but rather to enterteigne them in power and authorytie, to the intent that oure enuemyes may be thereby more feeble. And thys ye may and ought to bileue by the fourme of lyuinge, which we vſe with oure other allyes in Greece. For we intreate them ſo, as we parceue it to be for our moſte profit. To witte, of thoſe of Chio and of Mantinea, we take ſhips, and as for the reſte we leaue them in their lybertie. Some other we handle more rygorouſly and conſtrayne them to paye vs monney. And ſome other we treate ſymply as frendes and allyes, and not as ſubiects in any other maner of thing, although that they be Iſlanders, & alſo eaſy to ſubdue for that, that they be nigh to Peloponeſe and by that meane lye opene to all inuaſions. Wherfore by that, whych we do there, men may beleue what we wol do here, and that, for our profit chiefly, we woll make you ſtrōge for to kepe in feare the Syracuſains, that would ſubdue you, and not only youe, but all the other Sicilias. Which thing they hoped to obteigne by their force or els through lacke, whiche youe ſhulde haue of people, if it chance that we ſhulde retourne

wythout doynge any thing, whyche is the thinge, wherfore they attempte and go aboute to bryngе vs into ſuſpytion wyth youe, and ſo it ſhall happene if you take theire partie. For we ſhall haue no more meane to paſſe into thies parties, ſeynge theym ſo puyſſante. And wythout vs they ſhalbe tomuche puiſſante for you. And if this which we ſay ſemeth to any man not to be true, the apparãce therof is manyfeſt by this, that the firſt time, that ye ſente to vs to demãde ſuccours, ye alleaged none other feare but that if we came not to ſuccour you, the Syracuſains wolde ſubdewe you, wherby afterwards we ſhulde be in danger. wherfore do not ſuffre yourſelf to be induced and perſwaded for to perſeuer in our allyãce by that ſame reaſons, chiefly that you haue alleaged whan ye required it: nor to take ſuſpition for that, that we be comme with a greater armye by ſea, for to be more puiſſant againſt thies here, for that is a thinge vnreaſonable: but rather ye oughte muche more to haue ſuſpytion againſt thies here. For, as for vs, ye know well that we came not tarye here wythoute youe. And though that we wold be eupll and vngracyous, and bryngе oure frendes into oure ſubiection, yet coulde we not kepe them ſo, aſwell for that, that the nauigation is farre of from Grece hither, as alſo that there is muche difficultie for to kepe youre Cyties of Sycille, whiche be greate, and alſo haue manye people in the mayne lande. But as touchinge thies here: they be not to be feared of youe, ſomuche as we, for their hoſte. But they be more to be feared, than our hoſte, for their people, whyche be groſſe. whereby beynge youre neyghbours, ye be alwayes in danger, for that, that they wayte for youe contynuelly, and be ready at all occaſions to ouerronne and ſett vpon youe, lyke as they haue already declared towardes many other Sycilians. but newelye againſte the Leontyns, and yet preſentlye haupnge the audacytie to encouraage youe againſte vs, whyche be comme hyther to kepe theyme frome doynge it and from ſubduynge of Sycille, thinkynge youe ſo farre oute of youre wyttes, that youe woolde geue faythe vnto their tromperies and deceitts, where as we erhorte youe for your welth, both muche more truly, and more certenlye. Prayinge youe that ye loſe not the profitt that ye maye haue of one of vs, and that ye woll well chooſe to whyche ye maye beſte truſte and aboue all to conſyder that thies people haue at euerye houre the meane for to ſubdue youe wythoute ayde of other, by the multitude of theire people. And that ye ſhall not haue oftentymes the meane for to chaſtiſe and bryngе downe and kepe theym vnder, ſuche as ye haue at this preſent, hauing ſuch ſuccours of your frends and allyes. The which if ye ſuffre to retourne wythout doing any thing, or that it be repoulſed or ſente away beaten: truly the tyme wyll come that you ſhall wiſhe to haue one of the leſſer parties, whã that ſhall profitte youe nothing. But to the ende, that youe and the othere Syciliens do not credite the ſlanders and charges that they here doo falſelye laye againſte vs, we be ryght wyllinge for to cyte, painte and declare wyth the trouth the cauſes, wherefore men woolde bryngе vs into ſuſpytion: praying that hauing heard and vnderſtanded them ſomarely, ye vouchelaſe alſo to regarde and marke theyme. For we wolle not denie that we rule and gouerne ſome our neighbours: but as touching ỹ Sycilians, we be here for to defende that they ſhulde not be ſubdewed, fearyng afterwards to be endãmaged by thẽ, that ſhalbe lords ouer them. And howe muche more landes we haue for to kepe, ſomuch the more regarde, we be conſtrayned to haue to our affaires. And for this cauſe we be come at this time, & to ỹ other voyages which we haue made into this quarter, for to defẽde & ſaue harmeles thoſe, ỹ ſhuld be oppreſſed, not of our fre wil & proper motion, but at their prayer & requeſte. wherfore youe which be at thys preſent iudges and arbitratours of our dedes, although that it

be ryght

be ryght harde for youe euene at this presente to iudge thereupon: ought not to caste of or repoulse vs, but rather herof to make youre profyytte, as ye parceyue that youe maye doo it. And to consider that this thynge shall not damage egally vnto all, but shall bryngе profyyt vnto manye Grekes wythoute any damage. For throughe the puissance, whiche we haue readye, for to succoure and reuenge the oppressedde, thoughe they be not oure subiectes, the other, that lye in wayte for theyme and wouldе do theyme violence and wronge, be forced to forbeare, and lyue in reste. And by this meane, those, whiche be in doubte to be outraged, and wrongedde, be in suertie wythoute annye their expense. Therefore, lordes, for sake not this suertie, whiche is comon to all those, whiche shouldе be oppressedde, and necessarye at this presente for youe, but rather wyth once ayde, render to the Syracusayns, that whiche they haue done to other, bryngynge theyme agayne, vnto the equalitie, of their neyghbours, and sette vpon theyme sharpely, haynge opportunytie: that ye be not alwayes in payne to defende youe, frome theyme. Thus dyd Euphemus speake. Nowe the Cameryns, were in suche disposition at that tyme, that they louedde the Athenyans, and wouldе wyllynge lye haue takene their parte: but for that, that they suspectedde them to be wyllynge to trouble, and blurpe the Empire of Sycille. And as touchynge the Syracusayns although that they haddе haddе difference and variance oftymes wyth theyme, for this, that they were so nygh their neyghbours: yet for that selfcause, they haddе sente vnto theyme some of their people, horsemen, to the intente, that if they haddе haddе the victorye, they shouldе not haue reprochedde theyme afterwardes, that it had bene done wythout them, and also in tyme comynge they were wyllynge for to ayde theyme, rather than the Athenyans, thoughe it were but smally. But after that the Athenyans haddе haddе the victorye, for to shewe that they estemed the sayed Syracusans no lesse, than those that had bene vanquisshed, after that they haddе consultedde and debatedde the matter amongest theyme, they made vnto theyme bothe one selfe answere, egall almuche for the one as for the other. To wytt, that the warre being betwene thē that were both their allyes, they were determined not to bryke their othe with the one, nor with the other, nother to geue ayde vnto aither of the parties. And vpon thys answere, the ambassadours departedde fromethence. In thies enterfaictes the Syracusains made all the preparations that they coulde for the warre. And as touchynge the Athenyans they wyntredde at Nare, and neuerthelas practised by al meanes the cyties of Sycille for to drawe theym to their partie, wherof a great partie, chiefly of those, that were in the platt countrey, and that were subiectes of the Syracusains, rebelled against them. And out of the franke & free cyties, which were further in the mayne lande, they allyed theymselfe incontynently with the Athenians, and lent theym succours, some of monney, some of men and the other of victuailles. And of the other, that wouldе not doo it of their free wyll, some were constrayned by siege, and the other they kepte that they coulde haue no succoure from the Syracusains. And during that same winter they dislodged from Nare, and came againe vnto Catana, where they made agayn their lodging in the same place where they were before, which the Syracusains had burned. Being in whiche place they sente an embassade in a gelley to Carthage, for to make allyance wt them, if they coulde, & lykewise to the cyties, which be alongest the sea, Thyrrenium, wherof some did lyberally graunt to make allyance with them in that same warre against the Syracusains. Moreouer they demāded of the Egesteins and of their other allyes of Sycille the greatest trowpe of horsemē, that they coulde make, & of the residue that they shuld make great prouision, of woode, of prons &

of other thinges necessary for to make a walle before the cytie of Sarragosse, the whiche they were al determined for to assiege incontinently, wynter being passed.

How the Lacedemonyans at the perswation of the Corinthians and of Alcybiades graũted to the Siraculains for to sende them succours. ☞ The.xvi. Chapter.

ON the other syde the ambassadours, which the Syraculains had despeched for to go vnto the Lacedemonyãs, in passyng by the sea alongest Italie, they purposed theymselfe to allure and drawe the cyttes Marytymate or by the sea syde to the allyance of the sayed Syraculayns. Shewynge them that if they suffredde the Athenyans so to prospere, they myght afterwardes be thereby in daunger. Fromethence they came to descende and lande at Corynthe where they declared their charge, which was in effect, for to pray them, that, as their parentes and cousyns, they wouldе sende them succours, whiche thynge they graunted theym redely and before all the Grekes, and ordeyned ambassadours for to go with them to the Lacedemonyans and for to perswade them to begynne warre afreshe agaynste the Athenyans, and to sende succours to the sayd Syraculayns. And so they altogiders came to Lacedemone. At whiche place, sone after arryued Alcibiades and the other bannysshed out of Athens, who came to Cylene in the countrey of Eliens, frome Thurie, where they furste abooyded, and fromethence to Lacedemonie vnder suertie and sauf conduct of the Lacedemonyens, who had willed hym to come vnto them. Without which suertie, he feared to come thider for the treatie, that he had made with the Mantynyens. So it chaunced that the counsaille of the Lacedemonyans being assembled, the Corynthians, the Syraculains, and Alcibiades dydde declare and speake all to one selfe ende. And forsomuche as the sayed Lacedemonyans, though that they were wyllyng to sende an ambassade to the Syraculayns for to empesche and lett them to take partie with the Athenyans, were neuertheles not wyllynge for to sende them any succours: The same Alcibiades for to moue and stirre theyme to that affaire, did speake to theyme in this manner.

The Oration of Alcibiades the Athenian to the Lacedemonyans.

IT is nedeful, Lordes Lacedemonians, before that I propone or declare other matters, to speake of that, wherwb I may be charged. For if you holde me suspected by reason therof, ye woll not geue sayth nor creditt my wordes speaking of the comon Welth. My progenitours, hauing by occasiõ of certene accusation renoced the fredome and ciuilitie of thys your cytie, I haue sithens had wylle to recouer yt, and for cause thereof, haue honored and saruedde youe in manye thynges, but amonge other in the sosse, that youe hadde at Pylus. And I perseueringe in this affection towardes your cytie, ye made the appoynctment wyth the Athenyans, by meane wherof ye encreased the puissance of my enemyes, and dyd vnto me greate dishonnoure, whiche was the thynge, wherefore I withdrewe my selfe vnto the Mantynyens and the Argiues, wyth whome beinge become your ennemy, I did endomage you wherein that I might. And if any amõgest you hated me against reason, that I than dyd hurte you, truly he ought nowe to forbeare and cease, if he consider the thynges well. And if any other haue euil opynion of me, forsomuch as I haue sustayned and defended the estate and gouernemente of the common people, he hat he sesse

reasone

reasone for to hate or suspecte me for that, for we other Athenyans be alwayes contrarye and ennempes of tyrantes. Nowe all that, whiche contraryeth or ys agaynst them, ys the comon people, for this cause the comon auctoryte hath alwayes remayned amonge vs, and durynge the same I haue oftymes bene constrayned to followe the time. And neuerthelas I haue contynually takene payne for to moderate and refrayne the lycence and audacytie of them, that woulde against the fourme of reasone, conduct and order thynges at their wylle, for that, that there haue alwayes bene in tyme paste, and yet presently be some, men that haue seduced the comon people, in perswading them vnto that, that was for the wooryst. Whiche be those, that haue chased and dryuene me away, although that in the tyme, that I haue had auctoryte, I haue alwayes counsailledde and perswaded good thynges, & that, which I had learned to be for the best, to the ende to conserue the citie in lybertie, and prosperitie lyke as they haue founde it. For all they that haue knowlaige of the comon estate, knowe what it is, but yet I, who haue alwayes despised and abhorred yt, knowe more therof. And if it were nedefull to speake of the madnes and rashnes of it, I would tel nothyng therof, which hath not bene experymented: but it semed not to me to be a thinge right suer for to enterpryse to wyll to change it, being by you alleged and warred against. And this is ynough spokene of the thynges, that may engender suspition and hate of me towardes youe. Therefore I wyll nowe speake of the affaires, whereupon ye ought presently to deuyse. Wherein if I vnderstande anye thynge further than youe, whereof it be nedefull to aduertise youe, ye shall therein pronounce iudgemente. We be gone to Sycylle in purpose furste to subdue yt, if we maye, and after those there, the Italians, and also that done, for to essay to rule and gouerne the allyes of the Chartagyans, and theymselfes also if we may. And if that were come to oure intente in all or for a good parte, than we would come to conquere and subdue Peloponese, haupnge in oure ayde and seruice, all the Grekes that be in the countreis of Sycille, and of Italie, wych greate nomber of estrangers and barbarous people, whiche we shoulde haue hadde in soulde or wages, and specyally of the Iberyens, who be wythout anye doubt at this present the best warryours, that be in that same quarter. And on the other parte we woulde haue made greate nomber of galleys in the quarter of Italie, where there ys greate quantytie of woode and of other stuffe, for to make theyme, to the ende that we myght holde the sayd countrey of Peloponese alleged, aswell by the sea with the sayd gallyes, as also by lande wych our foote men, trustynge to take parte of the cyties of the same countrey by force, and the other by lengthe of siege, whyche thynge semed to vs very allured. And haupnge subdewed the sayed countrey, we hoped easely and ryght sone to obteigne the Empire and seigniory of all Grete, causyng the sayd landes by vs conquered to fourny the vs w monney and victualles beside the reuenue whiche hath bene leuied in theis parties. Nowe youe haue vnderstande of the armye by sea, that is in Sycille, which thing is shewed vnto you by a man that knoweth fully and holy oure endes and ententes. The whiche though I be departed fromethence the other Dukes & cappytaynes woll put in execution if they can. And if you do not withstande it, I perceyue nothyng there that maye empesche them, inasmuche as the Sycilliens be not accustomed to warre. And yet neuerthelas whan they be soigned all togyders, they maye resist and eskape. But the Syracusains, who haue bene al vanquished in battaile, and cannot nowe saille by sea, may not alone resist & withstande the hoste of the Athenyens, whiche presentlye is there. And if this cytie were taken, all Sycille shoulde afterwards be sone subdewed, yea and consequently, Italie. That done,

the danger,

the danger, whereof I haue made mencyon vnto youe shall not be farre of from you, nor so retarded or slacked that you shall not perceyue yt commyng. Wherefore none of youe ought to perswade hymselfe that this question is for Sycille onely. For wythoute doubte, the question and varyance ys for Peloponese yf ye doo not readely prouyde for it. And for to do that, it is requisitte to sende ryghte sone thider an armye by sea, in the whiche the veray maroners oughte to be warryours. And that whiche is pryncipall, that there be for cappitayne, a courageous man of Sparte. For the presence of hym shalbe for to entertayne in youre amytie, those that be there at thys presente, and for to constrayne the other, there. For that, that they, which be youre frendes, shall haue by this doyng more hope and those, that be in wauerynge or doubte, shall haue lesser feare to comme to youre allyance. And moreouer ye ought most openly to begyn warre against the Athenyans. For in that doinge, the Syracusayns shall knowe, that ye care and be myndefulle for their affaire. By occasion whereof, they shall take more courage for to resist, and the Athenyans shall haue the lesser meane for to sende succours to their people, whiche bene there. And also me thynketh, that ye oughte to take and to fortefye soubdainely wyth walles the towne of Decelea, whiche is in the terrytorye of Athens, inasmuche as it is the thyng, that the Athenyans do most feare. And yet neuerthelas it is the onely towne, whereof no parte hath bene touched, durynge all this warre. And truly a man cannot endomage hys ennempe more greatly, than to doo that vnto hym, whiche he perceyueth, that he feareth most, for it is to be bileued, that euerye man knoweth and feareth those thinges, which may be most preiudiciall, & hurtfull vnto hym. And therfore I woille geue you to vnderstande the profyytt, that shalbe yours by enclosyng the sayd towne with walles, and the dommage that it shall bryng vnto your ennempes. And also I will shewe onely the most waighty therof sommarely or in fewe woordes. That is, that whan ye shall haue fortefied that same place wtin our lande, many of our townes shall rendre both themself vnto you, & also ye shall take the other more easely. And moreouer, the reuenue whiche we perceyue of the mynes of syluer at Laurium, & the other reuenues that are taken as well of the lãde, as of the Jurisdictiõ shall ceasse, and specially those, which we do leuie of our frendes, who perceiuing you to come againste vs with all youre strength, wille praise vs very smally. All which thinges be in your power for to cause to come readely to effect, yf you woll, for ỹ, that I thinke not to erre in this matter, but that they may be easely done. And none of you ought to blame me nother to repute me euill, if hauyng bene hertofore your great ennemy and chief or cappitaine of oure people: I come and speake nowe bitterly against the comon weale of my countrey, nother also to suspect me, nor to preleume that the same, whiche I say, is for to acquire and gett your fauour, bicause of my bannishment. And I am exiled for trouth, & it is through the malice and naughtynes of theym that hate me, but it shall not be to your domage, if ye woll bileue me. And I ought not to repute youe at thys present somuche my ennemyes, who, sometime being our ennemyes, haue endomaged vs: as those, which haue constrayned my frendes to be my ennemyes, not nowe as I am outraged & wronged: but than whan I had auctorytie ouer the people, wherfore being by them chased out of my countrey, I recoen that I do no longer against it as mine, but rather I thinke ỹ I labboure rather to recouer that whiche no more is mine. For he ought to be more truly reputed the louer of his countrey: whiche for the desire that he hath to recouer yt, doth all that he canne, for to retourne thider: than he, that beinge vniustly chased fromethence, dare not goo for to inuade yt. For the whyche reasons I repute my selfe suche (Lordes

Lacedemo-

Lacedemonyans as with whome ye ought to serue yourselues in all dangers and in all trauailes. For you knowe that it ys a comon prouerbe, that he, which beinge enuemye doth endomage: if it becometh frende, may also proffyt. And so muche the more, for that I knowe the affaires of Athens, and also do well nygh vnderstande yours by coniecture. Therefore I requyre youe in so muche as there is question of thinges, which be of so great importance, that it greue you not for to enterprise, to reyse, and leuye twoo armyes, the one by sea, for to go into Sycille, and the other by lande, for to go into the countrey of Athens. By which doyng, ye may with a small puissance atteigne great thynges in Sycille, and clerely subuerte the puissance of the Athenyans aswell present as for to come, whereby your estate shalbe hereafter bothe in wholle and all suertie, and also ye shall haue the superyorytie ouer all Grece: not by constraincte, but wyllyngly. After that Alcibiades hadde thus spokene, the Lacedemonyans, who, wythout that, had already purposed to make warre agaynst the Athenyans (though that they went about delayingly & were not fully resolued) were by the sayd declarations greatly establysshed in that same opynion, presuppoling that they had bene aduertised of all thynges accordynge to the trouthe, by hym that knewe yt welle. And so from thensforth they conceyued in their fantasie for to take and fortefie Decelea, and for to sende incontynently some succours into Sycile, and dydde chose Gylippus, sonne of Cleander, for chief of that same enterprise, to whome they commanded that he shulde treate with the ambassadours of the Syracusayns and with the Corynthians. And by their aduise, he launched & sailled fourth, with the best, and most soubdaine and ready succours that he coulde gett, and didde geue order to the Corynthyans that they shoulde sende theyme twoo galleys fourthwith vnto Asine, and moreouer that they shulde putt the other (whiche they had appoyncted to sende) in estate to make saille as sone as they coulde, so that they myght be ready: whan that it shulde be tyme to saille. And vpon this determynation the ambassadours departed from Lacedemonie. In thies enterfaictes the galley whiche the Dukes Athenyans had sente frome Sycille vnto Athens, for to demande renforte or newe succours of victuailes, of men and of monney: aryued. And they, that were come, hauynge erpounded and declared their charge, yt was ordeyned that the said newe succours shulde be sent, and in that meane time drewe nere the ende of the wynter, whiche was the .xvii. yeare of this warre, that Thucydides hath wrytton.

Howe the Athenians hauing furst made certene preparations, they came to assiege the cytie of Sarragosse. And of many victories whiche they had agaynst the Syracusayns by makynge and assailling the rampars and forteffynges on both sydes, and howe the succours of the Peloponnesians came into Sycille, and some other matters and affaires.

☞ The .xvii. Chapter.

AT begynnynge of the sprynge tyme, the Dukes Athenyans, that were at Catana departed and sailled to Megare, that is in Sycille, which the Syracusayns dydde holde. But after that the cytizens were chasedde fromethence, under Selon the tyrante, as I haue aboue rehersed, it was not peopled agayne. And so the Athenyans landed there and pillaged the countrey, Selon.

the countrey, and wente fromethence to assawlte a castelle whiche was there by, thynkynge to haue raledde it downe. But seynge that they couldē not, they retyred to the ryuer of Tyrea, whiche they passed and pillaged lykewyse of the plaat countrey that was on the other syde of that same ryuer. and dydde sley a certene small nomber of Syracusayns, whiche they encountredde in their waye, and afterwardes they reysedde vp their Trophe in signe of victory. And that done they embarquedde theymself agayne, and retournedde fromethence to Catane, where they made prouision of victuailles, and afterwardes they departed fromethence agaynst a towne of Sycille named Centoripta, wherinto they were receyued by appoynctmente, and at their yssuynge fourthe fromethence burned the corne of the Teynellians, and Hybleans, and retournedde agayne to Catane, where they founde two houndred men at Armes, without that, that they hadde any horses: but onely the harnes, & accoustremetes, or apparell for horse (thinking that the countrey of Sycille shulde haue furnished horses) and thirtye Arbalestriers on horsebacke, togiders wt three hondred talentes of monney: which was sent vnto them, frō Athens. That same yeare, the Lacedemonyans, hauing made an army against the Argiues, as they were in the felde for to go against Cleonarus, there came soudainly an earthquake, whiche sauled theym to retourne fromethence. which perceiued by the Argiues, after that the other were retourned, they yssued fourth into the territory of Thyree, which is in their fronture, & pillaginge yt, the butye was so great, that yt was solde for .rrb. talentes & more. In that same seasō, the comons of Thespie did arise against the officers. But the Athenyās sent incōtinently of their people thider, who did take one parte of the Mutyns or seditious parsons, & on other parte fledde fromthence vnto Athens. During that same somer, the Syracusans, beynge aduertised that the succours of horsemen were come to the Athenyans, & thinking that hauing the same they would mcōtinētly come to assiege them: aduysed & remembred that there was a verye lytle fro the towne, a place named, Epipole, which was hāging frō al sydes against the towne. But aboue, it was playne and spacious, and there was but certene entrynges, by whiche men myght mount vp. whereupon considerynge that it was impossible for to close yt wyth walle, roumde aboutes, and also that if the ennemyes did gett yt, they myght fromthence do many enyles into the towne: they determyned to fournishe the entringes, for to defende that the sayd ennemyes shulde not take them. And so the morowe folowyng they moustred all the people biforе all the compaignions & Collegues, of Hermocrates in a meadowe that is nigh the ryuer, which is called, Anapes. Out of which people, they did first chose sixe houdred men for to kepe and defede the sayd place of Epipole. Of whome they gaue charge to Dyonulus bannisshed out of Andrie, and sayd vnto hym that if annye thing chaunced in that affaire, he shulde be incontinently succoured. That same night, the Athenyans hauyng made a renewe of their men, aboute breake of the daye, departed fromе Catane, and came to lande in a place named Leon, whiche was no further distante from Epipole, than sixe or seuen stades, and ther lodged their footemen on lande, biforе that the Syracusians perceiued it. And on thoder syde the armye by sea, came to ancre and bestowe themeselefe vnder a rocky place of the sea, that is in a small straight, whiche doth enter into the sea, and is enuyroned on all sydes, reserued one smalle quarter towardes the lande, and that same place is calledde Thaplus, & is very nigh to Sarragolle. And so they enclosed incontinently, the entring that leadeth to lande, wyth paales or boordes for to be in suertie on the lande syde. That done, those that were landed, dyd come in a great course vnto Epipole, and gott yt, biforе that the Syre houndredde men,

Terea.

Centoripta.

Cleonarus.

Thyrea

Thespia

Epipole

Anapus

Leon.

Thaplus.

whiche

whyche were appoynetedde for to goo thider: were there, for yett they were all on foote, where the moustre was made. And yet neuerthelas one greate partie of the people dydde ronne for to succoure the sayedde place, but pryncipally the Syre houndred, whereof Dionulus hadde charge, and he wyth theyme. Nowe there was frome that same foote, vntyll the place where the ennemyes alreadye were, aboutes .xxv. stades, so they were receyuedde by the ennemyes, and repoulsedde in suche manner, that they were constraynedde for to retyre into the cytye, and there were slayne of theyme aboute three houndred, amongeste the whyche, was Dyonulus, whose Corpses the Syracusayns demaunded, & by that meane confessedde the victorye vnto the ennemyes. Who, hauynge reysed vp there, their Trophee, the morowe after came to present and offer battaile before the towne. But seynge that none yssuedde fourthe, they reysedde and erected a castell in the toppe of Epipole in a a place, called Lapdalum, whyche is on the coaste of Megare, for to wythdrawe thyder all their vessells, monney and baguage, whan they yssued auther against the towne, or to make any worke. And sone after three houndred horsemen came vnto theym frome Egeste, and aboute one houndred frome the Narians and other Sycilians, and they had alreadye of their owne, twoo houndred and fyftie, whiche had recouueredde horses, aswell of the Egestain guifte, as in other places for monney and so they had in all fyue houndred and fyftie horses. Hauyng than put garnysone wythin Lapdalum, they went fromthence agaynste Syca, the whyche wythin verye smalle tyme they enclosed wyth walles, whereof and of their greate diligence, the Syracusayns were all astonyedde. Neuerthelas for to shewe that they were not afrayde, they yssued out of the cytye into the felde for to presente battaylle to the ennemyes. But their Cappytaynes, perceiuing that they were in disorder, and that it was harde for to bring theyme agayne into order, caused theyme to retyre into the towne, excepte one parte of their horsemen, that remayned wythoute for to empesche and lette the Athenyans to gather stones and othere stuffe for to make the walle, and also that they shoulde not ouercome the countrey. But the horsemen Athenyans tooyder with a bende of foote men assailled theym and dyd put them to flyght, and slewe a certaine nomber of them, wherupon for cause of the sayd victory, they sett vp yet an other Trophee. The daye followynge, the Athenyans, beinge in their campe, some of theym were busyed in makyng the walle on the South syde, and some other gathered togiders stoanes & other stuffe, nighe the place called Trogylum, and wente laying and discharging yt alwayes in that quarter, where the walle was lowest, from the greatest porte vnto the othere sea. Which parceyued by the Syracusains, they determyned for to yssue no more altogiders againste their ennemyes, mynding not to hazarde tomuche. But they purposed to make and reyse vp an rampare wythoute the walle of the towne in the quarter, where the Athenyans reysed vp their walle. For it semed vnto them that if they myght haue sonner parfaicted and ended their sayd rampare for to repoulse their ennemyes, than they their wall, hauing therin put their good warde and watche: they might sende parte of their men for to wyn & get the entringes, and afterwardes to fourniche them, whiche doing they thought that it might be that the Athenās shulde ceasse their worke for to come altogiders against them. So they did yssue fourth of the citie & began to labour at their rāpare, beginning frō the wall of the towne & continuing al alongest that same of thennemyes. For making of whiche worke they cutt downe greate quantitie of Olyue trees within the courte of the temple, whereof also they made towers vpon the said rampare. For they yet did kepe the quarter towardes the sea, for ỳ, that the Athenyans had not yett caused

Lapdalum.

Syca.

their shyppes to come oute of Thaplus, into the great poorte, out of the whiche place of Thaplus, they cauledde to be brought by lande bytcuailles, and othere thynges necellarye. The Syracuſains hauynge than parfaycted their rampare, without that the Athenyans had done thē any empelchement or lett (forſomuch as they had letres ynoughe by makynge their walle, and alſo feared that if they ſhulde attende and geue themſelf vnto two buſynelles, they might be repoulled) they retyred into the cytie, and lefte a nomber of people for to kepe the rampare. On the other ſyde the Athenyans dyd breake the conductes, by which the water entred into the towne. And on the other parte hauinge eſpyed that of the Syracuſains, that were left for to kepe the rampare, ſome of them at highe none time retyred into their pauillions, ſome wente into the cytie, and the other that taryed in the ſayed rampare, did kepe very yll watche, they ordeyned three houndred of the moſt cholene of their people on foote, well armedde, and a certeine nomber of the beſte lyghtly armedde, for to go to aſſaulle the ſayd rampare. And in one ſelfe inſtance, they parted all the army into twoo partes, aither partie hauing his cayptaine, whereof the one wente againſte the cytie for to repouſſe the cytizeins yf they would haue yſſued fourth for to ſuccour their people, and the other againſte the rāpare on the ſyde of the ſmall poorte named Syramyde. The affaire beyng thus ordeyned, the three houndred whiche hadde charge for to aſſawlte the rampare, did take it, for they that ſhulde haue kept it, did habandone it, and retyred to the wall, whiche was nigh vnto the temple, who were followed ſo nigh by the Athenyans, that they entred one with an other in with them. But they were ſone chaſed away againe by thoſe of the towne, which came to the ſuccours. In which cōflict, ſome Athenyans and Argiues were ſlaine, & the other in retyring, dyd raſe and breake downe the rampare & caryed away the wood that they might carry with them into their campe. Afterwardes they rayſed vp an Trophee in tokene of that ſame victory. The day following they encloſed with wall a rocke cut out of ſtoane, whiche was in the place of Epipole, aboue ouer a marreys, out of the which men might ſee into the greate poꝛte, and they ertended and dyd drawe the ſame wal from the rocke along from the plaine & from the marreys vnto the ſea, which perceiued by the Syracuſains, they yſſued fourth againe for to make in the oppoſite or directly againſt it a rampare, with pales & dyches for to empeſche that the ennemyes might not ertende their wall. Who hauing acheued their wall about the rocke, determyned for to aſſaille ones againe thoſe that laboured at the rampare & at the dyche. And ſo cōmanded the cayptaine of the ſhyps, that he ſhulde gouerne them from Thaplus into the great poorte. And they at the breake of the day deſcended from Epipole, and came to trauerſe & paſſe ouer the plaine, which was at the foote therof, & fromthence, the marreys, in that part therof, that was moſt drye, with dozes and hardelles that they caſte aboue for to ſuſteigne and kepe them from ſynkyng, in ſuche ſorte that they dyd wynne againe the rampare and the dyche frome the Syracuſains, reſaruedde a certene ſmall parte therof, and vainquiſhed thoſe, that were commyrted to the keppynge of yt, whereupon thoſe, whiche were in the ryght poynct retyred into the towne and the other towardes the ryuer. But the three houndred footemen, that had bene cholene to aſſaille theyme (as at the other tyme) wyllyng to encloſe theyme, prepared theymeſelfe to runne with all their force againſte the brydge of the ryuer, which perceiued by the Syracuſains (among whome there was a good nomber of horſemen, they made ſtraight againſt the ſayd three houndred, and repoulled them. Afterwardes they charged vpon the ryght poynct of the Athenyans, with ſuche ſtrength, that they, which were in the former rencke were afrayde. But Lymachus

machus who was in the leste poynete, seyng the danger came to succoure them, hauing a certene nomber of shoters or slingers and Argiues, who, hauing passed the dyche, and not beinge followed by his men, was slayne by the Syracusains, and fyue or sixe that had passed with him. The which so deade, the same Syracusayns would haue caryed them beyonde the ryuer into a suer place, bifore that that they might haue bene recouered, but the other were so diligente þ they were forced to leaue them. In the meane tyme, thole, whiche at begynning were fledde into the towne, seynge the defence, that the other vsed, they toke harte againe, and yssued fourth in the battaille against the Athenyans, & sent a nomber of them agaynst the wall, whiche the Athenyans had made about Epipole, thinking that there had bene no warde, as for trouth there was not, whereby it happened that they dydde gette almuche of the walle as was made in tenne dayes, and hadde gotten the reste, if Nycyas had not soubdainely come to the succours of it, who was lefte there, for that, that he was yll disposedde. The same man perceyuynge that there was no remedye for to kepe and defende the walle for lacke of men, he commaundedde hys seruauntes to putt fyer into the woode and matter that was sette bifore the walle, and by that meane, the reste therof was saued. For the Syracusayns durste passe no further bycause of the fyer. Seynge also the Athenyans, that hadde chaled awaye the other bende of theirs to come ronnynge agaynste theyme, and moreouer that the shyppes that came oute fro Thapsus were alreadye entredde into the poorte: knowynge also that they were not pussante for to resiste the Athenyans, nor for to empesche and lett theym, that they shoulde not fynysshe their walle, they retyredde into the sea. And that done, the Athenyans dydde agayne reyse vp there an othere Trophee, for that, that the Syracusayns confessedde and graunctedde theyme the victory, by demandynge the Cariongs, and Corpses of the deade, whyche were rendredde to theyme. Amongeste whome was Lamachus, and thole that hadde bene slayne wyth hym. All the armye of the Athenyans aswelle by sea, as by lande beynge than abourded, they enclosed the cytye with a double walle, frome Epipole vntylle the sea. And they beyng there, plentye of victuailles was brought vnto them from all coastes of Italie. And manye allyes of the Syracusayns, whiche at the begynnynge had refused to ioigne wyth those Athenyans, came to render theymself vnto theym and from the coaste of the sea Thirrenium, there came vnto theym three galleis wyth newe strength, whereby the affaires were in suche estate, that they assured theymselfe for to haue the victorye, considered specially that the Syracusayns hadde no more hope to be of power for to resist, nother by force nor by the sight, not hauynge newes that anye succours shoulde comme vnto theyme oute of Peloponese. So they had manye parlementes aswelle amonge theymself, as also wyth Nycyas (who, after the deathe of Lamachus remaynedde onely Cappitayne of the Athenyans) for to enter into some treatie with the sayd Athenians, yett was there nothynge therein done nor concludedde: althoughe that manye woordes thereupon hadde bene spokene, lyke as yt is to be beleued to be, among people that be ambiguous or doubtefulle and that perceyue theymselfe assieged and oppressedde more and more. And that aswelle wyth Nycyas, as the one to the othere, for somuche as by cause of the necessyties, wherein they were, the one mystrustedde the othere. In suche manner, that they deposedde and sette of the Dukes, whome they hadde chosenne at the begynnynge, vnder couloure that the losse whyche was happenedde, was throughe their faulte or mysfortune, and they dydde choose othere in their stede, to wytte, Heraclides, Eucleas and Tellias. In thies enterseates Gylippus Lacedemonien was alreadye arryued at Leucade

Heraclides. Eucleas Tellias

at Leucade wyth the Corynthyans shyppes, fully determyned to come with all diligence to succour the Syracusayns. But beyng aduertised that the cytie was already enclosed on all sydes, by many that agrede all thereupon (though that it were not trewe) he loste both hope and fantasie of the affaires of Sicile. And yet neuerthelas for to saue Italie, he saylledde fromethence wyth two galleys with Lacedemonyans, and wyth hym Pythus Corynthien with two other galleys of Corynthe, wyth all diligence to Tarente. And the Corynthyans saylledde after more sofely wyth tenne other of their galleys, twoo of Leucadyans, and .iii. of Ambracians. Gylippus than beynge arryuedde in the poorte of Tarente, he went fromethence into the Cytie of Thurie, as Ambassadoure of the Peloponesians for to wythdrawe and bryngе theyme vnto theyr allyance, bryngynge hys father to their remembrance, who hadde sometyme gouernedde their estate, but seynge that they would not thereunto consente, he retourned fromethence alongeste Italie, and whan he was in the Goulphe of Terynee, there came vpon him a southe wynde, whereunto that same Goulphe is greately subiected, so that he was by force constrayned to retourne into the porte of Tarente, unto the which he wythdrewe hys shyppes, and repayred those whiche had bene bruised by fortune of the sea. Nycyas was aduertysed of the coming of Gylyppus, who understanding the small nomber of shyppes that he had with him, palled not of them, lyke as also ȳ Thurians had not done. And it semed to hym that he was rather comme as a Corsaire or Pyrate for to pyllage in the sea, than for to succoure the Syracusains. In that same somer the Lacedemonyans with their allyes began warre agaynst the Argyues, and pillaiged one parte of their lande, vnto whome the Athenyans sent thyrtye shyppes wyth succours. And by that meane did euydently breake the treatie whiche they had not bifore done. For the inroades and pillages, that they had made vnto that same houre, were more in māner of theft, than of warre. And they were not willing to ioigne with the Argyues and Mantynyans agaynst the Lacedemonyans. But rather, though that they had many times bene fore laboured vnto by the Argyues for to enter in armure with them into the lande of Laconie, at the least that same, which they helde and for to pillaige a certaine small quarter of that, the which the Lacedemonyans dyd holde, and afterwardes to retourne fromethence wythout doyng anny other thyng: yet they had neuer bene wylling to agree or consent vnto it. But than hauing made three chiefes and cayptaynes of their armye, to witte Pythodorus, Lespodius, and Damaratus, they entred into the countrey of Epidaure ennemyghe, & pillaged Lymere, Prasse & some other smal townes of that same quarter. Wherby the Lacedemonyans had afterwardes more lawfull excuse to declare theymself their ennemyes. After that the Athenyans were retourned from Argos with their army by sea, and the Lacedemonyans with theirs by lande, the Argiues went to ouerronne, the lande of Phliasie. And after that they had pillaged and wasted one parte therof, and slayne a certene nomber of the Paysans, they retourneddе fromethence.

Pythodorus.
Lespodius.
Damaratus.
Limera Prasse.

Here endeth the Sixte boke of the historie of Thucidides and the Seuenth doth begynne.

¶ Howe Gylippus entred into the cytie of Sarragosse, with the succour of the other cyties of Sycille, whiche toke his parte, losse one battaille and dyd wynne an other against the Athenyans. And howe the Syracusains and Corynthyens sente Ambassade to Lacedemonie for to haue newe succours, and lykewyse Nycyas wryteth to the Atheniãs for the selfe same cause.

☞ The first Chapter.

After that Gylippus and Pythan had repayred & newe tacled their shipps at Tharente, they departed frõthence for to saille towardes the Locryans in the west quarter. And being aduertised, that the cytie of Sarragosse was not yet inclosed on all sydes, but that men myght enter into yt by Epipole, they were in doubte whither they shuld drawe to the right hande of Sycille and assay for to enter into the citie, or for to kepe the left hande, and furst to go to abooide at Imera, and there to assemble the moste people that they myghte, aswelle of those of the towne, as of other Syracusayns, afterwardes to goo fromethence to succoure the sayed Syracusayns. And fynally they arrestedde and concluded to go to Imera. Imera, specially being aduertised that the foore Athenyans shyppes, whiche Nycyas had sente, were not yet arryuedde at Rhege, whiche Nycyas hadde sent thider, vnderstãding that those same were yet at Locres. So Gylyppus & Pythan wyth their shyppes passed the distreate, before that the other were arryuedde at Rhege. And afterwardes saillynge alongeste frome Millena they came directlye vnto Imera. Beynge aryued in whiche place, they intreated and perswaded the Imerens to enter into their allyance, and to fournyshe them with shyppes, and harnois for their men, that lacked it. And afterwardis they sente vnto the Selynuntyns, that they shulde be in a certene place, that they named vnto them, assuring them, one bende (not very great) of their people to go with thẽ. It happened also that the Gelians & some other Sycilliens were the more encouraiged for to enter into this allyance of the Peloponesyens, than they had bene before time, for that, that Archonides, who had gouernedde some of those Syciliens, was dead a small tyme before, who in his lyfe tyme, hadde great amytie, confederation and intelligence wyth the Athenyans, and also for the bruyte whiche was, that Gylippus came diligently & manfully wyth hys people to the succours of the Syracusayns, who hauyng taken aboutes seuene houndred of his owne men, aswel souldiars, as maroners which he had armed, a thousande Imeryens aswell wel armed, as lightly armed, & a houndred horsemen, a certene nomber of Selinuntyns all horsemen or lightly armed and also a ryght small nomber of Gelyens, wyth some other Syciliens to the nomber of a thousande: marched towardes Sarragosse. And on the other syde the Corynthians departed from Leucade, for to come with the most diligence, that they coulde, into that same quarter, with al the other shyppes. Amongest whome, the same, whereof Gongylus was Cappitaine, aryued first at Sarragosse, although that he was the last that departed. And sone after arryuedde Gylippus, who vnderstandynge that the Syracusayns were in doubte for to enter in treatie with the Athenyans: aduertised them of the succours, whereof they were ryght ioyfull & all recomforted. So they dyd take cou-

Archonides.

Gongylus.

take couraige agayne, and yssuedde with all their strength out of the cytie for to mete Gylyppus, who attended and taryed for theym already in the waye. Who, Igeta. hauinge in his iourney taking by force the towne of Igete, came wholy in order, as for to fyght, towardes Epipole, and beynge abourded on the coaste from Euricle, by the which the Athenians were at the furst tyme there amounted, he ioigned with the Syracusains, and altogether marched towardes the wal of the Athenians, which at that houre conteigned seuen or eight stades, from the campe of the Athenyans vnto the sea, & also it was throughout double, except in some place nigh the sea, where they yet builded. And of the other syde towardes Trogile, they hadde alreadye broughte plenty of stoanes and othere stuffe and in some place acheued & fynyshed their worke, in some place halfe sett it vp, and in an other place there was nothynge done from the begynnynge, for that, that on that syde the largenes was so great. In suche danger were already the Syracusains, whan the succours came vnto them. The Athenyans than perceiuing Gylippus and the Syracusains to come so bolddamly againste them, they were at begynnynge afrayde, neuerthelas they afterwardes recouered their couraige, and came all in battayle agaynste thennemyes. But before that they approched, Gylippus sente an herauite for to declare vnto theyme, that if they wouldde departe out of Sycille wythin fyue dayes, he was contente to make treatie wyth them. Which thynge the Athenyans regardedde not, but sente agayne the herauite wythoute anye aunswere. Than both parties prepareddde theymesell to come to battaile, But Gylippus, seynge that the Syracusayns were in disorder: & that he coulde not welle brynge theyme into renckes, he deuysedde for the beste to wythdrawe theyme into a place more spacious. Nycyas also on the other syde causeld not his people to marche fourthe, but rather made theyme to kepe all in batayile ray vpon their walles and rampares. Which perceyuedde, Gylyppus retyred wyth Temenites. hys people into a mounte named Temenitie where he lodgedde hys campe. And the morowe after he conductedde the greateste partie of hys men in battayile euene harde to the walles of the Athenyans, for to defende that the one shoulde not succoure the othere. And on the othere syde he sente one parte of hys people agaynste one of the Castelles whyche the Athenyans dydde holde, namedde Lapdalum, the whiche they dydde take and slewe all those, that they founde within, without this, that the other Athenias coulde parceyue any thyng therof. And the same day the Syracusayns toke a galley of the Athenyans, as it would haue entred into the greate porte. After that, the Syracusayns begonne a walle from the cytie vntil the heigh of Epipole. And they reyled an other from thence ouerthwart that same of the Athenyans, for to lett and defende the (if they would suffer theyme to acheue and fynyshe it) frome enuironynge and enclosynge the towne on all sydes. But they hauynge acheued the walle, whiche they determyned to make fro their campe vnto the sea, were retyredde into their forte in the vppermoste parte. But for that, that one parte of their walle was lowe, Gylyppus wente wyth hys people in the night, thynkinge to take it, neuerthelas being perceyued by them whiche wardedyt, who kept their watche wythout, and mett hym, retyred softely wythout makynge any noyse. And afterwardes the Athenyans did heightben the layed wall, & appointed their owne people to the warding thereof, and those of their allyes vnto other places. It semedde moreouer vnto Nycias to be expedient to enclose wyth wall the place, that is called Plemmyri, Plem- whiche is a rocke in the promontorie foreanempste the cytie, the whiche entreth myrii. into the sea, and commeth vnto the entrynge of the great poorte. For it semedde vnto him that if he had forteyed it, the victuailles & other thynges that came

by sea,

by sea, myght come more easely, hauynge garnysone so nyghe vnto the poorte, where as at that houre they coulde not abyde, but afarre of from thence. Wherby yf any alarme shulde chance to be made on the sea syde, they coulde not so sone come vnto the succours. And that dyd he, intendynge to ayde hymself more with the armye by sea, than wythe that same by lande, sythens that Gylippus was come. And so he charged one partie of his armye into hys shyps, & brought them to the sayde place, whyche he caused to be enclosed and fortefyed with thre walles and rampares: and afterwardes he bestowed one parte of hys baggage there: and vndernethe the same they myght withdrawe hys shyppes bothe great and small: by occasyon wherof many of hys maronners fromthence forwardes, through faulte of freshe water, did dye, for that, that they were forcedde to fatche their water afarre of, and moreouer whan they illuedde fourthe to fatche woode, the horsemen Syracusains, that kepte the feldes, dydde slaye them, specyallye those that were in a towne in Olympus, the whyche were placedde there for to defende that the Athenyans, whyche were in the sayd place of Plemmyrium shulde do no hurte. In thies entrefeates Nycias, vnderstandinge the cõmynge of the galleys wyth Corinthyans: sence, twenty of hys for to preuente and soubdainly to mete and take them. Geuyng them charge, that they shuld attende and lye in wayte for theym, betwene Locres and Rhege, and there in the distreacte of Sycile that they shulde assaulte theym. In the meane tyme Gylippus caused lykewyse the walle betwene the Cytie and Epipole, to be reysed and fynyshed, and for to make yt, he aydeth hymselfe wyth the suffre, whyche the Athenyans had for themselfe gathered togyther. And that done, he illued many tymes out of the cytie wyth hys people and wythe the Syracusayns in battaille. And the Athenyans on the other syde did the lyke. And whan it semed vnto him, to be tyme to assaille, he went furste for to charge vpon them. But inlomuch as the combate and fighting was amonge the rãpares of both partes, whych was a place nothyng easy for the horsmen, wherof the Syracusains had great nomber: the Syracusains and Peloponesians were vainquished. For the which victorie, the Athenyans, hauyng rendred the dead, reysed and sett vp a Trophee.

An Oration and ouerthwarte declaration of Gylippus vnto his souldyars and men at armes.

NEuerthelas Gylippus, after that same battaille, assembledde the men of warre, and shewed them, that the losse chaunced not through their faulte, but rather through his, forsomuche as he had takene frõ them the ayde of their horsmẽ and of their Casters of dartes, causing them to fyght in one so strayte a place, wherein they coulde not helpe themselfe, wherefore he was determyned to cause theym for to issue a freshe to fyghte in a place more reasonable, prayinge them to remember that they were Doryens & Peloponesyans, and that it shulde be their greate shame to be vaynquished and chased by the Ionyans and Ilanders and other people gathered togiders oute of all sortes, beinge in as great nõber, as they. And afterwards whan he thought it tyme, he ledde them fourthe agayne to battaylle. Nycias also had determyned, if they wolde not haue illuedde fourth to haue gone to presente theym battaille. For he was determyned not to suffre them to fynisshe their rampares and walls that they made nygh vnto theirs: the whyche were already so farre forwardes, as theirs, and they perceyued well that if they suffredde that they shulde extende them further, those same Athenyans shulde be more alleged by the Syracusains, than the Syracusains by theym, and in danger to be vainquished. Therfore

he likewise yssued fourth to the battaille. Nowe Gylippus had ordeyned his horsmen & casters of darts to be more further fro the walles, thā they had bene at the other tyme, in a spacious place, where the walles and rampares on both sydes failed from the coast of the ennemyes. Who after the battaill was begonne, came to russhe and charge vpon the lefte poinct of the Athenyans and put them to flyght: wherby it chanced that the Syracusains and Peloponesians, had the victorie, for that, that the other partie, seinge the Athenyans flye dyd the lyke, & wythdrewe themselfe into their fortes and holdes. And the nyghte ensuynge, the Syracusains made their walle egall with the same of thennemyes, and yet further and greatter, so that the ennemyes coulde not empesche nor lette them, but that they myghte make and extende their sayd wall, so farre and so large as they woolde, and though afterwardes they had bene vainquished in battail, yet could they be no more enclosed wyth walle. Sone after arryued the shipps of the Corynthians, of the Leucadyans, and of the Ambracians, to the nomber of twelue, wherof Thrasonides the Corynthian was chief, who had deceyued the Athenians shippes that came to rencounter theym, and ayded the Syracusayns to fynyshe their walle, whyche they hadde begonne vnto the same, that came ouerthwarte yt. That done Gylippus, perceyuing the towne to be in suertie, did go fromthēce through the other cyties of Sycille, practisinge thē to enter into allyance against the Athenyans, those, that were in doubte, or that vtterly abhorredde the warre. And beslydes thys the Syracusains and the Corynthians that were comme to their ayde, sente Imbassadours to Lacedemonye, and to Corynthe to haue newe succours, in whatsoeuer manner that they myght: were it in galleys, in Barques or other shipps, what that they were, so that they brought men of warre. On the other syde the Syracusains, presuppolinge that the Athenyans woolde lykewise sende some newe succours to their campe equipped and tacled their shyppes for to syght with them by sea, and made all necessary preparatyons for warre. Whiche parceyued by Nycias, and that the force and strength of hys ennemyes dyd dayly increase, and hys decrease and lessene: he determyned lykewyse for to sende to Athens to do them to vnderstande the estate, wherin they were in the campe: whyche was suche, that he reputed them to be but vainquished and destroyed, if ayther that they were not caused to retyre, or els that succours were sente vnto them so puissante and mighty, as they were. And fearynge that those, whyche he sente, shulde not happely haue eloquence for to exponde and declare their charge, or that they shulde forgett one parte thereof, or rathere shulde feare to telle the whole for displeasynge of the compynaltie, he determyned to aduertyse the whole by hys letters, presuppolynge, that whan the comons shuld intierly vnderstande the trouth, they woide determyne therin as the case required. And so the Imbassadours wente fromthence wyth hys letters and instructions vnto Athens. And in the meane time Nycias toke more care and studie to warde & kepe his campe, than for to go to assaille hys ennemyes. In that same somer Euetion Athenyan Duke wyth Perdiccas and many Thracyens, wente to assiege the Cytie of Amphipolis, but seinge that he coulde not take it by lande: he causedde Gallions to passe and mounte vp the ryuer of Strymone: whyche he made to comme out of Imereum, and this endurynge ended the somme. In beggynnynge of wynter the messengers, whyche Nycias hadde despeched, arryuedde at Athenes, and hauynge declaredde their charge, they afterwardes answered to that wherof they were demaunded: but furste they presented the letters of Nycias, whyche were of thys tenoure.

Thrasonides.

Euetiō. Amphipolis. Strymon.

The

The tenour of the letters of Nycias to the Athenyans, and the prouysion that they had made vpon the contenue of the same.

The seconde Chapter.

Ye haue bene aduertised (lordes Athenyans) by our formet letters of all that, whych before tyme hath chaunced in thies quarters. And presently I rycht hartely requyre you to vouchesaulfe to be informed of the estate wherin we be, for to determyne well therin. Whiche ys suche. After that we haue had certayne victories against the Syracusans & made a walle nighe to their cytie, wythin the whyche walle we nowe be, Gylippus the Lacedemonyan arryued wyth an hoste, aswell of the Peloponesyans, as of certen other cyties of thys countrey of Sycille, whom at the furst encontring we vaynquished: but afterwardes through force of the horsmen and casters of dartes, whyche he hath, we haue bene constrayned to retyre into oure sayd walle where we nowe remayne wythout doynge any thinge, for that, that we coulde not contynue our sayde walle aboute the sayde cytie, the ennemyes beinge in so great nõber: for we might not leade all our people vnto the felde, for somuche, as it was necessarye to leaue alwayes one parte of them for to warde oure walles and rampares. And on the othere syde the ennemyes haue all readye reysedde vpp, an simple walle nighe vnto oure walle, whyche letteth vs for to fynisshe yt, excepte that we shulde furste wythe a greate puissance, beate and rase downe the sayde walle by force of armes. In suche sorte, that we, whiche holde thys Cytie allieged, be more allieged on the lande syde, than they. For by meane of the great nombee of horsmen that they haue, we cannot yssue farre out of our campe. Moreouer they haue sente Amballadoures into Peloponese, for to haue newe succours of people. And Gylippus is goone to the Cyties of Sycille, whiche be not yet on their partie, for to practyse and wynne theym. And by that, whyche I can lerne, they haue determyned for to assaulte oure rampares and fortes, all at one instante, aswell by sea as by lãde. Also ye ought not to iudge and thinke it strãge that I doo saye, that they wyll assaulte vs from the coaste of the sea. For though that our armye by sea was at the begynnynge greate and excellente, aswelle for that, that the shippes where very whole and clene, as also our men helthfull and gallant: yet neuerthelas at this presente our sayde shipps, by haunynge long ben in discouert and abroade, be in a manner vtterly putrefyed & rotten, and a greate parte of the maronners deade, and also it is not lawfull for vs to bryng our said shipps a borde or to shoare for to repayre and newe tacle them, for that, that our ennemyes haue as great nomber therof, as we, and more: so, that they threatene dailly for to assaulte vs, whyche thynge they woll do wythout any faulte, for yt is in their power to do it, whan they woll, and also they may bryng their shipps to shore, muche more easely than we, for that, that they kepe not themselfe togyders: whych thynge was neuer hythertho in our faculte and power to do: to wit, to go to assaill them at our wylle. For albeit that we had great nomber of shipps, yet neuerthelas we coulde skarcely warde ourselfe, before that our sayd shyppes were all togyther, as they nowe be. For somuche as if we had lefte anye smalle parte of our warde, we shulde not haue had victuailles, the whyche also we can not at thys present skarcely cary wythout dangier, for that, that we muste passe alonge by the cytie. Throughe the whyche difficulties, if we haue hertofore loste of our maronners, we yet do nowe lose more of them, whan they goo to fatche water, woode and other necessaries, or for to ouerronne and pyllaige anny parte afarre

a farre of: for they be oftentimes betrapped by horsmen their enemyes. And that, whyche is wooꝛse, in the meane tyme that our people do fyght, the esclaues, whiche be wyth them, and the souldyars strangers that haue bene putt in hys shyps by force, do forsake them and ronne awaye. And the selfe same, that be come of their owne good wylle in hope of moꝛe than to fyght, seyng the armye by sea of thennemys, and also their puissance by lande, farre otherwise than they thought: some of them go to the ennemyes vpon some coulour, & the other thider, where they may eskape, whyche thynge is ryghte easy for them to do, for that, that the Illande is very greate: some other haue boughte of the esclaues of Hicarne, who they fynde meanes by practyse that they haue with the capytains of the shipps, to cause to sarue in their place: and by that manner they corrupte the disciplyne & order of the sea. And for that, that I do speake to men that vnderstande what belongeth to the sea, I saye for conclusyō that the flower and gallantnes of this great nomber of people by sea, cannot longe endure. And also there be fewe good Pylottes and patrons to be founde, whyche can conducte and welle gouerne a shippe. And amongest all thies difficulties there is an other that also causeth me greatly to sorrowe. And that is, that albeit that I am chief of the armye by sea, yet can I not geue order therin: for your braynes and witts, lordes Athenians be yll to be corrected, and also we cannot gett other for to replenisshe oure shyps. whyche thynge our enemys do easely. For they haue many cyties that take their partie. And as touchynge vs, there ys none that take the ours, resarued Nare and Catana, whyche be not verye puissaunte. Wherefore we be constraynedde to ayde oureselues wyth that smalle nomber that remaynethe wyth vs, of those, whyche we chargedde at the begynnynge. And if it chaunce that the Cyties of Italie (who delyuer vs victuailles, knowynge the estate wherin we be, and that ye sende vs no succours) retourne frome vs, to oure ennemyes, wythoute fayle, we shalle be destroyedde wythoute faightynge. I coulde wryte (Lordes) thinges moꝛe pleasante vnto youe: but not moꝛe profytable, yf that ye be wyllynge to determyne well herein, vnderstandynge oure affayre. Whereof I greately doubte, for I knowe well youre nature, whyche ys suche, that ye heare wyllyngly playsaunte thynges: and whan it happenethe otherewyse than youe thoughte, ye impute the blame to those, that haue the charge of the affayres. And yet neuertheless I thynke it beste to wryte the trouthe, that ye maye prouyde therefore. And also I am wyllynge to declare vnto you, that for the thynges, wherof you haue geuen vs charge in thys interprise, ye cannot in any thynge charge the chyefeste and Capytayns, nor also the souldyars. Wherefore seyng that all Sycille conspyrethe nowe agaynste vs, and that they looke for newe succours oute from Peloponese, ayther determyne for to calle vs agayne home, consyderedde, that we be moꝛe weake than oure ennemyes, euen in the estate, wherein they onelye nowe be: orells for to sende vs succours afreshe, that be not lesse of shyppes, nothere of men than this same here: and also of monney in good quantytye, and moꝛeouer an othere generalle or chiefe in my steede: for that, that I cannot susteigne the charge, by cause of a disease of the reyns, whyche troublethe me greattely. And also me thynkethe that reasonne wylleth yt, for so longe as I haue bene in good healthe, I haue donne youe manye goode seruyces. And for conclusyon whatsoeuere thynge ye be wyllynge to doo, doo yt bytwene thys and the sprynge tyme wythoute longer delaye: for thys, that the ennemyes wythin shoꝛte tyme wolle wythdrawe to theyre partye alle the Sycilyans. And thoughe that the matters of Peloponese goo but softelye forewardes: yett take hede lesse yt

happen

happene vnto youe, lyke as oftene before tyme it hath chaunedde, whyche is that partly ye shalbe ignorant therin, and partly ye shall knowe their enterpryses so late, that ye shalbe betrapped, before that ye can fynde remedy therefore. Suche was the tenour of the letters of Nycias: whyche sene, so farre as did touche the sending vnto hym of a successour in hys charge, they were not of that opynyō, but accordyng to that, that they shuld sende him collegues and cōpaignyōs, they dyd chose two of those, that were wyth him in the armye to be ayding vnto him in the meane tyme, to wytt, Menander and Eurymedon, to the ende that beynge ill at ease: he shulde not be ouercomed wyth hys charge. As to the reste, it was determyned for to sende newe succours, aswell of shypps, as of men, and aswell of maronners, as of men of warre, and aswell of theirs, as also of those of theire allyes. And moreouer they did appoynte also two newe generalls or chief Cappytains wyth the sayde Nycias: to wytte, Demosthenes, sonne of Alcisthenes and Eurymedon, the whiche Eurymedon they sente aboute the myddell of October into Sycille wyth tenne shippes, & sixe skoore talentes of syluer for to set fourth ỹ other that were there, & for to signifie vnto them the succours that came after: & that the Athenyans tendered greatly their ease. As concernyng Demosthenes he taryed for to cause that succours to be dispatched, which was ordeyned and appoynted, to the intente, that in the begynninge of the spryng tyme, he mighte embarque hymselfe wyth the sayde succours, and specially to constrayne the allyes of the Athenyans to fournishe shippes, men and monney for their portion.

Menander.

Eurymedon.

Demosthenes

Eurimedon.

Howe the Peloponesians didde enter ennemylike into the countrey of Athenyans and enclosed the towne of Decelea wyth walles. And of the succours that was sente into Sycille, aswell on the behalf of the Athenyans, as also of the Peloponesyans.

☞ The.iii. Chapter.

After that the Athenyans had appoynted their sayde prouysions for Sycille, they sente twenty galleis aboute Peloponese, for to defende and wythstande, that no shyps shulde passe fromthence out of Corinthe into Sycille. For the Corinthyans after that the Ambassadours of the Syracusayns, whyche were comme for to require newe succours were arryued, vnderstandynge the affayres of Sycille to be in better estate, dyd yet take more couraige, and semed vnto theym that the armye, whyche they had sente before, was come all in tyme. For that cause they prepared for to sende thider renforte or newe succours of men in the place Barques, and the Lacedemonyans wyth the reste of the Peloponesians did the lyke. So the Corynthyans armed xxb. galleys for to accompaygnye their Barques, and to defende them agaynste the galleys of the Athenyans, whyche attended and lay in wayte for them in the passage at Naupacte. As touchyng the Lacedemonyans, as they prepared their succours, beynge vrgently moued aswell by the Syracusans, as by the Corynthyans: vnderstandinge moreouer that the Athenyans sente newe succours into Sycille, for to empesche that, and chiefly through the counsail of Alcibiades, they determyned for to enter into the lande of the sayd Athenyans, and at the beginnynge to mure and walle in Decelea. And the Lacedemonyans enterprysed that same wyth the better couraige, by cause that they thoughte that the Athenyans haunge greate warre in twoo coastes: to wytt, in Sycille and in their oune con-

trey,

trey, shulde be the more easely subdewed and vaynquished. And also that they hadde vnsle quarelle, forsomuche as the Athenyans hadde furste broken the appointement: whiche thynge was whole contrary to the other formet appoynctement. For the rotture or breache begame on the bihalf of the Lacedemonians, for that, that the Thebans, had inuaded Platea, without breaking the appouctement. And though that it was ordonned by the same, that warre shulde not be moued agaynste hym, that submitted hymself to the iudgement of the other confederated Cyties and that the Athenyans offredde to stande therunto: yet alwayes the Lacedemonyans woide not accepte the offre: by occasion wherof, they thought that, vō good cause, they hadde receiued many mischances in the warre, whyche than was made, and specially at Pylus. But after the laste appointement, the Athenyans had sente thirty ships out of their sea and wasted one partie of the terrytorie of the Epidaurians and of the Phalyens: and also of some other countreys, and kepte men at Pylus, who robbed and spoyled the confederates wythout any ceassynge. And whan the Lacedemonyans sente vnto Athens for to demande restytution of the goodes, that were takene, and in case of refusal that they shulde commytt the thynge to knowlaige accordynge to the artycles of appoynctemente: yet wolde they neuer doo yt. For thys cause yt semedde to the Lacedemonyans, that as the fault & offence of the breache, which was in the formet warre, was cōmytted on their bihalfe, so was it nowe in the partie of the Athenians: by meane wherof they went against them vō the better harte. And so they commaunded to the other Peloneſyans that they shulde make prouysyon of Irons for the walles at Decelea, in the meane tyme, that they prouydedde for other matter therunto necessarie: and moreouer constrayned theym to fourniſhe monney for to sende succours into Sycille for their portion, lyke as the self Lacedemonyās did. And in thies enterfeats ended the wynter, whych was the .xviii. yeare of the warre, whych Thucydides had wryttonne. In begynnynge of spring tyme, the Lacedemonyans wyth their allyes entred soubdaynely into the lande of the Athenyās, vnder conducte of Agis sonne of Archidamus kyng of the same Lacedemonyans. And at the furste arryuall they wasted and pillaiged the platte countrey, that was at the entrynge, and afterwardes dyd geue themselfe to enclose Decelea wyth walle, and delyuered to euery of the Cyties confederated accordynge to hys quantytie, to make one quarter of the sayde walle. Nowe the same cytie is afarre of from Athens aboutes seuene skore stades, and well nighe asmuche out of the countrey of Beotie. And for that cause, beynge enclosed with walle and garnished wyth men, out might, oute of the same, pillage & ouerronne the plat coūtrey vnto the Cytie of Athens. In thys same tyme that the walles of Decelea was in buildinge, the Peloponeſyans, that tarved in the countrey sent the succours into Sycille in their Barques. To wytt, the Lacedemonyans, fyre houndred of the moste gentle compaignyons of their esklaues, and of their laborers, vnder the conducte of Eurytus of Sparte. The Beotians three houndred, vnder the conducte of Xenon and of Nycon of Thebes and Egesander the Thelpian. Thies here were the furste that at there departure frome Tenara in Laconium lasched into the meane sea. Sone after, the Corynthians sente fyue houndred men, aswell of their people, as of the Arcadyans, whyche they had soulded or huyred, of whome Alexarchus the Corynthian was Chief: and wyth them, there were two houndred Sycyonians vnder the conduct of Sargeus Sycionien. On the other syde the .xvii. galleys, whyche the Corynthians hadde sent the wynter precedynge agaynste the twenty of the Athenyans that abodde at Naupacte for to kepe the passage, were forauempste the sayde Naupacte, so longe as

Eurytus.
Xenon.
Nycon.
Egesander.
Alexarchus.
Sargeus.

the

the Barques, whyche carryedde their fouldyars passed by. At the self same beginnynge of the spryngе tyme, whan the walles were buildinge about Decelea: the Athenyans sente. xxx. galleys aboute Peloponese vnder the conducte of Charycles, to whome they comaunded, that he shulde go fromthence in their name vnto the Argues to requyre them that they woolde sende and fournishe wyth men for to fylle the sayde galleys accordynge to their allyance: and on the other syde in ensuing their determynation touching the affayres of Sycille, that they shulde sende thider Demosthenes wyth. lx. shippes of theirs, and syue of those of Chio. In the whyche there was twelue houndred warryours Athenyans, and of the Islanders, as manye as they coulde assemble: and of theire othere allyes, all those that they myght recouer beinge men of warre: and commaunde the sayde Demosthenes that in passynge he shulde ioygne wyth Charicles, and bothe togiders shulde pillaige and ouerronne the countrey Marytimate of Laconie. The whyche Demosthenes, sailled fromthence straight to the poarte of Egyne, wherin he attended those of his fouldyars, that were not yet come, and lykewyse the retourne of Charicles, who was gone vnto the Argyues. Charicles.

¶ Howe the Syracusains and the Athenyans had a battaille wythin the porte of the Cytie, alwel by sea as by land, wherof both parties had victorie in dyuers respectes, and of many other combates and feats of warre, whyche were done in the same Siege.

☞ The. iiii. Chapter.

In the self tyme, that the thynges abouesayde were done in Grece Gylippus came agayne to Sarragosse wyth greate nomber of people, that he hadde assembled, and wythdrawen oute of the Cyties of Sycille, wherin he hadde bene. So he assembledde the Syracusains and shewedde them that yt was expedyente that they shulde arme alle the shippes that they coulde, for to fyght agaynste the Athenyans by sea, sayinge that he hoped, in that doinge, to doo some thynge woorthye of memorye. And Hermocrates dydde lykewyse exhorte theym therunto: saying that they ought not to feare the Athenyans by sea, for thys, that they were not naturallye men of warre, as the othere. For the Cytie of Athenes was not vpon the sea, as Sarragosse, but rathere it was muche further in the mayne lande, and that that same, whiche they hadde learnedde by sea, was for feare of the Medes, who constrayned them to aduenture in the sea, and to hardy men, as the Athenyans be, those seme terrible, whyche shewe themself, as couraigious, as they. And euen as they somtyme feared their neighbours moore by theire greate audacytye than by theire power was requyred, so maye they synde of the fouldyars, their aduerlaries, which shal do the lyke vnto them. And in makynge thies perswations vnto the Syracusains, he tolde them, that he knewe well their hardynes, by the desyre, whiche they shewed to haue to go agaynste the armye by sea of the Athenyans: of the whiche feate, that shulde be so vnloked for of them, they shalbe so astonyedde, that that same shall profitte more the Syracusains, than the science and exercyse by sea, whyche those Athenyans haue bledde so greatlye, shall aduantage theyme. By suche woordes and declarations Gylippus and Hermocrates and somme other that followedde theyme aboute the nyghte, dydde putte bys footemen in order wythout the towne, to the intent that at one tyme he might assaille the enemys

both by lande on the coste of the walle that is in Plemmyriũ, and also the shipps on the sea coste. In the morninge .xxxb. galleys of the Syracusains yssued forth out of the lytle porte, where their hauen was, for to goo to the greate porte, whiche the ennemyes dyd kepe: and .xlb. other to saille enuironing and compassynge aboute the sayde greate porte, and also for to go to assaille Plemmyrium, to the ende that the Athenyans perceyuynge themselfe assailed on both sydes, shulde be more troubled: who seing that, fournished incontinently .ix. galleys that they had, wherof they souddaynly sente .xxb. agaynste the .xxxb. of the Syracusains, whyche came towardes the greate poarte for to fyghte wyth theyme: and wyth the other they sayled agaynste those that compassed it aboutes, wyth the whych they medled incontynently in the poarte, and dyd fyght a longe tyme. The Syracusains enforsinge themselfe to enter into the poarte, and the other to kepe and to defende theyme fromeyt. In thys meane tyme the Athenyans, that were in Plemmyrium, beinge descended downe of the rocke vnto the shore of the sea for to see what shulde fortune of the battaille, that was in hande: Eurippus vpon the breake of daye, came to assaille the sayde place of Plemmyrium, frome the syde of the lande wyth suche force, that he toke one of the thre walles, and soone after dyd take the other two, for that, that those, whyche had the warde and defence therof, seinge that the furste was so soone taken, dyd not defende them. And they, that were at the warde of the furste wall, after that it was taken, fledde frō thence and wyth greate danger retyred into galleys, whych were always kepte at the fote of the rocke, and partly in a Barque, that was founde there, and in the same retyred into their campe: though that a galley of the Syracusains, to wit, of those, that were already entred into the porte followed them very nyghe: for the Syracusayns had already the victorie in the greate porte. But in the meane tyme that the othere twoo walles of Plemmyrium were takene, it chaunccdde that the Syracusayns were vainquisshedde. Whereupon those amonge theyme that fledde awaye, through cause of the other victorie, had their retraicte mooze easey. And the victorye was in thys sorte. For the Syracusayns galleys, whyche dydde fyghte in the mouth of the greate poarte (hauinge repoulsed those of the ennemyes, that were agaynste theyme) sailledde in at the entrance wythout anny order, so that the one empeschedde and dyd lette the othere. Which parceyued by the Athenyans, aswell those, that dyd combate without the poarte, as also those that were vainquisshed wythin, ioygnned themselfe togiders, and russhed aswell vpon those, that were wythin the porte, as also vpon those, that were without, wyth suche force, that they cauled them to flye. Whereof they dyd synke elleuen, and dyd slaye all those that were wythin, reserued thre, whyche they toke prysoners: and thre other shyppes they bruled. After that same victorie, the Athenyans, hauynge wythdrawin the shipp wrackes of the ennemyes, they reysed the trophee in the lytle Iland, that is Plymmyrium, and afterwardes retyred into their campe. On the other syde the Syracusayns, by cause of the thre walles, whyche they had taken in the sayd Plymmyrium, they rayled vp three other trophees. Of the whiche three walles, they battred and raled downe that same, whyche they hadde laste taken, and the other twoo they rampared, and did put therin good garnyson, and warde. In takynge of the sayde walles, many of the Athenyans were slayne, and many taken prysoners: and moreouer all their monney, whyche was a greate some was also taken, for they kept thys place, as for a forte, to wythdrawe and warde all theire treasure, and all their munytions and marchandises, not onely of the Seygnyory, but also of Cayrcaynes, and of marchauntes and of particuler souldyars. And amonge othere thynges there were

founde

found the sayles of forty galleys, and three other galleys, that were withdrawn thider. That same takyng or losse did afterwardes cause many greate dammaiges to the Athenyans, and chiefly for thys, that through the occasyon therof they could not bryng the victuaills into their campe without danger. For the ships, whyche were there, dydde syghte and empesche them alwayes, whyche thynge dyd geue gene vnto the Athenyans great feare, and also great displeasure. After thys battayll, the Syracusains sente .xii. gallieys, vnder the cõducte of Agatharcus Syracusain. The one wherof dyd cary certayne Ambassadours whyche the sayde Syracusains sente into Peloponese, for to signefye vnto the Peloponesians both what had bene done, and also how they were in good hope to haue the victorie agaynste the Athenyans, and also for to prouoke them that they shuld sende succours vnto theym, and shulde ernestly follow or take that same warre vnto herte. The other elleuen were sent into Italie, for that, that it was bruyted, that certayne shyppes chargedde wyth stuffe and wyth munytions were sente to the campe of the Athenyans at Sarragosse: the whyche shippes, those Syracusains did encounter, and toke the moste parte therof, togiders wyth that, whiche was wythin them. Wherof the stuffe that was therein charged, for to make ships, they brunt it vpon the shore of the sea, nigh vnto Caulonia. And that done, they sayled vnto the poarte of Locres: beynge in whyche place, arryued one barque, that came oute of Peloponese, charged wyth men of warre, Thespyens, whiche were sente to the succours of the sayde Syracusayns: the whiche they dyd take into their galleis, and afterwardes dyd take their rayce or voiage for to retourne into their countrey: and so they encountred at Megara twenty Athenyãs galleis, that espyed them there in the passage: the whyche dyd take one of the said elleuen, and the other, that eskaped, did come to Sarragosse. After that, an other light combate, was made betwene the Athenyans and the Syracusains in the poarte of Sarragosse: to wyete, a rampare of woode, whyche the sayd Syracusains had made before the olde hauon for to kepe their shippes wythin in suertie. Byfore the whyche, the Athenyans brought a greate nauie wyth twelue thousande, chargedde, welle armed and appoyncted for to susteigne alle stroakes of shotte and of Artillerie. And behynde the same were smalle Barques, wythin the whyche, and also wythin the sayde nauye, were men that hadde Engynes, wherewyth they raled downe the pales and plankes of woode of the sayde rampare, that were fyred and planted wythin the sea. Where agaynst the Syracusains resisted wyth greate stroakes of shotte, whyche they dyschargedde and dyd cast out of the sayd hauone. Also those of the sayde nauye, dydde the lyke against theyme. Fynallye the Athenyans brake downe a greate parte of the sayde rampare, although that they hadde greate payne and difficultie therin, for that, that there was greate pieces of woode that were hoolye hyddene wythin the watere, whyche were so plantedde of a sette purpose, to the intente that if the shyppes of the ennemyes woolde comme there, they shulde stryke and bruse theyme, and shulde be by that meane in danger. And though the Athenyans hadde plongeors or dyuers that dyuedde for to cutt them vnder the water: yet neuerthelas after that they were withdrawyn, the Syracusayns causled other to be replantedde. And the one dyd daylly make againste the othere some newe enterpryse and inuention, so as it is to be byleued of two armys that kepe cãpe the one nigh to the othere, and moreouer they made many eskarmuches and small combates in all sortes, and by all meanes that were possyble to doo. Nowe the Syracusains hadde sente Ambassadoures to the Lacedemonyans, to the Corynthyans and to the Ambracyans, synefynge vnto theyme the takynge of Plemmyrium,

Agatharchus.

and also the battaille that they had vpon the sea. Certefyinge that the victorye, that the Athenyans had had agaynste them was not chanced, throughe the valyantnes of those same Athenyans, but for the myserder of themselfe. Wherfore they hadde good hope to remayne in the ende victorious: but so, that they might be aydedde and succoured. And therupon required that they wolde succour thē wyth shippes and wyth men, before that the armye, whyche they Athenyans shulde sende thyder for newe succours, myght arryue there. For in that doynge men myghte destroye those, that were in the campe byfore the comynge of those same thider: and thereby ende the warre. Thys was the estate of the affayres of Sycille.

¶ Of the necessitie wherein the Cytie of Athenes was through the warre. And howe certen Thracyans that were comme to their succure, beinge for faulte of monney retourned and sente home, did destroy the Cytie of Mycalesus, and afterwards were well nygh all destroyed.

¶ The.b. Chapter.

IN thys tyme whilest the affayres abouesayd, were donne in Sycille, Demosthenes hauyng assembled the souldyars, whyche were ordonned for to go to the succours of the cāpe, that was before Sarragolle: cauled them to be embarqued at Egyne, and fromthence came sailing alonge from of Peloponese and iorgnedde hymselfe wyth Charicles, who attended or wayted vpon .xxx. ships for him, wherin the men were chargedde, whiche the Argiues had sente for their portion. And fromthence they sayled straight towards the lande of Laconie: that is to say, of the Lacedemonyans. But furste they landed in the countrey of Lymera in the terrytorie of Epidaure, wherof they wasted a greate parte. Fromthence they came to lande in the saide contrey of Laconie of the coaste of Cytherea, for anempste the temple of Apollo: where they dyd some damaige, and encloled vp a wall a distraicte, like vnto the same of Corinthe, whiche is called Isthmus, to the ende that the esclaues of the Athenyās might with drawe thider and saue themselfe, whan they woolde flye frome their lordes: and also for to kepe there theues and pyrates, that shuld pillaige the countrey roūde aboute, lyke as they dyd at Pylus. But before that the walle was made Demosthenes sayled strayght to Corcyre, for to leuie there the men that shulde come out of that quarter: and to passe fromethence straighte into Sycille, and he lefte Charicles there, for to parfaict and fynisshe the sayde wall, with his thyrtie ships who, incontynentlye after that it was acheued, and that a good garnysone was put into it, departed fromthence for to followe Demosthenes. The Argiues also dyd the lyke. In that same somer arryued at Athens .cxi. houndred Thracians, whyche were surnamed Dacherophoziens, that were of the dissent of Dyacus, all well armed, and wearinge targettes, the whyche were cauled to comme wyth Demosthenes into Sycille: whome for that, that they were come to late, after the departure of Demosthenes, the Athenyans determyned to retourne & sende agayne into their countrey. For they thought it to great charge for to kepe them there for the warre, whych they had at Decelea, for that, that euery of thē wolde haue a groate for ẏ day. And the monney beganne greatly to consume in Athens, for this chiefly, that after the Peloponelyans had altogider mured and fortefyed the towne of Decelea, in ẏ same somer they dyd putt into it afterwards

Limera

Isth-mus.

garnysons

garnysons oute of all cyties, whyche were changed by quartiers, whereby many greate euills and losses aswell of monney, as of othere goodes, happened to the Athenyans: by meane of this, that where at other tymes, whan the Peloponesians came to ouerrenne their lande, they taryed not therin longe, and after that they were retourned, the Athenyans were not empesched to labour their lande nor to enioye yt at their wyll. After that the sayde towne was enclosed and the garnysone putte wythin yt, they were contynuelly vexed, and as in manner assieged by the sayde garnysone, whyche ceassed not to ouerronne & pyllaige some tyme in small nomber and some tyme in great, and very often tymes for to haue victuailles, and other thinges necessarie. But aboue all, so longe as Agis kinge of Lacedemonie was there wyth all the army, they were marueillously endommaged, for he neuer suffredde hys people to be ydle, but contynuellye caused them to course and go into the lande, in suche sorte that they made meruaillous waste and pillayge in alle the lande of Athenes. And besydes that the sklaues whyche they had, fledde from them to the sayd Peloponesians to the nomber of twenty thousande and vpwardes, whyche were all or the moore parte people of occupacyons and handy crafte men. They loste moreouer almoste all their beasles aswel great as lytle. And also their horses were in a small tyme so trauailled that they coulde not serue longe. For their horsemen were contynually in the feldes, aswel for to resiste the ennemyes that were at Decelea, as also for to warde all the regyon of Athens, from pillage, wherby some of the sayd horses were morefoundred & the other lamed and tyred wyth rennynge so oftene into that same lāde, whych was drye and harde: and also many of them were hurt, aswell wᵗʰ stroakes of dartes, as also with other stroaks. And in the remenāt, the victuails ẏ were brought into the cytie oute of the quarter of Eubea & of Oroppe, whiche were wonte to passe by Decelea, that was the nerr way, were forced to come by an other coaste more further of, so that they compassed about the lande of Sunium by sea, whiche was a thynge of great charge and expence, by occasyon wherof, the cytie was in greate necessytie of all thynges, that were requisit to be brought thyder from wythout. And on the other parte, the Cytezeins, who were all retyred into the tytie, were greatly trauailled by meane of watche, that was conuenyent for them to make wythout cessynge, aswell by day, as by nighte. For by daye there was a certen nomber incessantly vpon the heighte of the walles, who were contynually changed, and in the nyght all the watche was in harnes, reserued the horsmen, the one vpon the walles, and the other in and through the towne, aswell in tyme of sommer, as also of wynter, whyche was vnto them a payne intollerable. And so muche the moore, that at one selfe tyme, they sustayned twoo greate warres. And yet neuertheles they were so obstynate, that no man, ẏ had not sene it, could haue beleued it. For albeit that they were assieged euen vnto the wals by the Peloponesyans, yet for all that they woolde not forsake nor leaue of the enterprise of Sycille, but euene so, as they were assyegedde, they woolde styll holde the Cytie of Sarragosse assiegedde, the whyche was for a Cytie nothynge lesse, thā Athenes: wyllynge by that meane to declare theire puyssance and theire audacytie, muche moore greate than the othere Grekes hadde oppynyon therof from begynnynge of the warre. Of whome some iudged that thole Athenyans shuld sustayne the warre for twoo yeares, the other for thzee yeares at the furtheste and that than it shulde haue ceassed. But no man thought that it shulde haue endured longer, if it chancedde that the Peloponesyans woolde haue entred into their lande. And yet neuertheles from the furste tyme that they were entredde therin, vntill that they sente into Sycille, were seuentene whole yeares. And that

notwythstandinge they were not so decayed by the sayde warre of .xbii. yeares, but that they enterprysed yet the other, whyche was not lesse in the opynyon of men than the furste. And the sayde cytie of Athens being troubled aswell for the towne of Decelea as by the other meanes here aboue declared, yt was come into greate indigence and lacke of monney: through occasyon whereof, they exacted and leuyedde that same yeare of theire subiectes in places nyghe the sea, in stede of trybute, whyche they toke by Anticipation, the twentith parte of their valeur: thinkynge that the same shulde render vnto them more monney, than the ordenary trybute. So was it nedefull for the expēces were somuche the greater, as the warre was more greate: and also their rente failled them or was decayedde. For thys cause, incontynently as the Thracyens that were comme to their succours, were arryued, as hath bene sayde, they retourned or sente them awaye for lacke of monney, and gaue the charge to Dytrepus for to conducte them by sea: to whome they comaunded that in retournynge them, he shulde synde the manner that they shulde do some damaige in Eubea, and in other places by the sea side of thennemys, alongest by whome they shulde passe: for it was conuenyente for them, to passe the distraict of Eubea, which is called, Euripus. The whiche Dytrepus beinge landed wyth the sayd Thracyens at Tanagra, he pillaiged somewhat ryght soubdainely, & after caused them incontynently to mounte again & carryed them into Chalcyde in the countrey of Eubea, and towardes night passed the distraict and failled for to lande in the countrey of Beoce. In the whyche beinge landed, he caused all hys men, all the nyght to marche towardes the Cytie of Mycale: and caused therin to hyde themselfe wythin the temple of Mercurius, whyche is distant out of the sayd cytie abouts .xbi. stades. And after that it was day, he caused them to marche strayght towardes the sayde cytie. The whiche, though that it was greate, yet neuerthelas he sourthwyth did take for that yt was not warded. And also the Cytezeins had no doubte of anny thynge. For they neuer thought, that pallengers by sea wolde haue come so farre into the lāde, For this cause they had yll walles aboute their towne & also they were fallene in some parts & in other very lowe. And moreouer for that, that they feared none enterprise, they locked not in their gates. The Thracians than being entred into the towne did pillage it vtterly, aswell ỹ tēples & holly places, as the pryuate houses & prophane places, & this, which yet was worst, they dyd slay al that they foūde lyuinge, aswell the people of all sectes & ages, as also the beastes. For it is the nature and facyon of the Thracyans, whyche be people amonge all other, moste Barbarous, to do all sorte of crueltie, in whatsoeuer place that they be, wythout feare. And amonge the othere they committed and perpetrated one righte great myschiefe. For beinge entred into the place, where the thyldren of the towne were at schoole in ryghte greate nomber, they dyd slaye theym all. And that mischiefe was so greate and so soubdaynely and vnlokedde for, chancedde, that there was neuer in one Cytie a greater. Whereof the Thebayns beinge aduertysed, they all yssuedde fourthe incontynently vpon them, and founde them yet nyghe vnto the towne, and dydde putte theym into greatte feare, and in suche sorte, that at begynynge they forsoke all their bowtye, and afterwardes were chaledde fromethence, vntill the distraicte and there many of them were slayne, that coulde not sone ynoughe enter into their shippes, by cause of this chiefly, that those, whych were wythin the sayde shippes, parceyuynge the enemyes to approche, had withdrawin them into the sea out of danger of shott, whereby those that myght not enter, and that knewe not or couldenot swimme were all slayne: and there was the greateste slaughter. For vntille that they were arryuedde at the shoore of

Dytrepus.

Euripus.

Micalesius.

the lea,they retyredde all togider and in good order after their custome, so that they defended themself well against the horsemen of the Thebains which were the furst that assailled them, in suche sorte that they lost not manye of their people. But after that they were arryued at the sea syde in the sight of their shippes, they did breake their order, for to gett into the sayd shyps. Some were also yett founde in the sayd cytie, whiche remayned for to pillaige yt, who lykewyse were all slayne, so that of .xiii. houndredde Thracyans, that were there, was saued but twoo houndred and fyftie. And of the Thebains and other, whiche were comme wyth theyme, there were deade aboutes twenty all horsemen. Amongest whome was one of the officiers of the Beotians namedde Straphondas, and all those that were founde within Micalessus, receyued this crueltie and calamytie, which was greater than chanced to annye towne or cytie duryng that same warre, by al that time that yt endured. Stiphonda.

Of that whiche Demosthenes and Eurimedon Dukes of the Athenyans did in their voiage, sayllynge to the succours of the campe, that was at Sarragosse. And of the succours that arryued for those of the towne. And also of a battayll by lea, whiche the Athenyans had agaynste the Peloponesyans nigh vnto Naupactum.

☞ The.vi. Chapter.

AND for to retourne to that, whiche was done in Greece, after that Demosthenes had encloled with wall that place, wherof we haue spoke, in the countrey of Laconie, he departed fromethence for to passe into Corcyre, and in saillinge he founde in the poarte of Phia, whiche is in the countrey of Elyens, one barque charged wyth men of warre, beynge Corynthians, whiche wouldе haue gone into Sycille, whiche he sonke, but the people saued themself and afterwardes recouered an other, wherein they passeddе into Sycille. Fromethence Demosthenes passed into zalinthus and through Cephalenie, where he dyddе take men of warre, whiche he embarqued. Afterwardes he came fromethence to Naupacte, whider he causeд the Messenyans, to come, and fromethence he trauersed and passed into the lande of Acarnanie, which is on the other syde in the mayne lande, and there came vnto the townes of Alizea and of Anactoryum, whiche the Athenyans dyd holde. And he beynge there, it chanced that Eurymedon came agayne by the same lea of Sycille, whider he was sente that same wynter for to carye monney vnto the armye, who came to synde the sayd Demosthenes, and sayd vnto hym amongest other thynges, that he haddе learned, that the Syracusayns had recouered Plemyrium. Sone after Conon, that was cayptayne of Naupacte came vnto them, who shewed them that there were .xvb. galleis of the Corinthians for amempst Naupacte, which kept themself there, and ceassed not to come to prouoke hym, and demaunded nothynge but to fight. And therfore desyred them that they would delyuer hym suffycyente nomber of their shyps. For he had but .xviii. galleys with the whiche it was not mete for to fyght with .xvb. Wherunto Demosthenes and Eurymedon dyd agree, and delyuered hym tenne of their lightest galleis, with the which he retourned fromthence and they wente to their enterpryse for to leuie and gather people, to wyt, Eurymedon, who had bene already appoynted for collegue and compaigny on to Demosthenes, into Corcyre, where he cauleddе .xb. of his galleys, to be fynyshed wyth the people of the countrey: and Demosthenes through the countrey Zalinthus. Chephalenia. Phia. Anactorium. Conon.

of Acarnanie, from whence he ledde almanye archers, as he coulde into Sycille. After that the ambalIadours of the Syracusains, whiche had bene sent vnto the cyties of Sycille for to haue succours, had done their ambassade and hadde perswaded vnto many of them the thing which they demanded, & leuied the people of the sayd cities for to carye them to Sarragosse. Nycias, who was aduertised therof, sente vnto the cyties, whiche toke his parte, (by whiche the sayed men of warre should of necessitie passe, and specially to the Centoripins, & to the Alcyes) that they shulde not suffer theym to passe, but rather empesche theym, with all their power, for they coulde not welle eskape anye other waye, for that that the Agragantyns denyed theym passaige. Unto whyche request the sayd townes obeyde, and bestowed men in embushmentes at the passaiges in thre places, who secretly betrapped the sayed men of warre, in suche sorte that they dydde slay aboutes eyght houndred of theyme togiders with all their ambassadours retarned one whiche was a Corynthyan, who brought theyme that were sauedde to Sarragosse, whiche were aboute a thousande fyue houndredde And at the selfe tyme arryued other succours for the Syracusayns, to wyte, of Camerins, who sente fyue houndred men well armed and fyue houndred Archers, and the Gelyans fyue shyppes, wherein were foure houndred Arbalestriers and two houndredde horse. And for effecte (the Agregantins, that toke parte with the Athenyans excepted) the moste parte of all the countrey of Sycille (although that yet was not knowyn nor declared vntylle that presente tyme) sente succours to the sayed Syracusayns, who neuerthelas for the loste, whiche they hadde made of the sayd eight houndred men at the passages of Sycille durst not so sone inuade the Athenyans. During this tyme Demosthenes and Eurymedon, hauing assembledde a greate nomber of people alwelle of Corcire, as of the mayne lande, they passed the sea Jonium and came to aboorde at the promontorye of Lapigia, oute of whiche place and of the Iliandes Choreades there adioignynge, they leuyed one houndredde and fyftye Arbalestriers of the nation of Messapiens by consent of Artas Lorde of the place, with whome they renewed the amytie whiche hadde bene auncyently bitwene the Athenyans and hym. Beyng come from thence to aboorde at Metapontum, whyche ys in Italy, they perswadedde the people of the towne to delyuer theyme three houndredde archers and two shyps by vertue of their ancyent allyance. From ethence they came to aboorde at Thuria, where they lernedde that thole, whyche toke parte with the Athenyans were newely dryuene awaye: so they arrested there certayne dayes with all the armye for to vnderstande if there remaynedde anny parsone of the partetakers with the Athenyans within the sayed Cyte, and also for to make straicter allyance with theyme, to wyte to be frendes of frendes, and ennemyes of ennemyes. Aboutes this tyme the Peloponesyans, that ancredde with the .xcv. galleys for anempste Naupacte, for fuertie of the barques that shulde passe thereby, transporting the succours, that the sayd Peloponesyans sent to Sarragosse: appatrilled theymeself for to fight agaynste the galleys of the Athenyans, whiche were in the poarte of Naupacte, and hadde also furnysshed other shyppes, in suche sorte that they hadde almoste as greate a nomber, as the Athenyans, and came to ancre in an hauone of Achaia, calledde Rhypica nyghe to Erineum, whyche is in forme of the mone encreasynge, and they hadde bestowed in the rockes, whiche were at the sydes of the sayedde hauone, their footemen, alwelle of the Corynthyans, as of the people of the countrey: In suche manner that the armye by sea remaynedde in the myddelle welle wardedde from the lande all togiders, whereof Polyanthes Corynthien was chiefe. Agaynste whome the .xcvii. Athenyans galleys dyd come

Centoripini. Alycici. The Iliandes Choreades. Artas. Metapontum Thuria. Rhypica Erineti Polyanthus.

dyd come whiche were in the poarte of Naupacte, wherof Diphilus was chiefe, whiche parceyued, the Corynthians in the begynnyng kepte theymeselfi in their forte wythoute marchynge further. But afterwardes whan they thought good, they marched agaynst the Athenyans. The one armye dyd faight long agaynst the other, in suche sort that thre Corinthians galles were sonken: as touching the Athenyans although that there were none of them drowned: yet there were seuene of theym krussheddе and bruised in their foore partes with the beckes of the Corynthyans, that was more stronge than theirs, and also the Oares broken on the one syde, in suche māner that they were vtterly destroyed and vnprofitable for to saille. And in effect the battaile was of suche sorte, that euery of the parties pretended to haue had the victorye. Neuertheias the Athenyans receyued their shyppe wrackes, but beyng charged wyth a great wynde, they retyred the one of the one syde and the other an other waye, to wytt, the Peloponesians into their hauone, where they were in suertie by meane of their people that were in the lande, and the Athenyans vnto Naupacte. After whiche departure the Corynthians dydde incontinently reyse vp a Trophee by cause of the shyppes which they had destroied and crussheddе in greater nomber than those, which they had loste, reputinge theymselfe not to be vainquisheddе, for the selfe reasone, for whyche the ennemyes reputed theymeselfe also not to haue vaynequisshed. For that that it semedde to the Corynthyans not to haue bene vainequisshed, excepte the victory of theyr ennemyes had bene greate. Also the Athenyans to the contrarye helde themselfi as for ouercome, if they had not great victory. Notwythstanding after that the Peloponesians were gone oute of the sayed hauone and their footemen departed fromethence, the Athenyans reysed vp a trophee in Achaia, as victorious, although that they were more than twenty stades a farre of the place, frome Erimeum, where the Corynthyans shipps were. This ysshue had the battaille by sea betwene them. Dyphylus.

¶ Howe in the meane time that Demosthenes and Eurimedon were in their voiage for to come to succoure the campe of the Athenyans in Sycille, the Syracusayns had a victory by sea agaynste the sayd Athenyans, that kepte them assieged.

☞ The.viii. Chapter.

After that the Thuriens were allyed or confederated wyth the Athenyans, as hath bene abouesayd. Demosthenes and Eurymedon caused them to fournysshe seuene houndred men well armedde and three houndred darte casters, the which they embarqued and commanded them, that they shulde go fromthence straighe into the quarter of Crotona. And they, after that they had taksene mousster of their men nigh the ryuer of Sibaris, ledde them through the lande of the Thuriens agaynst Crotona. But being arryued in the ryuer of Hylias, they founde certene messengers of the Crotoniens, whyche declared vnto theyme, that their Lordes were not wyllynge that they shulde passe throughe their lande. By occasion whereof they toke their waye towardes the sea, alongest the sayd ryuer, and being arryued in the quarter, where it encreth into the sea, they lodged there their hoste, where their shippes aryued, whereunto beyng all mounted they sailled fromthence alongest that same coast, practysynge all the cytyes that were vpon thesame, excepte the cytye of Locres, and fynally they came to the place of Petra, whiche was in the lande of the Rhegins. In Sybaris. Hylias. Petra.

gins. In this meane tyme the Syracusains, beynge aduertised of their compynge, enterprysed afresshe for to proue and assay the fortune of battaile by sea, and also appoyncted a good nomber of footemen by lande. Nowe they hadde dressed a good nomber of ships of an other sorte, than they had done in the furst battaile, for that, that in the same, they had learned & parceyued the faulte of those, which they than had, wherupon hauing prouyded for the same faulte, they hoped well to haue the victorye, for they had shortened the beckes and poynctes of the foore partes of their shyps for to make them more firme and more stiffe, and also they had armed the wastes or sydes of their sayed shyps with greate peces of woode of .vi. Cubittes of length almuche within, as without, of the selfe sorte, that the Corynthians had done with their ships, whan they did fight against the Athenians at Naupacte. And it semed well vnto them, that by that meane compynge against the Athenians shippes, whiche shulde not be made of that same sorte, but shulde haue their foore partes longer and more subtile, for that, that they come not rycht for to schocke with the poynct, but wēt more sydelyng for to strike on the sydes, their shyps shulde be as good and better than the othere. And that hauing to fight within the poarte wyth great nomber of ships, there shulde not be space for to saille by tourneying or in course, but must of necessitie come afronte, wherby the poynctes of their shyps beyng strongest & better armed with Irone than the other they shuld easely crusche and bruse them. And by that meane they hoped that the same, which at the other battaile had caused thē to lose through ignorance of their mariners: shulde nowe cause them to haue the victorye. And also those same Athenyās shulde not haue facultie and power for to withdrawe their shippes at their will, for afterwardes to come againe to schocke on those of the ennempes as they hadde done the other tyme, excepte that they shulde withdrawe theyme frome the lande syde, and yett frome the same coaste they coulde haue no greate espace for to doo yt, and also they shoulde fynde the Syracusayns on the shoore, whyche shoulde be readye for to endomage theym and for to succour the same Syracusains, and moreouer being in a straict place, they shuld empesche and let the one the other, whiche thynge had alwayes causedde greate anoyance and hurte vnto the Athenyans in all their battayiles by sea, for that, that they coulde not withdrawe theymself so easely, as the Syracusayns, who hadde the smalle poarte wholy in their power, and also kepte the mouthe of the greate poarte empeschedde, and by that meane, they hadde the mayne sea, where the Athenyans hadde for all their feate, but onely the greate poarte, whiche was not spacious ynoughe, and also they hadde Plemyrium agaynste theyme, whiche was in the mouthe of the sayed greate poorte. In thys manner the Syracusayns deuysedde their affaire in good hope to haue honour thereby for the reasons abouesayed, and dydde execute yt in the forme, whiche followeth. For Gylippus a lytle before the sayd battaille, dyd sett fourthe of the cytie his footemen veray nyghe the walle of the Athenyans frome the coaste of the same cytye. On the other syde, those, that were at Olympus, aswelle horsmen as footemen lightlye armedded, and darte casters came lykewyse agaynste the sayed walle on both sydes. And sone after, the shyps of the Syracusayns yssued fourth, aswelle their owne, as the same of their allyes. Whan the Athenyans perceyued the sayd shyps of the ennempes for to come fourth, they all were thereby greatlye trowbledde. For hauyng sene the footemen a lytle before marchyng towardes the wall, they thought not, that there shulde haue bene anny other busynes. Neuerthelas they gathered themself all togider and dyd putt themself in battaille, some vpon the walles and some other within, some for to resist the casters on horsbacke lightly armed

armed,some within their shyps and the other on the shoares of the greate porte, and alongest the bankes for to succour their shippes. And after that the shippes were charged,whiche were founde to be.lxvb.they marched agaynst the othere, whiche were foore skoare. And so they dyd fyght togiders all that same daye, geuing greate assaultes,the shippes of the one partie,agaynste the other,wythoute that they myght do any thing of great importance nother of the one syde nor of the other,but that the Syracusayns did sinke one or two shippes of thennemys and fynally towardes night departed,and euery one retyredde into his quarter. And they of the towne,that were come oute of the towne agaynste the walles of the Athenyans dyd the lyke. The morowe after the Syracusains did nothynge, and also shewed that they would do nothing. For this cause Nycias,hauing sene that the daye preceedinge they were egall,doubtinge least that they would haue ones againe essayed fortune,he comanded the patrons & capitains of his shippes that they shulde repaire their shipps,those whiche had bene by any meanes crussched or bruised. Afterwardes he caused his platt barques to be wdrawn, which he had made to be encloled in a corner of the great porte with pales for to be in suertie,and caused them to be caste and lanched into the sea distance & separated the one from the other,the space of a dayes labour of grounde,to the ende that if by faightynge any of his galleys were oppressed,he myght recouer the sayd barques. In suche preparations & other like the Athenyans cõsumed that same day and the night following. The morowe following the Syracusains came fourth alwelle by sea as by lande in the same sorte as they issued fourth the daye before, reserued that they came in a better houre,and also did fight the greatest parte of the day in the manner that they had done in the former battaille,wythout that it were perceyuedde that the one partie had in any thinge aduantage of the othere. Than Ariston Corynthian, whiche was the beste maronner and patrone that was in the armye of the Syracusayns causedde yt to be knowin vnto the other capytaynes of the shyppes,that they shulde sende with all diligence of their men into the cytie and he wouldde do the lyke for to geue order that men shulde constrayne those whyche had victuailles ready to bryngе them to be solde to the sea syde, to the intente that they myghte cause all their people soubdaynely to be repasted,and fourthwyth to mounte agayne into their shyppes and to assayle the ennemyes vnlooked for or vnprouyded,whiche thinge was done,and in a right shorte space, greate habundance of victuailles hauynge bene brought to the sea banke,they retyredde faire and easely for to dyne. The Athenyans perceyuynge whyche thynge, and thynkynge that they had retyred as vainequisshed, they retyred lykewyse,and landed some for to make the dynner ready, and the other to do other bulynes,not thynkynge that for that same daye,there shulde haue bene any battaille by sea. But sone after they dyd see the Syracusayns,which had dynedde,to come soubdainely agaynste theyme in greate haste, whereof they were greatly abaisshed,and yet neuerthelas embarqued theymeselfe agayne tumultuously and oute of order,as faste as they couldе,the moste parte,before that they had eatene any thyng and came to mete the sayd ennemyes. And whan they were in sight and berye nyghe the one vnto the other, they planted theymself alwelle on the one syde as of the other for to deuyse aither of theyme, howe they myghte assault hys ennemyes to hys aduantage,neuerthelas the Athenyans reputynge yt for greate shame,that the ennemyes should surmount,excell and passe them in enduringe laboure and trauaille,they dydde furste geue the signe of battaille and came to geue charge vpon their sayd ennemyes,who receyued theyme wyth the poyncte of the foore partes of their shyppes welle armedde, and well strengthened,

thened, lyke as they had determyned, in suche sorte, that they crussched a greate parte of theyme and dyd breake the poynte of their oares, and afterwardes oute of the toppe castelles of the sayd shyppes, wyth greate stroackes of stoanes and of dartes dyd greatly hurte thole, that were wythin. But the small lyght shypps of the Syracusayns dyd them yet more hurte, which came to assaille and hurte them wyth castynges of dartes and wt hande stroakes on all sydes in suche manner that the Athenyans were constrayned to putt themself into flyght and wyth the ayde of their barques retyred into their campe, for the Syracusayns durste not followe theym further than to the sayd barques, for that, that they had their saille yardes lyfted vp so high with Dolphins of leade hanging in them, that the shyps of thennemyes coulde not abourde them withoute danger to be crussched whiche thynge happened vnto two of them, whiche came to boldely vpon them, and one other was takene wyth the men that was wythin yt. But seuene of the Athenyans shyps were sonken and many crussched, and moreouer a greate nomber of their people deade and takene. By reason of the whiche victory, the Syracusayns repyed vp their Trophee, perswadyng themself fromethensforwardes to be stronger, than the Athenyans by sea, and that they shulde be in shorte tyme as stronge wyth footemen as they, through occasyon wherof they prepared themself for to assaille theym at an other tyme.

Howe Demosthenes and Eurimedon being arryued in the campe before Sarragosse, and hauynge by night assaulted the rampares of the Syracusayns at Epipole, were repoulsed and had greate losse of their men.

The.viii. Chapter.

In thies enterseates, Demosthenes and Eurymedon arryued in the campe of the Athenyans wyth.lxxiii. shyppes aswell of their owne as of their allyes, which caryed aboute fyue thousande warryours fotemen partely of their people and partely of their sayed allyes and subiectes togiders with a great nomber of other barbarous and strangers and flyngers, archers and darte casters, aswell of Greece as of other countreis, wherof the Syracusayns were greatly astonyed, and partepued no meane to be hable to eschape and resist one so greate a puissance, sithens that the Athenyans beinge assieged in their countrey by meane of Decelea, hadde neuerthelas sente thider one so greate succours, as puissant as the furst, wherby they iudged their puissance not to be withstande, and considerynge also that their furst armye, whiche had bene repoulsed and beatene in the former battaille, dyd recouer couraige by the commynge thereof. Demosthenes, after that he was arryued, dyd immediatly geue order for to execute his enterpryse and to employ his force as sone as he coulde, for auoyding the errour whiche Nycias had before comyted, who, beyng come into suche reputation that all Sycille was thereby afrayde, yet neuerthelas for that, that at the arryuall he came not before Sarragosse, but consumedde many dayes at Catana, he bothe losste hys reputacion, and also Gylippus, by meane of his retardance & slackenes had had time for to bring to Sarragosse, the succours of Peloponese before his aryual. Which succours, thole same Syracusains shuld not haue had nother yet demanded, if Nicias had assieged thē at the aryual, reputing thē not to be puissāte ynough for to defende their towne against the force of the said Nycias, though neuerthelas they afterwardes did knowe the contrary, but that shulde haue bene to late whan they shulde haue bene encloseddde on all sydes, in

lydes, in luche lorte that the luccours coulde no more haue comme vnto theym in tyme. Demoſthenes conſideryng whyche thynges, and alſo that themnempes ſhoulde be greatly afrayedde of hys commynge, he woulde, that ſelfe daye that he arryuedde, doo ſome feate. And ſeynge that the walle, whyche the Syracuſayns hadde made ouerthwarte, that ſame of the Athenyans for to empeſche and lett that men ſhoulde not lynyſche yt, was all lyngle and that one myghte eaſely beate it downe: after that he had gottene Epipole, and the rampares that were there made, wherin were noe people, that might reſiſt his ſtrength: he haſted for to aſſaulte it, truſtynge in a ſmall tyme to ſee an ende of the warre, for he purpoſed aither to take Sarragoſſe by force, oreiles to leade and carye agayne all that ſame armye into hys countrey wythoute any more trauaillynge all the Athenyans, aſwelle thoſe that were there, as the other that remayned. In this enterpryſe the Athenyans entred into the lande of the Syracuſayns, and furſt did go for to ouercome the quarter of Anapus, which they pillaged, and waſted, and alſo kept yt at their wyll as they had done bifore tyme, for that, that no men warre yſſued fourthe agaynſte theyme, nother by ſea, nor by lande, exrepte the horſemen and darte caſters, whiche were in Olympus. Afterwardes it ſemed good to Demoſthenes for to aſſaille the rampares of the ennempes wyth engynes of artillerye, but the Syracuſayns fourthwyth after that the ſayd engynes were nyghe vnto the rampares, dyd ſett fyer therein: and thoſe, that were deputedde for to aſſaile them in dyuers places, were repouſſed, by occaſion whereof he cauſed his people to retyre, and it ſemed not expediente vnto hym to loſe any more time there, but rather to aſſault Epipole, which thyng he perſwaded Nycyas and hys other colegues to do, but he coulde not do it in ſuche time, but that the ennempes ſhulde parceyue yt. For this cauſe they comanded that euery ſouldyar, ſhulde make prouyſion of victuailles, for fyue dayes for hymſelfe, and moreouer they cauſed all the maſons, and carpenters that were in the hoſte to aſſemble togider, and a greate nomber of people, for to gather and carye ſtoanes togiders with all thinges that were neceſſarye for to buylde and reyſe vp walles and rampares, and a greate quantitie of darces, ſhaftes and of all thynges to caſte wyth the hande, to the intente to beate downe incontinently a fortreſſe in the ſayd place of Epipole, if they coulde take it. That done in begynnynge of the nyghe, he, Eurymedon and Menander marched with the greateſt partie of the armye agaynſt the ſayd place of Epipole, and lefte Nycyas for to warde the walles, and ſo they came betye nigh fromthe rocke vnto the place that is calledde Euriclens, bifore that the watche of the Syracuſayns, whiche was at the furſte walle, parceyued theyme, and toke the furſte walle of the ennempes, and dydde ſlaye one parte of theyme that wardedde yt. The othere, and the more parte ſauedde theymeſelf, and certefyed the comyng of the ennempes vnto three wardes that were there, to wytt, that ſame of the Syracuſayns, that ſame of the other Sycilians, and that ſame of their othere allyes, but pryncipally and furſte, the fyre houndredde Syracuſains, that warded that ſame quarter, who, though that they defended themſelf valyantly, were yet neuerthelas repouſſedde by Demoſthenes, and by the Athenyans, and all with one power chaſing them they followed theym to the other wardes, that they ſhulde not haue ſpace to locke themſelf togider againe nother to the othere for to defende themſelf, with ſuche diligence, that they toke all the ſaid rampares and bullwerkes and immediatly began to raſe them downe fromthe heighe of them. Than the Syracuſayns and Eſſippus, ſeynge the audacytie of the Athenyans, to be ſo comme for to aſſaulte their rampares in the nyght, they yſſuedde fourth of their quarters whiche they warded, & came to geue charge vpon them

but at the beginning they were repoulsed. Neuerthelas afterwardes the Athenians marching further without order, as people whiche had the victory, and also for that, that they feared, that onles they vsed diligence to execute their enterprise and to beate downe the rampares, the ennemys shulde haue leasure to assemble themself againe, they hasted the most that they might for to breake and grinde down the sayd rampares. But afore that they had fully repoulsed the ennemys, they were repoulsed furst by the Thebayns, who furst sustayned their force and afterwardes by the othere, so that they were putt to flyght, whereun there was greate disorder and losse and manye dangers and difficultes whyche myght not welle be sene for that, that yt was nyght. For euene of thynges, whiche be done in the day tyme, men cannot knowe for trouth the certaintie of the whole by those that were thereat, for that, that scarcely any one man can declare what was done where he was and moste nyghe vnto hym, wherefore it ys impossible to knowe distinctly what hathe bene done in a conflicte by night betwene twoo greate hoastes. And althoughe that the moone dydde shyne that same nyght, yet the clerenes was not so greate that one myght welle knowe twoo men, thoughe that he dyd see the parsones, not her iudge whiche was frende or ennemye. And somuche the lesse that they were manye and in greate nomber locked togiders in a smalle place, alwelle of the one syde as of the other. But in effecte the Athenyans beinge in one quarter repoulsedde by the othere, that followedde their furste victory, the one mountedde vpon the rampares of the Syracusayns, the othere came to the succours of their people, and knewe not whider that they shoulde goo, for that, that beyng the furst in flyght, and the cry greate, a man coulde not vnderstande nor see by anye tokene by cause of the nyght, and moreouere in repoulsynge the ennemyes, whome they encountredde made lykewyse greate cryes. On the other syde the Athenyans dydde searche and wouldde haue chosene oute their people, and for that, that they were in flyght, all those, whiche they encountredde they suspectedde to be their ennemyes, and hauyng none other meane to knowe the one the othere, but by the crye of the nyght in demaundynge the one after the othere, they made greate bruyte whereby greate trouble dydde lykewyse ensue, and also they declared by that meane vnto the ennemyes their sayd crye, who, insomuche as they hadde the victorye and were not afrayed, as the Athenyans were, dydde knowe theymselfe the better, by meane whereof, if anye of the sayed ennemyes dydde fynde theymself in smalle nomber amonge any greate floate of the Athenyans, they toke vppe their crye, and by that meane escapedde, where the Athenyans, whyche knewe not the same of the enenemyes there as they were founde weakest, were slayne. And furdermore there was one thynge, whyche troubled them more than all the rest, to wytt, the sounde of instrumentes and the songes whyche men dydde synge for the victorye. For the ennemyes and those that were wyth the Athenyans, as the Argyues, the Corcyriens and al the other Dorysans dydde sounde and synge all of one facyon, whereby at all and alsmanye tymes as that was done, those same Athenyans knewe not on whyche syde yt was done nothere to what purpose. By all the whyche thynges trouble was so greate amongeste theyme, that after they encountredde togider, they dydde fyght, before that they couldde knowe the one the othere, and those, whyche fledde, knewe not what waye to kepe. Whereby yt chancedde that there were manye of them, that tombledde downe of the rocke into hollowe places, and where the waye failed theyme, beynge pursuedde and oppressed by the ennemyes dydde slaye theymself, for that that the place of Epipole was very hygh, and there were fewe compynges and wayes thereunto, the whyche were also verye straight, so that yt was verye

harde to

harde to kepe theym beyng in flyght, specially the lower waye. And also of those, that hadde escaped vnto the playne, they, whyche hadde bene at the siege frome the begynnynge, for that, that they hadde knowlaige of the places saued theymselfe in their campe. But they that were newly come, coulde not kepe the waye, but rather wente wandrynge throughe the feldes, who beyng parceyued by the horsemen their ennemyes, after that it was daye, were all slayne. The daye followynge the Syracusayns repledde vp twoo Trophees, to wytt, the one at the entrynge of Epipole, and the othere in the place, where the Thebayns made the furste resistence. And the Athenyans, confessynge vnto theyme the victorye, demandedde their deade men whiche were in ryght greate nomber, but yet there was founde muche more harnes, than there were deade people, for that, that those, whyche fledde in the nyght, by the smalle rockes, and were constraigned to leape frome a greate heighe downe, in manye places dydde caste of their harnes for to be more easye, whereby there were manye, whyche sauedde theymselfe.

Howe the Athenians after manye consultations, beinge determyned to reyse vp the siege, and to departe fromethence, taryedde styll through a superstition.

☞ The.ix. Chapter.

THys vnhoped victorye caused the Syracusayns to recouer and take agayne both herte and audacitie, as before tyme. whereby vnderstādynge that the Agragantyns were in some diuision amongest themselfe, they sente thider Sycanus, for to essaye whider that he coulde wythdrawe theym to their allyance. On the other syde Gylippus went by lande vnto the cyties of Sycille, for to demande of theyme reenforte or newe succours of men, hopyng by meane therof, and for the victory, which the Syracusains had had at Epipole, to take the walles of the Athenyans by force. Duryng this time, the Dukes and chiefeste of the armye of the Athenyans were in greate sorowe, considerynge the ouerthrowe that they had receyuedde by the incomoditie of the campe, and of the armye whiche was in suche necessitie, that all generallye were greued and wery of that same siege, specially bycause that it was all full of maladies, and diseases, by twoo reasons. The one, for the seasone of the yeare, which was than moste subiected to diseases. The othere by reasone of the place, where the campe was, for there were marrelles and lowe places, and in the reste verye incomodious. For the whiche reasones, Demosthenes was of opynyon that men ought not to tarye there. For sithens that yt was my happenedde of the enterpryse of Epipole, whyche he hadde made, yt semedde to hym better for to departe fromethence, than for to tarye there, forsomuche as the sea was than good, and by reasone of the shyppes whiche he hadde brought, he was more stronge by sea, than the ennemyes. And on the othere syde ytt semedde vnto hym more conuenient and more necessarye to sayle for to defende their proper lande, where the ennemyes hadde encloseddde and fortefyedde a towne: than to consume the tyme and a greate quantytye of monney at the siege of a towne in a farre countrey, whereby there was no hope to take ytt. Suche was the opynyon of Demosthenes. But Nycyas, althoughe that he knewe all theis

difficulties, yett he woulde not conſelle theyme publiquely in that ſame aſſemblie, nother agree that the ſiege ſhoulde be reaſed and brokene of, fearynge leaſte yt ſhould comme to the knowlaige of the ennemyes. And moreouer he hadde yet ſomme hope, for that that he knewe the affaires of the cytie better than anny of hys collegues and compaignions, and conſidered that the length of the ſiege was more to the diſaduantage of the Syracuſayns than vnto theirs, for that that they conſumedde ſo muche monney, markedde ſpecially the greate armye, whiche they ſuſteignedde by ſea. And alſo that ſame Nycyas hadde ſecrete intellygence and confederation wyth ſome of the towne whyche wylledde hym ſecretly, that he ſhoulde not diſlodge. For all the whyche reſpectes he maigntaignedde the matter and interruptedde the opynyon of thoſe, that woulde that the ſiege ſhoulde haue bene reyſedde, attendynge what myghte chance, and ſayed openly that men oughte not to breake yt, and that he would neuer conſente therto for ſomuche as he knewe welle, that if they ſhoulde doo yt wythoute lycence of the Athenyans, they woulde not be therewyth contentedde. And that thoſe whyche ſhulde iudge vpon them whyder they hadde done wellie or euill, ſhulde not be of theyme that hadde bene in the campe, and that hadde ſene the neceſſities of the armye: but they ſhoulde be othere people, whyche woulde not geue layth to that, whyche the ſouldyars woulde laye: but ſoner to thoſe, whyche ſhulde accuſe theyme and charge theyme by ſought or ſtudyed meanes. And chiefly the moſte parte of thoſe ſame ſouldyars which were there and cryed that men ought to departe, whan they were retourned to Athens, would laye wholy otherwyſe, to wytt, that they hadde not bene of the opynyon for to departe, but rather that the Dukes had bene corrupted for money, wherfore he, whiche knewe the nature of the Athenians, would not put himſelf in hazarde to be condempned as ſlouthfull and naughty but he loued muche better to endure the danger of his perſone agaynſte the ennemyes, if nede requyred it. And beſydes that, he ſhewed thē that the ennemys were in muche woorſe eſtate than they, for ſomuch as they were at great charge and expences for to waage huyred ſouldyars and alſo for to enterteigne one ſo great an army by ſea which they had already ſuſteigned one whole yeare for to warde, and defende the townes of their allyance, & alſo were in great neceſſities of victuailles and of all other thynges, in ſuche ſorte, that it ſhulde be impoſſible for theym to ſuſteigne longer that charges. For he knewe for trouthe that they had already ſpente more than twoo thowſande talentes and alſo were yet in great debte, and that if they failled neuer ſo lytle in payment of the huyred ſouldiars, they ſhoulde be deſtroyed, for their force was more of eſtrangers than of their oune people, whiche thyng was all otherwyſe among them, wherfore he concluded that they oughtē to continue the ſiege and not to departe fromeyt, as though they were moſt nedy and lacking monney, where as they were much better fournyſhed therof. Suche was the ſpeaking of Nycias, hauing for right certaine the neceſſitie of the ennemys, chiefly of monney, and alſo groundynge himſelfe, vpon that, whiche, they, wyth whome he had intelligence and conſederation in the towne, had required of hym, to wytt, that no man ſhulde remoue, and truſtyng moreouer in the armye by ſea whiche they than had muche more puiſſant, than whan that he was vanquiſſhed, bifore that the renforte or newe ſuccours was arryued. Notwithſtādyng Demoſthenes perſeuered ſtyll in hys opynion to reiſe the ſiege and for to departe fromthence into Greece. And although it was deuyſed not to remoue out of the ſayd countrey wythoute lycence, yet he was of opynyon that they ſhulde retyre to Thaplus or to Catana. Out of whiche places they myght come for to ouerronne & pillage the lande of the ennemyes and well

enterteigne

enterteigne theymeself and also shoulde haue the sea at their commandemente for to be hable to goo and to comme and to fyght at their ease whan yt shoulde be requisitt, where as they were constraigned and locked vp alwelle by sea as by lande. And for conclusion, it semed not to hym that in any whatsoeuer maniere, they shulde tarye longer there, but that they shulde incontinently departe without longer tarying. Eurymedon agrede to his opinyon. But notwithstandyng that which he made, Nycyas cauled the thynge to be delayed. And somuche the more, that it was ymagined that the same Nycyas, who had more knowlaige of thaffaire, than any of the other: woulde not haue cleued so vnto that same opynyon wythoute some greate reasone. And by that meane the armye remayned there stille. Durynge this, Gylippus and Sicanus dyd come agayne to Sarragosse, to wytt, Sicanus wythoute haunge bene hable to do any thynge wyth the Agregantyns, for that, that he, beynge yet at Gela, the partie, whiche helde wyth the Syracusayns, had bene chased awaye by the other partie. But Gylippus commynge frome the cyties of Sycille brought a greate nomber of men of warre out of the sayd countrey, and also those, whiche the Peloponesians hadde sente ymmediatly after the begynnyng of the spryng tyme in the barques, whiche were descended at Selynute, comyng out of Lybie, whither they were come to abooyde in that same voiage at their departure oute of Grece. And haunge bene ayded and succoured by those of Cyrena, wyth two galleys, and twoo good Pilotes and maroners, were come to the succours of the Euesperites agaynste Euespethe Lybyans, who made warre agaynst them, and haunge vainquisheddethe rite. sayd Lybyans were comme to lande, at newe Chartage, fromewhence there is a right smalle space by sea, vnto Sycille, so that in two dayes and one nyght, at their departure fromethence they were come to lande, at Selinunte. That same succours being than arryued, the Syracusayns made theymeselfe eftsones ready for to assaille the ennemyes alwelle by sea, as by lande. On the other syde the Athenyans, seynge the succours that was come into the towne, and that their case proceded frome euyll into wooyse, chiefly by the maladies which increased, more and more, they repented theymself greatly that they were not sonner dislodged. and also Nycyas dyd no more speake so stiffye agaynste it, but onely sayed that the cause ought to be kepte secrett. Accordynge vnto whose opynyon it was causled to be knowyn throughout all the armye the moste secretly that myght be, that they shoulde geue order to their case, for to dislodge, whan they shoulde heare the signe of dislodgynge. But in the meane tyme as they prepareddethey meselfe, a Clipse of the moone, beyng at the full, dyd happene, whyche thynge manye of the Athenyans dyd take, for an euyll pronostication and dissuaded greatly to the Dukes for to departe. But aboue all Nycyas, who was greatly geuene to suche fantasies, made a greate matter therof, and sayed that they shoulde not in anny manner of the woryde departe vntylle.xxvii. dayes after, for suche was the counsaille and aduise of a stronomers and dyuinours. and vpon this occasion the enterpryse of departure was broken of.

Howe the Syracusains hauyng had an other victorye by sea against the Athenians, they enforced theymselfe for to enclose theym wythin the poorte, whiche they dyd kepe.

☞ The.x. Chapter.

THe Syracusayns, understandynge the determynation of the Athenyans and howe they wouldе dislodge, were so muche the more attentife and diligente for to lett theyme, that they shulde not departe. For insomuche as they enterpryled for to reyse byge pryuely yt was good to knowe that they perceiued themselfe the more feeble and weake both by lande, and by sea. And moreouer the Syracusains would not suffer, that at their departure fromethence, they shulde goo to lodge theymselfe in any place in Sycille, ouer of the whyche they myght doo theym more euylle, than fromethence, where they were. For thys cause they deliberated to constrayne theym to fighte by sea ymmediatly as they shulde see their aduauntage, and so embarqued there men and causedde theym to tarye there certene dayes. The daye beynge come, whiche semedde vnto theym propice and mete, one parte of the men of warre yssuedde fourthe furste agaynste the walles of the Athenyans, and certaine of the warrpours alwelle footemen as horsemen of the Athenenyans yssued fourthe by some of the poortes to mete theym, although that they were in a small nomber, by occasion wherof they were ryght sone repoulsed, and a certene nomber of the sayd footemen and.lxx horsemen or theraboutes of the Athenyans were taken and some of the other, and that done the Syracusayns retyred. The day folowyng, they yssued fourth agaynst them by sea with.lxxvii.shyps, and came also by lande agaynst the sayd walles. On the other syde the Athenyans yssued by sea, with.lxxvi.shyps in battaile, wherof Eurymedon hadde the ryght poynte, who comming to the conflict, went about to enuirone and compasse in the shyps of the Syracusayns, & that to do, he did put his poynct at large towarde the lande. By meane wherof those Syracusayns had better leasure for to charge vpon the Athenyans shyps that remayned in the myddest naked & destitute of the ayde of the sayd Eurymedone, & so did put them to flight after the aryualle, and afterwardes did come to geue charge vpon the ship of the sayed Eurymedon, whyche was incloseddе in a corner of the poorte in the moste depthe, and so dydde sinke it wyth the sayd Eurymedon and with all the other that were wythin it, and that done, dydde geue the chase vnto al the other shipps and followed them euen vnto the lande. Gylippus, seynge whyche thynge, and that the shipps of thennemyes were already palleddе their inclosure with paales whiche they hadde made in the sea, and also the place, where he had his armye at the sea syde, for to defeate and destroye those, that wouldе descende to lande, and to the ende that the Syracusayns myghte more easely take the shyppes of the ennemyes, whan the sayeddе Syracusains shoulde perceyue that the lande was kepte for their frendes, he came wyth one parte of hys men vnto the mouthe of the poorte for to ayde the Syracusayns, but the Tyrrenyens, who had by fortune than the kepynge and warde of that same quarter for the Athenyans came to mete theym)and at the begynnyng, repoulsed and dyd put the formost to flyght, and chased them vnto a marreys that is called Lylimelia)neuerthelas the other parte of the sayd Syracusains & of their allyes dyd sone after come for to succour those there. On the other syde the Athenyans also yssued out of their cãpe with great strength alwel for to succour their sayd people, as also for to saue their shippes, and there was a greate

Eurymedon.

great battaille: but fynally the Athenyans had the victorie and dyd slay a greate nomber of the other. And also saued one greate parte of their shippes, notwithdinge there were. xviii. of them taken, and they that were wyth theym, slayne. And moreouer myndinge to burne the reste, they did fylle an olde Barque with drye woode, and wyth the other matter mete to fyer, afterwardes they sette it in waye towardes the sayde shippes, hauinge a good wynde, whiche dyd dryue the Barque into that same parte. But the Athenyans, seynge that danger, vsed suche diligence aswel to quenche the fyer, as to kepe of the sayd Barque, that they eskaped the same danger. For that same battaille, both parties reysed vp a Trophee, to wytt the Syracusains, for the takynge of the shippes, whyche they had recouered, and also for the men, whyche they at the begynnyng had taken and slaine byfore the Athenyans walls, and the Athenyans for that, that the Thyrrenians had repoulsed the formoste fotemen into the marreys, and afterwardes they & the other of the Athenyans parte, had repoulsed the whole bende of the Syracusains, whan they had the victorye by sea. The Athenyans parceyuinge the Syracusains, who at begynnynge were all afrayde of the succours, that Demosthenes had brought, to haue had one so greate victorie ouer them, were all therof astonyed, and dasshed out of couraige: for so muche chiefly as it therin was chansed whole contrary to that, whyche they thought, namely to be vaynquished in the sea by a lesser nomber of shyppes than they had: and than they were yet more angry, and all the Athenians repentedde themselfe, that were in that same army, to haue enterprysed warre agaynste the Syracusains, who gouerned by the communaltie, and in that same sorte, as they of Athenes, and also were puissante aswell of shippes, as of footemen and horsemen. Whereby those same Athenyans could not hope to haue therin any partie of those that were vtin, nother through hatred of the comon gouernement secretly wyth them, nor also for to vaynquish them easely, being aswell prouyded wyth all preparations of warre, as they, and by thies reasons they were not onely the more angry, but also in greate sorrowe for their affayre, and somuche the more they losste their courayge, that they parceyued themselfe to haue bene vainquished in that partie, wherof they doubted leaste: to wytt by sea. On the other syde the Syracusains fourthwyth after the victorie, compassynge aboute the greate porte, wherein the Athenyans shyppes were, determynedde for to shutte vp the mouthe of the entringe, in suche sorte, that the same Athenyans shulde no more yssue fourth, wythout beinge parceyued: for they studyed no more to saue themself, but for to empesche that the ennemyes shulde not saue theirself, consyderynge, as the trouthe was, that at that present they hadde the better: and that if they myghte vaynquishe aswell by sea as by lande, they shulde acquire and obteigne a greate glory and renome in alle Grece: whyche shulde be in parte delyuered out of the seruytude and bondage of the seruytude and bondage of the sayde Athenyans: and partlye frome feare to tomble into yt: for hauynge had suche a foyle or ouerthrowe, they shulde neuere after be hable for to sustteigne warre agaynste the Peloponesyans: wherby those selfe Syracusayns hauynge bene cause therof, they shulde be hadde in greate admyration, aswell to the lyuynge, as to those that shulde come after. And not for thys reason onely, it semed vnto theyme to be a laudable thynge to make theire strength for the intentes and endes, as is abouesayde, but also for thys, that in that doynge they shulde not onely vaynquishe the Athenyans: but rather many other their allyes, and also the victorie shulde not serue for them onely, but for them also, whyche had bene aydynge vnto them. Of whom, by occasyon ther of, they shulde be fromthensforwardes Dukes wyth the Lacedemonyans and

the Corinthyans: hauinge putt their cytie, into so greate dangier, and shewed so greate puissance by sea. For many other Cyties and nations dyd come togiders for to assaulte & defende that same cytie. The one to be participant of the prayes and buties, not of that same Cytie onely, but of all the Isle of Sycille: The other for to kepe & conserue their goodes and estates. And they that medled not therin for the one nor the other partie, dydde yt more for some fantasie, or for some parentage, whyche they hadde of the one or wyth the other, than hauing regarde aither to the profitt or to the necessytie, eyther ells to that, whych myght chance. And for to knowe parfaictly or distinctly, what they were, whyche entermedled and mett togyders in thys warre, alwell of thone syde as of the other, they were thies, that followe.

The Cytyes and people whyche entermedled, mett, or toke parte togiders in the warre of Sycille, alwell on the one one syde, as of the other.

¶ The.xi. Chapter.

The Athenyans, whyche be Ionyans, hauyng enterprised the warre agaynste the Syracusayns, who be Doziens, had wyth them, those of their owne speache & that lyued in the self lawes, to wytt, the Lemnyens, the Egynetes, to wytt, those, that than inhabyted in the cytie of Egyne, the Estiens, whyche helde the cytie of Estie in the countrey of Eubea, and many other their allyes, the one lyuinge in lybertie, and the other trybutaires and captyues: to wytt, of the subiectes and trybutairies of the sayde countrey of Eubea, the Eretriens, the Chalcides, the Stytziens and the Carystiens and of the Ilandes, the Cyens, the Andryens and the Teyens. And of the countreye of Ione, the Myletiens, the Samyens and the Chiens, the which Chiens were not subiect to the tribute of monney nother vnto other charge, but onely for to fournisshe shipps: and all the aboue sayde were in a maner Ioniens & of the faction or parttakers wyth the Athenyans, except the Carystians, which were nombred among the Dryopes. And yet neuerthelas for that, that they were subiects of the Athenians, they were constrayned to come to this warre agaynst the Dozyans. And besides this, the Eolians did come, amonge whome the Metymniens were not trybutairies, but only bouden to delyuer shyps, but the Tenediens & the Aenyens were trybutairies. And those here, although that they were Eoliens as the Beotiens, & that they had ben founded or set vp by thē, were neuerthelas constrayned to come to ẏ same warre against ẏ Doziēs. And moreouer there came thider the Elyens, amongest whom the Methymniēs were not trybutairies, but only bouden for to delyuer shyps, but ẏ Tenediens & the Athenyēs were trybutaires. And those same, although that they were Eoliens, as the Beotiēs, & that they had ben by thē founded or set vp, neuerthelas they were cōstrained in that same warre to be against thē & against the Syracusains. There was none other of the Beotians, reserued the Plateans, for the deadly enmytie, whyche they had againste them, by cause of the iniuries, whyche they had done to them. There came thider also the Rhodyans & the Cytheryens, which both were Doziens, although that the same Cytheriens had bene founded by the Lacedemoniās, & neuerthelas did geue aide to ẏ Athenyens against the Lacedemonians, ẏ were vō Gilippus. And likewise ẏ Rhodiens, which were Doziens, as descended of ẏ Argiues, were against ẏ Siracusains, although ẏ they were also Doziens, & against the Geliens, which were their Burgeoles, for that, ẏ they toke partie vō the Siracusains, but both ẏ

one

one and thother dyd it by force. And beſydes thoſe, of the Iſlandes, that be about Peloponeſe, were on that ſyde the Zephalenyans and the Zacinthiens: who, although that they were franke, were neuerthelas for that, that they were Iſlanders, conſtrayned to holde wyth the Athenyans, though that the ſayde Corcyriens were not onely Dorycns: but that, whyche more is, they were Corynthiens, and neuerthelas were agaynſte the Syracuſains of their nation, and Dorycns, as they, and agaynſte the Corynthians, their founders, aſwell for thobligation or bonde, whyche they hadde wyth the Athenyans, as alſo for hatred, whyche they hadde agaynſte the ſayde Corynthians. And lykewyſe there were thoſe of Naupacte and of Pylus, who named theymſelfe, Meſſenyens, for that, that the ſayde places be holden and poſſeſſed by the Athenyans, and lykewyſe the banniſhed men of Megare, although that they were in ſmall nomber, who were ennempes of the other Megarens, that be called Selynuntyns, by inconuenyences and aduerſytie of fortune. All the othere, that came togyder in thys ſame warre wyth the Athenyans, excepte the aboue named, came thider more vō their good wyll than by conſtraincte, for the Argiues dyd it not ſomuche for them by vertue of their allyance, whyche in nothinge extended thereunto, as for the ennemptie, whyche they hadde agaynſte the Lacedemonyans. And lykewyſe the othere Dorycns that made warre wyth the Athenyans, agaynſt the Syracuſains, whiche be alſo Doriens, did it more for their preſent ſinguler profyytt, than for any other cauſe. As touchynge the other, that were Ionyans, they dyd it for the auncyent ennmytie, whyche they had agaynſt the Dorycns, as be the Mantyniens & Arcadyans, whyche came for wages. And neuerthelas thoſe of the ſayd countrey of Arcadie, that were allyed, wyth the Corynthians, dyd holde thoſe, that were wyth the Athenyans, for ennemys, and lykewyſe thoſe of Creto and of Etholie, of whome there was of both ſydes, all buyrlinges, in ſuche ſorte that it chanced that the Cretes, that had builded the Cyttie of Gela with the Rhodyens, at that tyme were not for the Gelyens, but beinge waged by their enemyes, were againſt them. Some Acarnanyens alſo, aſwell for hope of gaynes, as alſo for the amytie, whyche they had wyth Demoſthenes, and for the affection that they had vō the Athenyans, tooke wages of them. And thies be they, that purſued the partie of the Athenyans in that ſame warre out of the cōtrey of Grece vntill the goulphe of Ionū. As touchinge the Italians, thider came the Thuriens and the Metapontins, who were comme into ſuche neceſſitie by their domeſticall diſſentiōs, that they wente to ſarue in that warre for to gett wages, vnto whatſoeuer parte they were required. Of the Syciliens there were Nariens & the Cataniens. And of Barbarous or eſtraungers, the Egeſtains, who had bene cauſe of that warre, and many othere, that inhabyted in Sycille. And of thoſe, whych inhabited without Sycille, ſome of the Tyrrhenyens for that, that they were ennempes of the Syracuſains. For whoſe ayde on the contrary parte were furſte the Camerins nygh neyghbours, and the Gelyans, whyche were further diſtante. As touchyng the Agrigentins that were their nerte neighbours they toke the contrary parte. After thoſe ſame there were Selynuntyns, and all thoſe, that kepe themſelfe in the quarter of Sycille, whych is forayenempſte Lybia. And of thoſe that be in the quarter of Thyrrenie, there were the Imeriens. who onely in that ſame quarter be of the natiō of Grece, alſo there came none other people out of the ſaid quarter to the ayde of the Syracuſains: but out of the whoole Iſlande dyd come all the Dorycns, that were in their lybertie, and of Barbarous or eſtrangers, all thoſe that had not takene parte wyth the Athenyans. As touchynge the Gretes, that were wythoute the Iſlande, the Lacedemonyans ſente thider for Cappytayne a cyteyein

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Cytezeine in their cytie of Sparte, wyth a bende of Eleiaues and of Lybertyns, that had bene let out of bondage into lybertie. The Corinthiens sent vnto them shipps and men of warre: whiche thinge none of the other dydde. For the Leucadyens specyally that were their allyes and parentes sent thider but men, and lykewyse the Ambraciens. Of the Ambraciens there came those, whiche the Corinthians foulded for wages, & the Syciony ens, which were cõstrayned to sende thider. And of those, that be wout Peloponese, the Beotiãs did come thider. Besides the which strange nations, & that came to their succours from wout or out wardes partes, the cyties of Sycille sente thider a great nomber of people of all sortes, and great quantitie of ships, of harnes, of victuails and of all other necessaries for warre. But in a maner of speaking, the Syracusains fournished more people than all the reste, aswell for the greatnes and opulentie of the Cytie, as also for the daunger, wherein it was. Suche was the succours that came to the ayde of bothe the parties, whyche were there whan the battaille, whereof we haue aboue spoken, was made: and afterwardes, there dyd none other come thider from any other place. The Syracusains and theire allyes, beinge nowe glorious and fyerce, for the victorie, whyche they had hadde: it semed vnto theym that it shulde be their greate honnour to destroye all that same armye of the Athenyans, whyche was so greate, and to kepe them from saunge themself both by sea and by lande, and so they dyd fourthwyth enclose the mouth of the greate poarte, whyche conteygned aboute eight stades, wyth galleys, wyth Barques, and wyth all other sortes of shyppes, whiche they did putte into order by theire ancres, and fournyshed them wyth all thynges that was necessarye for to fight, if that the Athenyans wouldе haue yssued fourth by force, and they prouyded for all thynges largely and dyligently.

Howe the Athenyans were eftsones vainquished in a battaille by sea, by the Siracusains and their allyes, so that they coulde not saue themself by sea.

☞ The.xii. Chapter.

THe Athenyans, percey uynge themself enclosed by the Syracusains, and vnderstandynge the reste of their enterprise: they thought, that it was verye nedefull to consulte and deuyse vpone that, whiche they shuld haue to do. And so the Dukes assembled all ỹ cappytains, patrons and other conductors or loadesmen of their shipps, aswell for to deuyse therupon, as also vpon the prouysyon of victuails, whereof they were at that presente in greate necessitie, for that, that haunge determyned to departe fromthence, they hadde commaunded those of Catana, that they shulde sende them no more. And also they had no hope to recouer any more therof in any other place: except that they might defeate the armye of the enemyes by sea. For thys cause they determyned to habandone and forsake the furste walle, whyche they had made in ỹ most height agaynst the cytie, and for to wythdrawe themself, as nighe as they coulde from wythout the poarte and there to enclose & fortelie themself as strongly, & closely as they might: so that they might haue sufficient space for to wdrawe their vtensiles & their sicke people, & fournish the same wmen for to warde it, & to putt all the other fouldears, whiche they had, into their shippes, aswell good as badde, togiders wb all their baguage, to the intente for to fyght incontynently: and if they had the victorie to saille fromthence straight vnto Catana: and if they were vainquishedde in the Combate by sea, to burne

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all their shippes, and to departe from thence by lande to the nerte place of frends that they coulde fynde, were it of Grekes or estraungers. The whyche thynges beyng so determyned, were incontynently executed and put in vre. For fourthwith they forsoke the furste walles that were nerte the Cytie, and descended towards the poarte: and caused to embarque all their people of whatsoeuer sort that they were sufficient and hable for to fyght: whyche were in all, and of sortes a houndred and tenne shippes, wythin the whiche, besydes the men of armes, and the Archers or casters of dartes, was wythdrawn all that they coulde gathere togyder, whereof they myghte haue nede. After that all thys was done, Nycias seynge hys warryours astonyed and discouraiged, for that, that contrary to their opynyon, and wholy contrary to that whyche had alwaies chanced vnto them before tyme, they had bene vanquished by sea, and that without hauinge prouision of victuailles were constrayned to take the hazarte against al the accustomed order, he caused them all to assemble and dyd speake vntothem in this manner.

The speakinge and exhortation of Nycias to his souldyars.

LOrdes Athenyans, and youe other our allyes, that be here, Thys battaille, that we muste presently make, ys common to vs all, for that, that euery man laboreth here for the welth of himself, & of hys countrey, lyke as also our ennemys do. For if we haue the vyctorie in thys battaille, that we muste make by sea, we maye retourne from thence euerye one into hys countreye: wherefore we oughte to goo vnto yt ioyfully, and not to be astonyed and dyscouraiged, nother do as men do that haue no experyence: who whan they bene vanquished in one battaille, haue no more hope to ouercomme: but rather thynke that it shall alwayes so chance vnto them. But youe, that be here Athenyans, men experymented in so many warres, and also youe other our allyes and perpetuall frendes: ought to consyder that the yssues and chances of warres, be vncertayne, and to thynke that the fortune may aswell comme in our fauour, as she hath bene of the other. And vpon thys hope, trustinge in the promes of so greate nomber of people, as youe be here, to prepare yourselfe to render vnto themenmys that, whyche they haue done to youe in theire former battaille: and so farre as toucheth vs your capptains and heddes, be ye assured and certayne that we omytt not to do anythynge, that may be necessary or conuenyent for the affayre, but rather hauynge regarde to the qualytie of the poarte, whiche is straicte, wherby at the other tyme, the disorder chanced vnto vs, and also to the castelles and tables of theire shippes, wherewyth they dyd greate euilles vnto vs, we haue prouyded for all wyth the patrons & capptayns of the shyps, accordinge to the opyrtunytie of the tyme, the beste, that hath bene possible. And also we haue put wythin our shipps a multitude of Archers & slyngers of darts, muche more greate than we shulde haue done if we shulde haue fought at large in the sea: for that, that to kepe and obserue the discipline and order of the sea. yt is muche contrary to ouercharge the shippes wyth people: but that same shall be here profitable for vs, for so muche as we shall fyght in our shyps as thoughe that we were on lande. And also we haue deuyded, that it is nedeful (for that, that we haue not had tyme to make agayne and tacle our shippes anewe, for to resiste the thickenes of the poynets of theirs, and of the pieces of tymbe, that come fourth of theirs: whyche was the prynceypall cause of our ouerthrowe) to haue graspes of yrone, yf we maye fynde them, for to fasten and wythholde theyme whan they shall comme to schocke vpon vs, to the intente that they shalle not retyre.

retyre. For we be brought vnto thys, that it is conuenyent for vs to fyght with our shipps, as if that we were in the mayne lande. Wherfore it is expedient that we do not dissener ourselues from the shippes of our ennemys whan we shalbe ones assembled, and also that we suffre not theym to departe from ours, consydered specially that all the lande is our ennemye, reserued that same lytle parte nigh vnto the poarte, whyche we haue garnysshed wyth our people. The whiche thynges haunge in memory, ye oughte to fyght so longe as youe shall haue aither force or strengthe, and not to suffre youreselfe to be repoulsed to the lande. And after that youe shall haue accroched any shippe, determyne not to suffre yt to eskape vntyll youe haue destroyed all the warryours wythin yt. And I exhorte youe all so to do, not onely the maronners: but also the men of armes, and somuche the more, that this is the worke rather of those that haue for to fyght in the shippes, than of those, that muste conducte and gouerne them: and for you it is conuenient to vainquisshe at this instance, lyke as ye haue done many other tymes, fayghtinge on lande. And as touchinge youe maronners, I praye and requyre youe, that ye be not fayntе harted nother discouraged for the losse, which youe haue made at the other battaille, seynge that youe haue greater preparatiō for warre in shyppes, than youe at that tyme had: and muche greater nomber of people, but rather be myndefull to go couraygously to the busynes, and to repute yourselues woorthy for to conserue youre honnor. And those among you that be holden for Athenyans by the talke of the language, and also for the selfe fourme of lyuinge, though that ye be not of them, and by that meane haue bene in greate reputacion in all Greece, and beside that, partakers of our empire euery one in hys parsone, in somuche as was expedyent for hys profitt, to wytt, for to haue obeysaunce of your subiectes, and for to be in suertie of your neyghbours: ye ought nowe to take good hede, not to habandone and forsake at thys stroake our empyre and seygnyorye, wherof youe onely be parttakers and compaygnyons, and to contempne those, whome you haue so oftymes vaynquisshed, to wyt, the Corynthians and the Syracusayns. None of whome haue euer had anny audacytie for to resiste vs, so longe as our armye by sea was in his vigeur and force, and to shewe them, that your hardynes and scyence of saillinge, is greater in your parsons (although you be diseased, and that you haue bene vaynquisshed) than in theirs, that be hoole, and also haue had the victorie. And for those, amōge youe, that be Athenyans, I bringe to remembrance that we haue nother more here in our arcenall or hauon, nor other shippes lyke to thies, whyche we haue here, nother other warryours on lande: but that small nomber, whyche we haue lefte there wyth oure baguages. wherfore if we haue not the victorie, oure ennemyes wyll go incontynently agaynste theym, who shall not be hable for to defende both agaynst those, that shal defende out of the ships of the ennemys, and agaynst the other, that shall come from of the lande. And by that meane ye shall come partly vnto the power of the Syracusains, agaynste whome ye know wel for what intent ye be come, and partly of the Lacedemonyans, whyche be wyth them. Wherfore beynge brought to suche termes or yssue that youe muste chose aither to vainquisshe, or ells to come to this extremytie, I praye youe, that if euer in tymes passed youe haue shewed your vertue and hardynes, be wyllyng to parforce yourself to shewe it nowe, and to haue remembrance all cogiders, and euery one for hymself, that here ys and lyeth all the armye by sea, all the shippes, all the force of men: and for effecte all the cytie, all the empyer: and fynallye, all the greate renomme of the Athenyans. For to warrante and defende all the whyche thinges, if there be any of youe, that excedeth and surmounteth the other, be he of

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any industrie or experyence, or of hardynes, he shall neuer shewe himself in better tyme, than in this iourney, nor more vnto the nede of himself and of others. After that Nycias had thus spoken, he caused his people incontynently to mouite into their shyppes, wherof Gylippus & the Syracusains were suffycyently aduertysedde for that, that they perceyued theyme wyth the eye to prepare for to fyghte: and were adupsedde of the graspes of yronne, that they dydde putt into their shyppes. Wherfore they prouyded themselfe of remedyes, aswell agaynste that, as also agaynste all the other preparations of the ennemys. For they couered the former parte, and the mooste parte of their deckes wt Copper, to the ende that the graspes shulde not tasten in them, but rather shulde slippe and slyde aboue of the copper. And after that all their case was putt in order, Gylippus and the other cappytains exhorted their souldyars or warryours wythe thies or lyke woordes.

The exhortation of Gylippus and of the Syracusayns to their men at armes.

YOue knowe, Lordes Syracusains, and youe other oure frendes and allyes, that we haue hytherto done in thys warre, as men of honestie, and that yt is nedefull at thys present to do yet greater thynges. For yf that hadde not bene, youe shulde not haue bene so readye to haue employedde youreselfe therein. Neuerthelas leste there be anny that vnderstandeth not fullye the affayre, I wolle well declare yt vnto hym. The Athenyans came frome the begynnynge hyther to the intente to subdewe Sycille furste, yf they myghte, afterwardes Peloponese, and consequentlye the remanaunte of Greece. Who, albeit that they hadde a great and puissant Empyre, and that they hadde bene moore puissante than all the othere Grekes that hadde bene byfore thies, whyche presentlye be: yet youe haue many tymes vainquisshedde theym by sea, whyche was whoolye in their power: whyche thinge no man euer dydde, and yet at thys presente youe shall vayncquisshe theym, as it is fullye apparante. For whan any people doo fynde theymselfe vainquished in the thynge, wherein they perswadedde themselfe to excede the othere, they loose greatelye theire reputacyon. And fromthensforwardes there opynion and hope ys therbye lesser in themselfe, than yf they had not from the begynning had such presumption & confidēce. And perceyuynge themselfe depryued agaynst their opynyon of the glory, which they attrybuted to themself, the harte coueteth it yet more than the force, like as it is to be bileued that it is now chaūced to the Athenyans. And by the contrary, you that haue had the hardynes to reliste them by sea, although that youe had not greate practyse therin, be become more hardy for the opynyon, whyche youe haue conceiued through your prowesse. For this, that youe vaynquished theym, that were reputed ỹ most puissant & most exercysed therin, wherby youe oughte to haue double hope, which shall profyte you greatly. For they that go to assaill in greate hoape, come vnto yt muche more ioyfully. And if our enemys haue lerned of vs to make the apparayle and preparation of theire shyppes, as we had made ours at the other battayle, the same oughte not to abasshe vs. For we be therin alreadye accustomed: and so they shalle not fynde vs newe to seke in the thinge that they shall do. And somuche as they shall put greater nomber of people in the Castelles and ouerlopps of their shypps, they shalbe the more oppressed, as in a battail by land. And also the Acarnanies & the other archers or darte casters shal not know how to aide them wt their darts & shot, being all beslowed & by that meane there thronged: & the greate nomber shal make their shyppes

hnprofytable and letting the one the other, shall put themselfinto disorder. And it maye helpe them but smally that they haue greater nomber of shyppes than we, nother youe ought for that to be astonyed. For howe muche that they haue greater nomber therof, they may somuche the lesse vnderstande that, which the heddes and cappytains do comaūde them. And on the other parte the engynes & artificialles, whyche we haue prepared agaynste them, shall helpe vs well. And al beit that we thynke well that youe knowe sufficyently by that yow haue vnderstanded of their affayre, in what estate they be, yet neuerthelas we wol aduertyse youe, that they be nighe in dispaire, aswell for the myschances that be chaunced vnto them, as for the necessitie, wherin ye parceyue them, in suche sorte, that they truste not somuche to their preparation, as to thys, whyche is their onely refuge, to wytt, to the temerytie of fortune: and they be determyned, ayther to passe by force through the middes of our shyppes, & by that meane to get into the depth of the sea, or well if they faille therof, to caste themselfa shoore, and to take their way by lande: as people, whiche be in suche estate, that sorte constrayneth them to chose of two parties, that be nothinge woorthe, the lesser euill. Againste thies people than so confused, and that fyght againste fortune, who hath already declaredde herselfe agaynste them, it is conuenyent to fyght wyth all erneslye, as their mortell ennemyes: and to determyne to do two thynges alle at one instante, to wytt, by allurynge youre estate to reuenge youe of your ennemys, that be comme to inuade vs: and to discharge oure maletalent or wrath vpon them, and fourth wyth to repoulse our ennemys, whiche be two thinges, that haue bene accustomed to be pleasāt to all people. And that those here be our mortal enemys, there is not one of youe, that vnderstādeth yt not. For they be come hider for to bring vs into seruytude, and if they had ouercomed they wold haue vsed both towardes vs all crueltie, and also towardes oure wyues and childzen all villeny, and also wolde haue repleniſhed our cytie with all deformytie and confusyon. For which reasons none of vs ought to haue pytie of them, nother repute, that thys shulde be our profit to suffer them to departe without putting ourselues into danger: for also happely if they haue the victorie ehey wyll also departe fromhence, without that therin may be any dāger for vs. But if we do that, which we ought and shulde be willing to do, to wyt, that we chastyse them, and that we set all Grece agayne in lybertie, yea more greatly than it hath ben: truly we shall haue made a glorypous cōbate: and also it happeneth not oftene, that one maye haue so faier, nor honnest occasion to put hymselfe in danger of a battaille, to wytt, that in hauynge the worse, a man shulde not lose but lytle, and in hauing the better, shuld gayne muche. Gylippus and the other Dukes Syracusains hauinge exhorted their people vp such or lyke speakynges caused them to be embarqued after that they dyd parceue that the Athenyans had embarqued theirs. But Nycias, which was astonied of the danger, wherin he parceyued the affaire, whiche was drawinge veray nyghe, and knowinge what inconueniences had accustomed to chance in so crueil battails, nother helde any thinge for sufficiently and welle prouyded on his syde, nor it semed to him that he had sufficyciely spokē vnto his men. So he eftsones caused to be called the patrons and cappytains of the shyps euerye one a parte, namynge theym honnorably, aswell by their names, as by their surnames, & also adding the names of theire fathers and so, as he knewe that euery of them had the bruyt of any honnorable thinge, & bringinge him in remembrance therof, prayed hym not to lose hys good renome in the same iourney. And those, whose ancestours had done any greate thynge, that they shulde not extinquisshe nor abolish the honor that they had acquired, by vertue of their sayd auncetors,

bryngynge

bringinge moreouer to their remembrance the lybertie of their countrey, which was the frankest that was knowen, and where euery one myght lyue at his wil wythout beynge subiecte to the commandement of any parson: and many other thynges, which in suche case haue bene accustomed to be spoken by men carped here and there, wythout hauing regarde to speake the thinge that men mighte iudge to be autentique and profounde, but as people estonyed do speake wt great exclamation that, which semeth to serue in their cáse, not remembring therin the danger of their wiues, of their children, of their temples, and such other thinges, as people of vertue haue accustomed to speake. And after that he had spoken all those wordes, the whiche he alwayes reputed more necessary than sufficient, he went with theym and ledde the footemen to the shoare of the sea: and so caused theym to kepe the beste order that he coulde, for to geue courage to those, that were within the shippes. And Demosthenes, Menander and Eurymedon that were chiefest of the armye by sea, made with their shippes straight to the mouth of the poarte: the which the ennemys had already garnished and possessed, to the intente to breake the order of the sayde ennemys, and for to scatter their shippes for to gett into ỹ depth of the sea. But on the other side, the Syracusains & their allyes came in a manner wyth a lyke nomber of shyps, partly against the mouth of the saide poarte, and partly aboute the same, for to empesche them on all sides, hauynge moreouer their footemen in the shoore of the sea for to succour theym to whatsoeuer parte theire sayde shippes shulde come to lande. Nowe Sicanus and Agatharcus, whyche kepte the twoo poinctes, were Cappitayns of the armye of the Syracusains, to wytt, of the ryghte and the lefte, and in the myddest were Pythen and the Corinthyans. The Athenyans than as they came to the mouth of the poarte, at the furst arryuall repoulsed the shippes, which were there ioygned togiders: for to defende them not to yssue, and parforced themself to breake their lyens and chaynes, wherwyth they were fastened togiders. But the Syracusains and their allyes came on all sydes to russhe vpon them, not in the mouth of the poarte onelye, but euene throughe wythin the same. And so the combate was mooste cruell and mooze dangerous, than anye of the othere former had bene: and men did heare the crydes of the chiefest and cappitains, that comaunded the maronners to saile wyth greate strength. And euery one on his side enforced himself to shewe his arte and hys industrye, and lykewyse the men of warre, that were in the castells and vpon the deckes of the shippes, parforced themself to do their endeuour, aswell as the maronners, and for to kepe wel and defende euery one the place, that was appoynted to hym. But forsomuche as the combate or battaille was made in a verye straighte and narrowe place, for that, that there was both of the one syde and of the othere fewe lesser than two houndred shyps, whiche foughte togiders all wythin the porte or in the mouth therof, they could not oftene come wyth greate strengthe of oares, the one to the other. For none hadde meane to retyre nor to recharge themself, but rather dyd myngle the one shyppe wyth the other, so as they encountred, were it in flyinge or in assaulting. And as ofteenne as the one shyppe assaultedde the othere, those, that were in the Castelles and planchers of the same, did caste plenty of dartes, shott and stoanes the one agaynste the othere: but as they ioygned themselfe togyders, they came to fyghte hande to hande, and enforcedde themself to enter the one into the shyps of the othere, wbyche thynge chanceddе in many of them, for that the place was narrowe: and in some places there were twoo agaynste one through constraynct, & the gouernours and patrones studyed the one to warre vpon those of thennemys, and the other to defende theirs, and that not by courses or tornes one after

the other, but all at one ſtant and on all ſydes, wherby the bruytt was ſo great and marueillous, that it was great horror and feare vnto thoſe, whyche dydde fight, and alſo they coulde not vnderſtande, the one the other, although that the Chiefe and Cappytaynes of the one ſyde and of the othere made exhortations to theire people, aſwell for ſylence, as alſo for the inſtructione of the ſea and for the greate ardor and deſyre that euery one hadde for to vaynquiſhe. For the Athenyans cryedde to theire men, that they ſhulde breake the order and the bandes of the ſhyppes that ſtoppedde the yſſue of the poarte, and yt that euer they hadde had vertue or couraige, they ſhulde ſhewe yt at the ſame houre, if they hadde care for theire proper wealthe and to retourne into their countrey. And the Syracuſains, and their allyes declaredde vnto theirs, that it was the howre for to ſhewe their vertue for to defende that the ennemyes ſhulde not ſaue they mſelfe and for to conſarue and encreaſe the honnoure and glorye of theire nation. And the Cappytaynes themſelfe whan they parceyued anny to goo ſlackelye, or thoſe that were wythin, not to do their endeuour: they called the patrones by their names, and demaunded, to wytt, the Athenyans, whider that it ſemed vnto them that the lande, whyche was the mooſte ennemy that they hadde in the worlde, were more ſuer, than the ſea, which they myght get and purchaſe wythin a ſhort tyme. And the Syracuſains, whider that they woolde flye before thoſe, that did not fyght, but only for to flye away thẽſelf, in whatſoeuer maner that it were. In the meane tyme, that this combate or battaille was made by ſea, thoſe, that were on lande at the ſhoore of the ſea, were in greate and dyuers thoughtes and fantaſies. For the Syracuſains parceyued that it was queſtyon of gettinge muche more greate honnour, than they thoughte on from the beginning. And the Athenyans feared, leſte it ſhulde yet chaunce vnto them woorſer, than to them that were in the ſea, for that, that all their baguages were in the ſhyppes, whyche they feared marueyllouſly to loſe, and howe muche the more the combate or battail was variable and the victorie vncertayne, they were conſtrayned to haue dyuers opynyons, & to make dyuers countenances or geſtures. For beinge ſo nygh, that they might ſee manyfeſtly: thoſe, that did ſee in any poinct their people, that had the better, lifted vp their handes to heauon, and prayed the goddes wyth a lowde voyce, that they woolde not defraude nor fruſtrate them of the victorie. And to the contrarye, thoſe, that dyd ſee theirs to be vaynquiſhed, dyd wepe wyth complaynete and pytuous cryes. And whan the combate was doubtful and ſharpe, ſo that one coulde not iudge, who ſhulde haue the woorſte therof, they made geſtures and ſignes wyth the body ſuche as their deſyre imported, as though that, helped their men, for feare that they hadde, leaſte they ſhulde loſe: and for effecte they did almoſte ſuche actes wyth their bodies, as if they themſelf had foughten, and they were in the ſelfe forowe, as they that did fighte. Alſo they perceyued in that ſame conflict many, that for a ſmall occaſyon ſaued thẽſelf, where they were diſcomforted. And ſpecyally the Athenyans, being on lande, ſo long as their men did fyghte hande to hande in the ſea, perceyued not onely the combate or faightinge, but forſomuche as they were nighe, they hearde diſtinctlye, the complainctes, lamentations and clamors, aſwell of thoſe that vaynquiſhedde as of them, that were ouercome: & all other lyke thynge that men might ſee and heare in a ryght ſharpe conflicte of twoo puiſſant hoaſtes. And thoſe, that were in the ſhippes had and ſuffred beſyde the combate, the lyke ſorrow and trauaille, fynalyy after that the ſtorme had longe endured, the Syracuſains and theire allyes did put the Athenyans to flyght, and as they did ſee them tourne the backe, with great cryes, and wyth greate force they chaſed them vnto the lande. And thoſe

of the

of the Athenyans that myght saue and caste themself on lande, wth the moſt dyligence that they coulde, they retyred into their campe. And lykewyſe thoſe, that were on lande, seinge that there was no moze hope, wt great cryes, wepinges and lamentations they ronned all at one instant, some to the ſhips, foz to saue them, the other, to the walles, whyche they yet did kepe, the other and the moze parte was in doubte of their lyfe, and regarded on all ſides, howe & where they might saue themself. And ſhortly the feare and the frape was ſo greate at that ſame instant, that neuer befoze that tyme, they had had the lyke. And the Athenyans did ſuffer and receue woorthely, that, whyche they had cauſed the Lacedemonyans to ſuffer and receue at Pylus: where, after that they had vanquiſhed the armye by ſea of the ſame Lacedemonyans, they deſtroyed them. And as the Lacedemonyans dyd than enter into the Iſlande, euen ſo the Athenyans retyredde at thys tyme to lande, wythout hauinge alwayes any hope foz to saue themſelfe, except that it were by ſome caſe oz meane vnthought on.

Howe the Athenyans and their allyes after the ouerthrowe departed from their campe foz to go fromthence by lande, into the landes and cyties of Sycille, that toke their parte.

The.xiii.Chapter.

After thys ſo ſharpe and cruell a battaille, wherein there was greate nomber of ſhippes takene and deſtroyed, and of men ſlayne: The Syraculains and other their allyes hauinge the vyctozie, recouered the ſhippwzackes and the deade bodies, and beinge retourneddе into the towne, they dyd reyſe vp their trophee. As concerning the Athenyans, they were ſo aſtonied of the euilles that they hadde ſene, and did ſee byfoze their eyes, that they had no mynde foz to requyze the ſhippwzackes and dead bodyes, but only ſtudyed howe they myghte incontynently ſaue thẽſelf that pzeſente night, wherby they were in dyuers oppynyons. Foz Demoſthenes was of aduyſe that they ſhulde embarque themſelfe in the reſte of the ſhippes, whiche were leſte them, and that they ſhulde at the breake of the day eſkape through the ſelfe poarte yt they myghte. Foz they had yet greater nomber of ſhippes, than the ennemys, to wytt, aboutes.lx. where the ennemyes had but fyftie. To the whyche counſaille and aduyſe, Nycias agrede. But whan they wouldе haue cauſed the people to be embarqued, the maronners refuſed yt, foz the feare, whiche they yet had of the combate, wherin they had bene vanquiſhed, and yt ſemed not to them that they coulde any moze haue better, wherfoze they were fozced to change oppynyon, and all wyth one accozde determined to saue theymſelfe by lande. Hermocrates the Syraculayne doubted greatly the ſame: and therfoze conſyderyng that yt ſhuld be a dangerous thinge, if one ſuche an hoſte dyd retyze and ioygnedde togider agayne in any parte on lande, wherby they might begynne a new warre: he wente vnto the officers of the towne and ſayde to them, that there ought to be hadde good regarde that ſame night, vnto the departure of the ennemys: declaring vnto them by many reaſons, the dangers, which might therby happene. And that it ſemed to him that all the men that were in armure in the towne, aſwelle of the countrey, as ſtrangers ſhuld yſſue fourth and go to gett the paſſages, by whiche the ſaide Athenyans myght saue themſelf. And of that ſame oppynyon were the othere, knowinge that he dyd ſay the trouthe: but they conſydered that the compaignyons, which had fought all the day, were trauaylledde and deſyred reſt and

Hermocrates.

therfore wold not wyllingly obey vnto that, whiche shulde be commaundedde them touchinge the same, and somuche the lesse as the morowe followyng was the feaste of Hercules, in the whyche were prepared great sacryfices for to render vnto hym thankes for the same so greate a victorie: which doynge many, accordynge to the custome, were mynded to reioyce and refreshe themself by eatinge and drynkinge: wherefore, any other thinge shulde haue bene mooze easy to perswade them, than to yssue fourth that same day in armure, for ꝑ which reasons, they agreed not to the opynyon of Hermocrates: who, seinge that he coulde not bryngе them vnto it, and consyderynge that the ennemyes that same nighte by retyrynge, might gett the passages of the mountaigns, which were stronge and difficille, deuyled one suche a sutteltie. For he sente some of hys compaignyons horsmen very nighe vnto the campe of the Athenyans, so that they myghte well heare them and sayenge to be of those of the towne that affectioned the Athenyans (wherof there were many that certefied newes to Nycias) and that they were come thider for to do it, saide that it was to be signefied vnto him, that he shuld not remoue for that night. For the Syracusayns, had garnished the passages so, that in the night there shuld be danger therin for the disorder of his men: but the daye beinge come, marchinge in battaille and in good order, they might more easely get the same passages. Those, whyche had hearde thies words, sent them to the Dukes and cappytayns of the campe, who, not thinkinge that there had bene any deceite therin, determyned for to sojourne there that same nyght, & also the morowe followynge. So they did it to be knowin to all the warryors, that they shuld ordeyn and make ready all their case for to departe wythin two dayes, wout carying any thing but only that, which shuld be necessary for them for the vtage of their parsonnes. During thys tyme Gylippus, and the Syracusains sent to fourniſhe the passages by the whyche they thought, that the sayde Athenyans shuld passe. And specially at the passage of the ryuers, they sett good garnysons, and also lykewyse in the other straight or narrowe places. On the other syde, those of the towne issued fourth into the porte, & recouered the shippes of the Athenians, wherof they burned some: which thinge those same Athenians had bifore determyned to do. & of the other, euery man did take, what he woolde & withdrewe them to lande wout thys that any parson did speake againste him. After that, Nycias & Demosthenes, hauing ordeined their case, as they did thinke good, departed fromthence the fourth day after the battaill, which was a thing right greuous & right heauy to them all, not only for this, that they had lost all their ships, & that frō a great hope, which they had had in ꝑ beginning for to subdue that same cōtrey, they were brought into a great danger, aswell of themself as of their cytie: but also for thys, that it was an harde & mysserable spectacle or sight to forsake their campe and their baguages, wherby their harts and all their spirits were ouercōme and adnichillated, and thought made thē right heauy and astonyed. And on the other parte their cōpaignions being dead, and remayning in the feilde wout buryal, whan they did se any of thē, that brought them horrour, sorowe and feare: but they had yet more compassion of the hurt, lamed and of ꝑ sicke men, whiche they lefte, thinkinge that they were more vnhappy, than those that were dead. Also the poore and miserable, perceyuinge the other to departe, did wepe and crye, prayinge their compaignions by their names, that they wold carye them awaye, and whan they dyd see any of their parentes, domesticall or specyall frendes, they followedde and kepte theyme backe the mooste that they myghte. And whan they coulde not followe theyme furthere they cryedde and wepte, blaiming and cursynge them. So that all the hoaste was full of sighings

and

and teares, whereby the departure was greatly,and muche retarded. Although that considerynge the greate euylles,whiche were chaneed vnto theym,and that they feared to come vnto theyme,dyd putt theyme into greate sorowe and care, and muche more yet than they made semblante for.And besydes this that they were all sorowfull and afrayde,they were moreouer angry,the one agaynst the othere. And in a totall some they were all as people,that fledde oute of a right greate cyte,whiche had bene taken by force,for they were all togider whan they departed,aboutes, Foure thousande, wythoute speakynge of mariners and of thother,who,caryedde euery man that,whyche he myght. The men of armes aswelle on foote,as on horse, caryed euery man the victuailles vnder their harnes(whyche was a thynge, that they had not accustomed,the one for feare that they coulde not recouer it,and thoder for faulte of varlettes and esklaues,for the moste parte of them were fled to the ennemyes,partly already before that time, but the most parte after that same ouerthrowe. And also the victuailles whiche they caryed were not sufficiente for their necessitie, for that, that it welle nyghe failled them in the campe.And although that in other places,and othere tymes, such barthe and skarcenes myght be somewhat tollerable for that,that it is common and egall as muche to the one,as to the othere,and is not accompaignedde wyth myschief:yet to those there, it was somuche the more greuous, whan they considered the glory wherin they had bene,and the myserye and desolation whereunto they were fallen. For truly this same greate nouelte chancedde than to the hooste of the Grekes:that they were in feare to be destroied by them, whom they were come to subdue.And where they departed out of their countrey wyth great melodie of joyfull songes,of diuers instrumentes,making greate bowes for the victory,whereof they had fuer hope: they all retourned fromethence mournynge and makyng pitifous groanes,and all other contrary thynges,for that,that the mariners whiche were come to saille by sea,were than on lande,renked with the footemen,neuerthelas, all thynges were tollerable vnto theyme, for the greate danger,wherin they parceyued theymself to be brought. Whome, Nycyas parceyuynge so discomforted and fayntehearted,dyd goo comforting theym againe, and declarynge vnto them many thynges,sartynge to the case, so as he founde them assembled togider, cryinge vnto theyme more,with a loude voyce,than by manner of exhortacion or declaration,for to cause theyme to recouer their courage and for to prouyde them in the estate wherein they were,as he knewe well to do.And so did speake vnto them theis or suche wordes.

The declaration of Nycyas to the men of armes.

IT is conuenyente for vs(Lordes Athenyans)and youe othere oure allyes to haue good courage and good hope, although that we be in the estate,wherin we are.For many haue eskaped muche greatter mischief and danger than this same is,wherin we be.Wherfore you ought to take greater courage,not blamynge yourself beyonde reasone,be it for the losse that you haue made,or be it for the shame, whiche you endure. For as for me,I am in nothing in better condition,than any of youe the other be,nother in force,for that,that ye may see howe that I am weakened with my disease:nother yet in goodes. For thoughe that herebifore I was well prouyded of victualles,and also of other necessaries: yet as this presente, I haue no greater prouision thereof, than the leaste of the bende. Howbeit forsomuche as I haue made greate sacrefices to the goddes and vsed greate goodnes and curtesie to men,ytt geueth me yet audacytie to hope welle hereafter. But I do see you astonyed and

afrayed to much more than ys conuenient to the dignitie and condition of your parsons, for the euylls and damages whiche youe haue receyuedde, the whyche peraduenture shall amende. For our ennemyes haue had ynough, both of felycitie and also of good happe. And if anny God hath bene angry, and displeased towardes vs, for that, that we be come hider to make warre, we haue bene sufficyently and to muche ponysshed. And it hath bene hertofore oftentymes sene of people, that came to assaille other in their houses, that hauynge done their indeuour in warre, haue neuerthelas hadde tollerable myssortunes and inconueniences: wherfore we ought to hope that God woll doo better for vs hereafter, for that, that we deserue better to haue mercy of hym than vengeance. In the reste youe ought to consider the force of youre self, what nomber youe be and in what appareille of armure and to perswade yourselfe, that in whatsoeuer parte ye be togiders, you euene youe haue beatene yourselues, & that in whatsoeuer cytye of Sycille that youe arryue, youe shalbe easely receyued aither for loue or by force, and also ye shall not easely be dryuene away after that you shall haue bene therunto ones retyredde, and for to passe tuerly, youe shall haue regarde to marthem beste order and wyth greatest diligence that youe maye wythoute to thynke on other thynge, but that in whatsoeuer parte youe be constrayned to fight, if youe obteigne the victorye, there shalbe youre walles and youre cytie. And also it is conuenyent for to continue and auaunce our iourney a day and a nyght without arrestynge vs, for we lacke victuailles. And after that we shall haue aryued in whatsoeuer towne of this countrey, we shalbe in suertie, for that that they shall perseuer in our amytie and allyance, for the feare whiche they haue of the Syracusayns. And also we haue alreadye sente vnto theym for to aduertise theym to mete vs and to bryng vs victuailles. And in effecte iudge and determyne youe (my frendes and compaignions) that it is necessarye for youe to declare yourselfe honnest and vertuous people. For if you do otherwyse, you shall not fynde anye place in this countrey, whiche shall not be youre ennemye and wherin you shall saue yourself. But if you the othere, that be not Athenyans do valyantly, ye shall see in shorte time the thyng, whiche youe somuche desyre to see, and youe, whiche be Athenians shall resuscitate and reyse by the greate puissance of your cytye, although that it be greatly decayed. For the walles and the shyps be not the cytie, wythout men, but rather the men wythout the same. Suche declarations, Nycias dyd make to his souldyars here and there whan he parceyuedde anybende that wente not in good order or that followed not nighe vnto the othere, and by that meane aither constraynedde theym, or elles induced theym to marche as yt appertaygnedde. The lyke declarations did Demosthenes make to hys men, and marched all in a loore cante battaille. To wytt Nycyas and hys men bifore, and Demosthenes with his after. And in the myddes were the banguages and the company of vnmete parsones, whiche wete in greate nomber.

Howe the Athenyans and their allyes being departed out of their campe, after the ouerthrowe for to go fromthence by lande, were followed by the Syracusayns and their allyes and fynally vtterly destroyed. ☞ The.viii. Chapter.

Inapus

IN suche manner, the Athenians and there allyes marched vntill the syde of the ryuer of Inapus, where they founde the Syracusayns and their allyes, whiche wayted for them, but they repoulsed them, and passed against their wille: notwithstanding the horsmen & archers

or darte

or darte casters followed them and oftentymes contended and dyd fight wyth them vntyll they arryued that same day in a place where was a high hylle, fortye stades out of Sarragosse, where they lodged that same nyght. On the morowe in the mornynge they departed aboute breake of the daye, and after that they had iourneyedde aboues .xx. stades they descended into a playne, and there logded themself that same daye, aswell for to take some victuailles, and howsen that were there, for that, that the place was inhabyted: as also for to take freshe water for to carye wyth theyme, for in all the waye, whiche they had passed, they founde but lytle therof. In thys meane tyme, the Syracusayns aduansed themself to gett an othere passage, by the whiche, it was conuenient for the sayd Athenyans to passe, whyche was a veray hyghe rocke, that was hangyng, and not to be come vnto, on two sydes, wherof the toppe was named Lepas. The morowe after, those same Athenyans, and their allyes, beinge in the waye, were eftsones greatly troubled, by the horsemen and archers, or darte casters of the ennemyes (wherof they had greate nomber) whiche came chasynge, and assayllynge theym by the sydes, so that skarcely they coulde iourney. And fynally after that they had fought a longe tyme, they were constrayned, to retyre into the same place, from whence they were departedde, but wyth muche greater disaduantage, for they founde there no victuailles, and also the lodging, was not so easye, as yt had bene the daye precedynge, for the oppression, whiche the ennemyes dydde make agaynste theyme. And neuertheias, the morowe in the mornynge, they toke eftsones the waye, and whatsoeuer empeschemente the sayedde ennemyes made agaynste theym, they passed further vntyll the sayed passage, whiche they founde closed with wall, and aboue vpon the same a greate bende of footemen, bearyng the moste parte shieldes and targettes, and though the place was very straight, yet the Athenyans marched fourth straight, and trauayled themself for to gett yt by force. But being repoulsed by the greate nomber of ennemyes, that were in the aduantagious place, to wytt, on hygh on the rocke, from whence they might the more sturdely, cast their dartes and their shott: they were constreyned to retyre and plante themselfe there, without doing any thyng, for that chiefly that in that same warre, there was greate thonderynges & rayne, lyke as comonly it dyd in the same countrey after ỳ haruest tyme, which was already bigon, wherof they were greatlye astonyed, and somuche the more, that they iudged, that the same was a prenostication of their destruction. Gylippus than perceyuynge that they were planted there, he sent one partie of his men by a syde waye, for to reyse vppe soubdainely a wall, in the waye, where through the Athenyans were come, to the ende to enclose theym at their backes, but they, that parceyuedde it, sente thider a bende of theirs, which empesched and repoulsed theym: and that done they also retyred nigh to a felde, which was nigh to that same passage, where they sotourned that same night. The day following, they being eftsones in the waye, the Syracusayns and Gylippus came to charge vpon thẽ on all sydes, and so dyd hurte many of them. And whan the same Athenyans charged vpon them they retourned. And as they were retourned backe, and put themself to iourney, they came afreshe to charge on the hyndermost, wherby they did hurte many of them for to cause the whole army to reste and tarye, but euery man defendyng best himself, against the charginges, iourneyed from fyue to sixe stades, vntyll they came vnto a felde, where they rested, and the Syracusains retourned from thence into their campe. Nycyas and Demosthenes, parceyuing than that their case was in euyll state and condition, aswell for lacke, whiche they generally had of victuailles, as also for the greate multitude, whiche they hadde of their hurte people, and that they

they alwayes had, the ennemyes bifore on all sydes, whiche cessed not to assaille them, they determyned to goo fromethence that same nyght secretly, not by the way whiche they had bigonne, but by an other clene contrarye leadynge vnto the sea, whiche did go crokedly, frome Catana to Camerin and towardes Gela, and certen other cyties whiche be wholy appolit or directly the one against the other, and of the other syde of Sycille, alwell Grekes, as barbarous. And so they didde lighten greate fyers in dyuers places through their campe for to cause the ennemyes to vnderstande, that they moued not. But as it chanceth alwayes in suche case whan a great hoste dislodgeth it self for feare, chiefly in the nyght, and in the countrey of ennemyes, and also hauing them veray nygh, all the campe was generally in greate feare, terror and tumulte. Neuerthelas Nycias, who had the former warde with his men, departed furst keping good order, and he iourneyedde a good space bifore the other, but one partie of the bende, which Demosthenes conducted, and as in a manner the moytie therof, skatered abroade and dyd breake their order in their passing. Notwithstanding they iourneyed somuche, that at the breake of the daye, they were at the sea syde, and did take away which was named Eloryn, alongest that same sea, by whiche they would haue gone vnto the ryuer of Cyparis, & afterwardes alongest the same, through the high countrey, keping thēself farre of frō the sea, hoping ỳ the Syracusains whom they had demanded to come to mete the, would haue come to encountre thē there. But they being arryued at the ryuers syde, founde that there was a certene nomber of mē, which the Syracusains had sent thider for to kepe & defende that same passage, whiche had stopped the other syde of the water, with paales & with rampares for to empesche and lett the shallowe passages, howbeit they were fewe people, and were incontinently reponsed by the sayd Athenias, who hauing passed that same ryuer, iourneyed vnto an other ryuer ỳ is called Erineus, keping the waye that the guides had taught & appoynted for thē. Duryng this time, ỳ Syracusains & their allies, whan the day was come, vnderstanding ỳ the Athenias were departed frōthence in the nyght, were veray angry, and had suspition ỳ Gilippus had bene consenting to their departure, & yet neuerthelas did put thēself in waye for to pourlue the sayd ennemys with all diligence following their tracke, which was right easy to knowe, so that they did ouertake them about the houre of dynner. And the furste that they founde were those of the bende of Demosthenes, who being troubled in the iourney, which they had made that same night, wente most softly and wout great order, and so the former of the Syracusains did begyn to elskarmouche against them & with their horsemen, who enuironed them incontinently on all sydes & constrayned theym for to ioigne togiders all in one place. And somuch the more that they were already separated into two bendes, for that, ỳ Nycias who knewe well ỳ it was no time to arrest there for to fyght, was vō his bende already bifore him more than a houndred & fifty stades, & cauled his men to auance forwardes the most that they myght wout arrestinge in any parte, but whā they were forced for to defende thēself. But Demosthenes couldе not do so, for that, ỳ he was empesched by manye meanes, insomuche as he was departed out of his lodging after the other, and insomuche as he had the arriere warde, he was ỳ furst ỳ the ennemys, shulde haue assailled. For this cause he was cōstrayned to geue himself almuche to kepe his mē ready to fight, being aduertised ỳ the Syracusains followed thē, as also to cause thē to passe on their way, in such sorte, ỳ by slacking his iourney, he was ouertakē by his ennemys, wherof he & his people were afrayde & astonyed. And somuch the more ỳ he was ouertaken in a place, that was enuironed with rampars, and in a way where there was Olyue trees on euery syde, whereby they were incontinently troubled vō stroakes

Heloria. — named Eloryn, alongest that same sea, by whiche they would haue gone vnto the

Cacipa ris. — ryuer of Cyparis & afterwardes alongest the same, through the high countrey, keping thēself farre of frō the sea, hoping ỳ the Syracusains whom they had demanded to come to mete the, would haue come to encountre thē there. But they

Erineus. — that the guides had taught & appoynted for thē. During this time, ỳ Syracusains & their allies, whan the day was come, vnderstanding ỳ the Athenias were

of dartes that their ennemys did cast against them on all sydes, who would not assaille them for to fyght hande to hande with all their strength, for that, seinge them in dispaier of their welth, it semed vnto thē not to be good to put the thing in hazarde of the battaille, but rather it was that, which thennemys should most desyre. And on the other parte knowyng to haue already almoste the victorye in their handes, they feared to cōmyt any faulte. For it semed well vnto them that wythout faighting in rancked battaille, in suffrynge by suche meanes their ennemyes, they shulde haue them without doubte at their wyll and pleasure. Hauing than escharmouchedde by suche meane all the daye wyth strokes of dartes, and knowyng that they were discouraiged, an herault was sente vnto theym frome Gylippus, the Syracusayns and their allyes. Whiche did furste to vnderstande, that if there were any of the Illanders cyties that would wythdrawe and come to them, he shuld be saued. Whereupon there were some bendes that withdrewe theymselfe, but veray fewe. And afterwardes the lyke offer was made vnto Demosthenes, that to all those, that wouldde putt of their armure, lyke shulde be saued, and shulde not be put into close prysone, nothere any necessitie of victuailles, the whiche partie they all dyd accepte, whiche were founde aboute sixe thousande and at the arryuall, euery man consigned and delyuered the monney, whiche he hadde, the whiche they layde downe wythin foure crownes beynge vpper moste, wherof they had plentie. And fourthwith they were ledde vnto Sarragosse. During this tyme, Nycyas had iourneyed all that same day to the ryuer, Erineus, hauing passed the whiche, he was lodged vpon an high hille, verye nigh vnto yt. In the whiche place he was, the morowe after, ouer taken by the Athenyans, who signefied vnto him, that Demosthenes, and his men had rendred themself, admonysshynge hym to do the lyke, whereunto Nycyas wouldde not geue sayth or creditt, but demanded them that they shulde be contente that he might sende one of his horsemen for to bringe the trewe reporte thereof vnto hym, whyche they graunted vnto hym. And afterwardes beyng informed by hys sayd horsemen, he sent to shewe vnto Gylippus, and the Syracusains that he was content to make appoynctment wyth them in the name of the Athenyans, if they would suffer him to passe with his men, to wytt, to render and repaye vnto them all the charge, that they had made in that same warre and thereupon to delyuer them for hostages a certene nomber of Athenyans, whom, repaying the sayd monney: they would buy a gayne at a talent for euery hedde. But Gylippus and the Syracusains would not accept the said partie, but they assailled them with strokes of dartes on all sydes so longe as the daye endured. And notwithstandyng that they were by that meane euyll entreated and also in necessitie of victuailles, yet they determyned to departe fromthence that same night, and had already taken their armure for to marche, whan they vnderstoode that the ennemyes had parceiuerance therof by the signe of the battaille, which they had caused to be geuen in their campe. So they did putt their armure of, except three houndred or therabouts, whiche passed by force, ouerthwart the watche of the sayd ennemys hopyng to saue theymself for that night. The daye beynge come, Nycyas toke hys iourney with his men. But as he did begynne to marche, the ennemyes assailled him with hande strokes and with shott on all sydes, as they had done, the daye precedynge. And yett neuerthelas sustaigninge the strokes, aswelle of the sayed dartes and arrowes, as also of horsemen, they iourneyd still further, hoppynge to get ye ryuer of Asinaris, aswel for that, that it semed, that the same being passed, the shulde goo in more suertie, as also for to drynke, for they all were troubled, wyth thurste. Beyng than arryued within the syght of the same ryuer, they rus- Asinarus.

shed all

shed all soubdainly into it, without keping any order, but so as ech man might cast himself furst into yt. But thennemyes, whiche followed, purchased themself so to let them to passe, wherby the disorder was verey greate, so somuch as in passing soubdainly and in a greate trowpe, the one empeshed the other aswelle with their parsones, as with their harnois & weapons. So that ỹ one dyd soubdamely swymme, and the others were so entermedledde togither, that the ryuer dyd carye theym awaye, and the ennemyes whiche kepte both the sydes, whiche were verey high, pursued theym on all sydes, with stroakes of dartes, and with hande. In manner that a greate nomber of theyme were slayne, specyally of the Peloponesyans, who rested in the depeste of the water, for to drynke the better at their ease. By meane whereof the water was inconuynently troubledde, aswell with bloude of those, that were hurte, as with the mudde whiche they remoued by passing. And yet neuerthelas they ceased not to drynke for the greate thurste, that they had, but rather they did fight amongest theymselfe for drynke, where they dyd see the water moste clere. Fynally the ryuer beynge replenysshed with deade men, whiche combled the one vpon the others, and all that same armye destroyed, to wytt, some by the ryuer, and the other that were eskaped by the horsmen: Nycias rendred hymself vnto Gylippus, trusting more in him, than in the Syracusayns. And submyttyng himself to the will of hym, and of the other Peloponesians, he prayed hym that he wouldde not suffre, the others men of warre, whiche were not yet deade, to be slayne. Whiche thyng Gylippus graunted vnto hym: and defended, that no man shoulde slaye anny more of the Athenyans, but that they shulde be takene prysoners. And so all those, that were not hydde (of whome was a greate nomber) were taken prysoners, and the three houndredde whiche were skaped in the night, were lykewyse taken by the horsemen, whyche were afterwardes sente vnto them, but whan they were all togiders, there was no greate nomber, of them. For the most parte vnclothed theymselfe and fledde fromthence by diuers wayes, whereby all Sycille was replenyshedde, for that, that they rendred not themself by composition, as those with Demosthenes: but a greate partie of them did dye. And in effecte, that same slaughter was so great or greater than any other that had bene made in Sycille at any tyme before durynge that same warre. For beysdes those, that were slayne by faightynge, there was a greate nomber, slayne in flyinge by the wayes, or elles so hurte, that afterwardes they dyed, neuerthelas many dyd saue theymself, some that same daye, and the other the nyght followynge, the whiche retyred into Catana. The Syracusayns than and their allyes, hauyng takene of the prysoners, the moste that they myght, retyred to Sarragosse, being arryued at which place, they sente the prysoners into an castelle, namedde Litothomia, the whiche they reputedde the strongest and most suer of al the other, that they had. But they soone caused Demosthenes & Nycyas, to dye against Gylippus will. Who reputed, that it shulde haue bene greate honnour vnto hym, and for greate glorye beysdes the victory, at his retourne to bryng the Dukes of the ennemyes prysoners to the Lacedemonyans, whereof the one had bene their mortell and sharpe ennemye at the ouerthrowe of Pylus, and the other had bene frende and fauourable vnto theym in the self matter. For whan the Lacedemonyans, that were takene at Pylus, were brought to Athens, Nycias purchased their delyuerance of his power, and vsed all the humanytie that he coulde, and moreouer he purchased the appointemente, bitwene the Athenyans, and the Lacedemonyans, so farre as he myghte. whereby those same Lacedemonyans did beare hym loue, which was the cause, wherfore he rendredde himself vnto Gylippus. But some of the Syracusayns,

Litothonia.

whiche had intelligence and confederation wyth hym durynge the liege, fearing leste that by tormentes he shulde be constrayned to tell the trouth thereof, lyke as the bruytt was, and that by the same meane in the prosperitie of the victory, some newe brabblyng shulde chance in the cytie: and the other, specially the Corynthyans, doubtynge that by plenty of monney, considerynge that he was verye ryche, he shoulde wynne and corrupte the kepers, and by that meane eskape, and afterwardes make newe warre agaynste theym: they perswaded so vnto all the allyes, that yt was concluded to putt him to death. For suche or the veray nigh lyke cause, Nycias was slayne, a man of all those, that hath bene of my tyme, that least deserued it, for that, that al the mischief that had happened to him, was for hys vertues, wherein he dyd bestowe and applye all hys mynde. As touchyng the prysoners, that were ledde and caryed into Lychotomie, they were veray rudely entreated at the begynnynge. For beynge in so greate nomber in a lowe and narrowe place beynge opene, they were destroyedde, furste wyth the heate of the sonne in somer, and afterwardes Autumpne commynge, by cause of the nightes, whiche beganne to be colde, by the soubdayne change of the tyme: they felle into greate diseases, soigned, that in the same straight place, wherein they were all togiders, they were constrayned to doo all their necessities, and chiefly those that dyedde, aswell of woundes as of sickenes, were all there buryed the one wyth the other, whereby the stenche was intollerable. And beysdes thys, they hadde greate skarcytie of dryncke and of meate, for they had but two smalle loaues a daye, and a smalle measure of water euery man. And in effecte, they suffred and endured all the euylles in that same place, that is possible to suffre in that same case, the space of, lxx, dayes. Afterwardes, they were all solde, reserued certene nomber of them whiche were Athenyans, and a certene smalle nomber of Italians, & of Sicilians, whiche they founde to haue bene in their compaignie. And although that yt be difficille to shewe the nomber of all theyme whiche for trouth were prysoners, yet it is full certene that they were moze, than seuen thousande. Which was the greatest lolle that the Grekes had made in that same warre, and for that, that I can haue learnedde (aswelle by heare saye as also by histories) that euer bifore tyme had bene made. Whereby the acte was moze glorious to those, that hadde the victorye, and moze miserable to theym that were ouercomedde. The whiche beynge wholy and in all sortes destroyed and wyth greate lolle in all partes, remayned so as yt is sayde, destitute both of footemen and of shyppes. And of one so greate nomber of men of warre, that there were but veray fewe, that retourned fromthence into their countrey. Such was the ysshue of the warre of Sycille.

Here endeth the Seuenth booke of the historye of Thucidides, and the eight begynneth.

Of the prouision whiche the Athenyans made, hauyng vnderstanded the destruction of their people in Sycille, for to susteigne warre agaynste the Peloponesians, and howe the more parte of Greece, togiders with the kynge of Perse, dyd realye themself togiders against the sayd Athenyans.

The furst Chapter.

WHan the newes of the same ouerthrowe and destruction did come to Athens, there was not well nigh one parson, that would almost bileue them, though afterwardes thole, whiche were come and skaped fromthence, did witnesse it. For it semed vnto them impossible, that one such an army might haue bene so vtterly destroyed. But after that the trouth was lerned, the people begaune to enter into fury and into greate anger against the Oratours, which had perswaded that same enterpryse, as though they themself had not determyned it, and lykewise agaynst the Augurers, and diuinours, whiche had done them to vnderstande that the same enterpryse shulde be fortunate and that they shulde subdue all Sycille. And for effect belyde the sorowe and displaiser, that they had for the same losse, they were in greate feare, for that, that they parceyued themself depriued, aswell in particuler, as in generall of a greate compaignie of good warryours, aswell forcemen as horsemen and of the moste parte of their ponge men, better than they had annye left of them. And also they had no shyps in their hauone, nother monney in their treasure, nor maroners ne workemen for to make newe shyps, and for effect they were in a totall despeir of their welth. For they did thynke that the army by sea of the ennemys, that shoulde retourne out of Sycille, would come straicte for to aryue at their porte of Pyreus, hauing had so great a victory, and hauing their force doubled by the frendes, and allyes of the Athenians, wherof many were reuolted and rebelled with the sayd ennemys. Wherfore the sayed Athenyans, dyd loke for no lesse, but that the sayd Peloponesians would come to assaille them euen in that same iourney both by sea, and by lande. And yet notwithstãding, they were not admised to shewe themself faynte harted, nor to forsake their busynes, but rather to assemble and gather togiders the most shyps that they coulde out of alcostes, and for to do it, to amasse and gather togiders monney by all meanes and also woode and stuff for to make shyps, and moreouer to assuer their frendes and allyes, chefly the Eubeyens, and moreouer to restreyne the expences and sumptuolitie of their lyuynge in the cytye, and to treate a newe counsaille of the moste auncyentes, that shulde haue the auctorytie and charge to prouyde for the affaire of warre in all cases aboue all the other. And for effect they were attentife and diligent to make all necessary prouisions, as people beyng afrayde do generally make, and for to execute that which was deuysed and determyned. And in thies enterseates the somer endedde. The wynter followinge in manner all the Grekes did begynne to make newe sorowes for the great losse that the Athenyans had made in Sycille. For it semed vnto them that had bene newter in that same warre, that they shoulde not perseuer in that same newtralytie, but rather take parte with the Peloponesiãs, although that they were not therunto required, for that, that they iudged that the sayd Athenians would haue come against theym, if they had obteigned the victory in Sycille. And on the other parte it semed vnto

med vnto theyme for trouth that the reste of the warre shoulde be the sonner acheued and endedde, and also that it shoulde be greate honnoure vnto theym to be partakers of the victory. And as touchynge those, that were declareddе to be with the Lacedemonyans, they offred theymself more readely than they hadde bifore tyme done, hoppynge that the victorye shoulde bringe theyme oute of all necessities and oute of all dangers. And also those, whiche were subiectes of the Athenyans were the more determynedde for to rebelle and for to doo agaynste them further than their power extended for a greate hatred and euyll wil whiche they hadde agaynste theym, and also for thys, that for any reasone that men coulde alleage, they woulde not understande that those Athenyans myghte eskape to be destroyed and ouerthrowen the somer followinge. For all the whiche thynges the cytie of Lacedemonie dyd conceyue greate hope to obteigne victorye agaynste the sayd Athenyans. And specially for that, that it was to bileue, that the Sycilians beng their allyes, and haupnge so greate nomber of shipps, aswell of theirs as of those, whiche they hadde gotten fro the Athenyans, shulde come in the sprynge tyme vnto their ayde. And so haupng hope on all sydes, they determyned not to make anny delay in the warre, makynge their accompte that if they had the victory at that same time, they shulde be alwayes in suertie & out of the danger, wherein they shoulde haue bene, if the Athenyans hadde gotten Sycille. For it is fully clere, that if they had subdewed it, they would haue made themself Lordes of all Grece. Followynge than this determynation, Agis kyng of the Lacedemonyans, departed that same wynter out of Decelea, and sailled by sea through the cyties of the allyes, for to cause them to contrybute monney for to make newe shyppes. And passynge through the greate Goulphe of Oetes named Melinee, he toke there a greate prize of theyme, by cause of the auncyente enniemytie, that the Lacedemonyans hadde with theym, whyche prize he tourned into monney. And that done he constreyned the Achees, the Phthiotes and the other nygh borderyng people, subiectes to the Thessaliens, to delyuer a good some of monney and also certaine nomber of hostages, for that, that he suspected theym, agaynste the wyll of the sayed Thessaliens. Whiche hostages he sente into Corynthe, and for effecte the Lacedemonyans ordeyned one houndred galleys to be made by theym and their allyes, and taxedde vnto euery one for hys rate a portion, to wytte, to theym, xxb, and to the Beotians almanye, to the Phociens, Locriens, and Corynthyans, xxx, to the Arcadians, Peloponesians, Sycioniens, Megarens, Trezeniens, Epidauriens and Hermioniens, xx, and moreouer they made prouision of all other thinges, to the intente to begynne warre incontinentlye, as the sprynge time shoulde come. On the other syde the Athenyans that sell same wynter, enstynge that, whiche they had determynedde, vsed all diligence to make and tacle shyppes, and those that had matter or stuffe, dyd furnyshe yt wythoute difficultie. They moreouer encloseddе their poarte of Sunium wyth walles, to the ende that the shyppes, that shulde bringe them victuallies, might come in suertie. And they habandonedde and left the rampars and fortes whiche they hadde made in Laconique whan they went into Sycille, destitute and voyde. And in the rest they employed to restrayne expences in all that, wherin it shulde seme vnto thē that they might excede. But aboue all thynges they were myndeful to kepe and defende that their subiectes & allyes shulde not rebell.

Agis. Oetei. Meline-us. Phthi-otes. Simili.

Howe the Lacedemonians were

required and instanced by those of Chio of Lesbos, and of Hellespont to sende vnto them an army by sea for to resist the Athenyans against whom they were wylling to rebell, & the order that therupon was geuen.

☞ The.ii. Chapter.

IN the meane tyme that thies thynges were done on the one syde and on the other, and that they were attentife and diligent in their preparation almuche, as if the warre shulde begyn at the self houre, specially the Eubeens, before all the other allyes of the Athenyens, sent messengers vnto Agis for to togine with the Lacedemonians, who receyued them gentlely, and comanded two pryncipall men of Lacedemonie to come vnto him for to sende theym into Eubee, that is to wyet, Alcamenes sone of Stenclaide, and Melanthus, who came with foore houndredde freemen. The Lesbyans also, whiche desired to rebell fro thē, sent likewise vnto Agis to demaūde men of hym for to sende into their towne, who at the persuatiō of the Beotians agrede vnto them & in the meane time suspended the enterprise of Eubee. And he sent Alcamenes, who shuld go thider, vnto Lesbos .xx. shyps, wherof Agis furnished tenne and the Beotians tenne. And Agis did al this, without causinge the Lacedemonyans to knowe any thyng therof. For he had auctorite to sende people to what place that he wouldе, and to assemble and leuie lykewyse & for to recouer monney and employ yt so as he shulde thinke expediente, so longe as he shulde be at Decelea. During whiche time all the allyes dyd obey him, somewhat more than the cytie of Lacedemonie, for that, that hauing the army at his will, he caused it to go whider he would. And so he agrede with the Lesbyans, as it is abouesayd. On the other syde those of Chio, and those of Erithree, whiche were mynded likewise to rebell from the Athenians, made their treatie with the officers and counsaillours of the cytie of Lacedemonie without knowlaige of Agis, with whome was come into the sayd cytie, Thissaphernes, that was prouoste of the inferiour prouynce for the kynge Dareus, sonne of Artaxarres, who solycited the Peloponesians to make warre against the Atheniens and promysed to fournisshe thē with monney, wherof he had the comoditie, for that, that by the comandement of the king his maister, he had a lytle before exacted a tribute of his prouynce to the intent for to employ the monney against the Athenyans. Whome he hated much, for that, ꝑ those were they, that had empesched him to make Grece trybutairie vnto hym, and it semedde to the sayed Thissaphernes, that more easely he shulde recouer the sayd trybute inasmuche as he was mynded to employe yt against the Athenyans, and also by that meane that he shoulde make allyance betwene the Lacedemonians and the kynge Dareus, & besydes this, that he shulde haue in his power, Amorges, bastarde sonne, of Pissuthnes. Who beyng prouoste of the countrey of Carie for the kynge, was rebelled against him, and he hadde comanded the sayd Thissaphernes that he shulde take paine to haue him lyuing or deade. And thereupon Thissaphernes agrede with theym of Chio. In the self seasō Calligetus, sonne of Leophon of Megare, & Tymagoras, sonne of Athenagoras of Cizine, who were both chased out of their countrey, came vnto Lacedemonie vnto Pharnabasus, sonne of Pharnacus, who had withdrawn thē thider, to demaūde of the Lacedemonyans shyps, for to carye thē into Hellespont, offring them to make all his power to get the cyties of his prouynce, which toke parte with the Athenians, for thē, desiring by that meane to make the like alliance betwene the kyng Dareus his maister and them. Thies practises of Pharnabazus and

Melanthus.

Thissaphernes Dareus

Amorges. Caria.

Calligetus.

Timagoras.

Pharnabazus.

zus and of Thillaphernes being than brought to Lacedemonie, wythoute that thole, whiche brought the one, hadde in any thynge knowlaige of the other: the Lacedemonyans were in greate controuerſie, for ſome were of oppynyon that mē ſhulde furſt ſende ſhyps into Jonium and Chio, and the other that they ſhulde ſende into Helleſponte. But fynally the greater partie was of oppynyon that men oughte furſte to accepte the partie of Chio and of Thillaphernes, ſpecially at the perſwation of Alcibiades, who at that preſente lodgedde in the houſe of Endius, that was the ſame yeare Ephore, that is to ſaye, Trybune of the comon people, and hys father alſo had lodgedde there, by reaſone whereof, he was calledde, Endius Alcibiade. But biſore that the Lacedemonyans ſente their ſhyppes to Chio, they ſente one, who was neyghboure of that ſame cytye named Phrynes, for to eſpie, if they hadde ſo greate nomber of ſhyppes, as they had geuen to vnderſtande, and in the reſte if their cytye were ſo ryche, and ſo puiſſante as it was renomedde, who beynge come agayne and hauynge made hys reapoorte that there was nothynge leſſe in effecte than in renome, made incontinentlye allyance wyth the ſayd Chiens, and Erythriens, and ordeyned to ſende thider fourty galleys for to ioigne theyme wyth the other three ſkoore, whiche the Chiens ſayde that they had, whereof they ſhulde ſende at begynnynge fourty and tenne other afterwardes by Melacride their Capitaine by ſea. In whoſe place they afterwardes dydde chooſe Chalcideus, forſomuche as in the makynge the election of the ſayd Melacride, yt hadde thoundredde. And of tenne ſhyppes that Chalcideus ſhulde haue caryed, he hadde but onely fyue therof. And in thies enterfeaictes the wynter ended. Whiche was the ende of the.xx. yeare of the warre, that Thucydides hath wrytton. In the begynnynge of the furſte ſpryng, thoſe of Chio ſente incontinently vnto the Lacedemonyans that they ſhoulde ſende them the ſhyppes, whiche they hadde promyſed vnto theym. For they feareddе greatelye leaſte the Athenyans ſhoulde be aduertiledde of their treacte, wherof they hadde yet vnderſtandedde nothynge. For this cauſe the Lacedemonyans ſente three of their cytezeins vnto the Corynthyans for to ſhewe theym, that they ſhoulde cauſe all the ſhyppes to paſſe, aſwelle thoſe, whiche Agis had cauſed to be armed for to ſende into Leſbos, as the othere in the ſea, where they were throughe the diſtreate in the ſea of Athenes, and to conducte theyme to Chio whyche ſhyppes were to the nomber of, xlix. But forſomuche as Calligetus, and Tymagoras wouldе not be partakers of that ſame voiage, the ambaſſadours of Pharnabazus wouldе not delyuer the monney that he hadde ſente for to wage the armye by ſea, whyche amountedde to, xxb, talentes, but rather determynedde to make an othere armye wyth that ſame monney, and therewyth to goo thider, where they hadde purpoſed. When Agis vnderſtoode that the Lacedemonians hadde determyned for to ſende furſte vnto Chio, he wouldе not goo agaynſte their deliberation. And lykewyſe the allyes hauynge holden their counſeille in Corynthe, were of that ſelf oppynyon, that Chalcideus ſhulde furſt goo into Chio. Who had armed fyue ſhyppes at Lacanique. And afterwardes Alcamenes, whome Agis hadde alſo cholene for cayptaine, ſhulde goo to Leſbos. And fynally that Clearchus ſonne of Rhamphius ſhulde goo into Helleſponte. But biſore all thynges they ordeynedde that the moytie of their ſhyppes ſhulde paſſe with all diligence, the diſtreacte, afore that the Athenyans ſhulde parceyue yt, fearynge leaſte they ſhulde charge aſwell vpon them, as alſo vpon the othere that ſhulde paſſe afterwardes. For from the other ſea, the ſhyps of the Peloponeſians myght departe openly wythout any feare of the Athenyans, for that, that no man coulde yet ſee any army in the ſea for them in anny poorte.

Endius

Phry-
nes.

Howe certene of the Peloponesians shyppes were repoulsed by the Athenyans in the porte of Pyreus. And howe the cyties of Chio, of Erythree, of Mylet and many other tourned vnto the cõfederation of the Peloponesians. And howe the furst allyance was made bitwene the kyng Dareus, and the Lacedemonyans.

The.iii. Chapter.

FAstyng that same deliberation, thole, whiche hadde charge thereof, passedde the distreate with .xvi. galleys. And thoughe that they made great instance to the Corinthyans, that they shulde passe with them yet they wouldе not do it, for that, that the feast, whiche is called Isthmie, dyd drawe nygh, the whiche they were wyllyng to celebrate bifore their departure. Which perceiuedde, Agis, that they shulde not breake the othe, by the whiche they had made trefues with the Athenians vntill after that same feaste, offred to take thē in his name, whereunto they also wouldе not agree. And in the meane time that they debated hereupon, the Athenyans, being aduertised of the treatie that the Chiens did make, sent vnto them one of their officers, named Aristocrates, for to declare vnto thē, that they dyd naughtely. And forsomuche as they denied the case, he cõmanded them, that they shulde sende their shyps to Athens, lyke as they were bounde by vertue of their allyance, whiche thynge they durst not refuse, and sent thider seuen galleys, wherof certene, whiche dydde not knowe the other treatie, were authors, and also they that knewe yt, who feared to putt theymself in danger and to declare the case vnto the comminaltie, vntyll they myghte haue some puissance, for to resiste yt, if that it wouldе ryse vppe, not hoppynge more that the Peloponesians wouldе haue come, sithens that they tarryed so longe. Durynge this tyme, the solempne playes were made at the feaste of Isthmie, wherat the Athenyans were, for that, that they had hadde suertie or sauff conducte to come thider. And so they lernedde there more clerely howe the Chiens practysedde to rebell frome them. For this cause, after that they were retourned vnto Athenes, they prepared their shyppes for to defende, that thole of thennempes shulde not departe out of Cenchree without their knowlaige. Aristocrates. Cõthree. Ryght sone after the feast, they sent thider .xvi. galleys for to encounter the other xvi, wherof Alcamenes had the conduct. And after that they did see them, they enforced themself to full them into the mayne sea, faigning themself to retyre. Neuerthelas after that the Peloponesians had followed them a lytle further, they retourned backe, whiche sene, the Athenyans dydde lykewyse retyre, forsomuche as they trusted not seuen shyps whieh they had from Chio in their compaignie of .xvi. But being afterwardes come vnto thē an other newe succours with .xxvii. other shyps, they followed the ennemyes vntill the deserte & habandoned porte, which is in the extremyties or furthest parte of the lande of Epidaurians, which Pyreus they called Pyreus, within the which porte the Peloponesians shyps were retyred, reserued one, whiche was loste in the mayne sea. At which place the Athenyans came to assaille theym by sea, and also landedde one parte of their men, who feareddе theyme greatly, and crusshed manye of their shyppes and dyd slay manny men, among whome was Alcamenes, also a certene nomber of their people dyed bifore that they departed, but fynally the Athenyans retyredde. And for to kepe the ennemyes alliegedde, they lefte suche nomber, as they thoughte good in a lytle Iland there adioignynge, wherein they lodgeddde theymselfe, and sente wyth dilygence by a brigantyne to the Athenyans, that they shoulde

sende

lende theyme newe succours: durynge this tyme and the daye followynge the Corynthians did comme to the ayde of the Peloponesians, and sone after, those of the other allyes: who seinge, that it shulde be verey harde for them for to kepe that same defarte place, were in greate perplexitie, and at the furste bruntе did speake of burning their ships. But synally they determyned to wythdrawe them towards the lande, & to cause their men to lande for to warde them vntill that they shulde see opportunytie for to saue them. Agis beinge aduertysed of the whiche thynges, sente vnto them a cyte zeine of Sparte, named Thermon. Nowe the Lacedemonyans hadde bene aduertysed of the departure of the shyps out of the destreate, for that, that the Trybuns of the people had cōmanded Alcamenes that he shulde aduertyse them, immediatly whan he departed. For this cause they sente wyth all dylygence fyue ships after, vnder the conducte of Chalcideus and of Alcibiades. But afterwardes beinge aduertysed howe their men and shippes were fledde, they were all astonyed and dasshed de oute of countenance, that their furst enterpryse of warre in the sea Jonium, had myshappened, in suche sorte that they were determyned not to sende any more an armye by sea out of their lande, and to reuoke or calle backe the same, whiche they had alreadye sente thider. Whyche perceyued, Alcibiades perswaded eftsones to Endius, that he shulde not suffre the enterpryse of Chio to be brokene of, nother to wate colde. For it mighte arryue there, before that the Chiens were aduertysed of the inconuenyence of the other shyppes. And if he himselfe sayled into Jonum, he was hable to cause rycht easely the cyties, whyche toke parte wyth the Athenyans to rebelle, sygnefynge vnto them the debilitie and lowe estate of the Athenyans, and the puissance, rogyders with the enterpryses of the Lacedemonyans: for somuche as he had greate creditt wt them. And beyndes this, Alcibiades, shewed to Endius perticulerly, that it shulde be greate honnor and greate glorye vnto hym, that by hys meane the contrey of Jonum shulde rebelle from the Athenyans to the confederatyon wyth the Lacedemonyens: and that by that meane he shulde be compaignyon wyth Agys kinge, and so haue done yt wythoute the sayde Agis, vnto whom the same Endius was aduersary: and Alcibiades soperswaded Endius and the other Trybuns, that the charge of fyue shippes, wyth Chalcideus the Lacedemonyan, was delyuered vnto hym for to go in that same partie, whiche they did in a rycht small tyme. Nowe chaūced it in that selfe time that Gylippus after the victorie comynge agayne oute of Sycille into Grece wt xbii Peloponesians shipps, he encountred nighe to Leucade. xxbii. shippes of the Athenyans: wherof Hippocles, sonne of Menippus, was chief, who was sente thider to thys ende, to wytt, for to encounter and spoylle the shippes, whych came oute of Sycille, and though that he did them greate displeasure and greatly feared them, yet neuerthelas they eskaped all, reserued one, and sailled to lande at Corinthe. In the meane tyme Chalcideus & Alcibiades in making their voiage, did take all the shippes, whyche they encountred, of whatsoeuer sorte that they were: to the intente that their passage shulde not be knowin: the whyche neuerthelas they dyd afterwardes suffer to departe, byfore they arryued at the place of Corycque, whyche is in mayne lande, and hauinge treated wyth certene of the Chiens that ministred to the treatie, they were aduertysed not to speke therof to any whatsoeuer parsone: whiche thinge they dyd in suche sorte, that they arriued at the Cytie of Chio, byfore that any parson knewe any thinge therof. The Cytezeins beyng much astonyed therof, they were perswaded by some for to assemble the counsaille of the towne, for to heare, what they, whyche were arryued, would say. And the same beinge assembled Chalcideus and Alcibiades declaredde vnto

Ther-mon.

Hippo-cles.

Coricus

them, how many of the Peloponesians ships did come after vnto them, wout makyng mencion of those, that were allieged in Pyreus. The Chiens vnderstanding whych thinge, made allyance wyth the Lacedemonians, departing them selfe from the same of the Athenians: & the lyke they cauſed incontynently after to be made by the Erethriens, and conſequently by the Clazomeniens, who wout any further delay paſſed fourthwith into the mayne lande, and builded there a ſmall towne, to the ende, that if any ſhulde come to ouerrõne them in the Iſland, they might haue ſome place for to withdraw thẽſelfe into. And for effecte all thoſe that rebelled, were attentiue & diligente for to fortefie their walls, & to prouyde thẽſelfe vñ all thinges for to reſiſte the Athenians, if they did come to aſſaill them. Whan ỹ Athenyãs were aduertiſed of ỹ rebellyõ of the Chiẽs, they were in great ſorow & doubt, that their allyes perceyuing that ſame great cytie rebelled, wold do the like. For this cauſe, albeit that they had layd a part a thouſande talentes & had made a decree ỹ no man ſhuld ſpeke or purpoſe vnder the great paynes to touche or to take therof during all ỹ warre: yet neuerthelas for the feare, ỹ they had of that ſame caſe, they reuoked their decre, & ordeyned that men ſhulde take a great part therof, wherwith that they might make and tacle a great nõber of ſhips: & moreouer cauſed eyghte of thoſe that were in Pyreus to diſlodge vnder the conduict of Stroõbichides ſone of Diotimus for to follow thoſe, which Chalcideus and Alcibiades did conducte: but they coulde not ouertake them, for they were already come agayne fromthence. And ſone after they ſent for the ſame effecte twelue other ſhips vnder the conducte of Thraſides, which likewiſe were departed frõ the Siege of thoſe, that were in Pireus. For vnderſtanding the rebellyõ of ỹ Chiens, they ſealed the .xvii. ſhips, which they had of thẽ at the ſaid Pyreus: & reſtored to libertie the eſclaues that were vñ them: but they did take ỹ cytezeins priſoners. And in ſtede of the other, which had geuẽ vp & forſaken that ſame liege, there were other fourthvñ ſent thider at great charges, & alſo they had determyned to arme .xxx. & vpwards of them: which to do they vſed ſo great dyligence, ỹ it ſemed that they eſtemed nothing to be ſufficient inough for to recouer Chio. During this time Stronbichides vñ. viii. ſhips ſailled to Samũ, & hauing there taken alſo one ſhippe, which he founde there, he ſailled to Tea, and prayed the cytezeins that they wolde be ferme and conſtant, & not to make any nouelty. Unto which place Chalcideus dyd come frõ Chio with .xviii. ſhips, in the whiche he had charged a great nomber of ſotemen, aſwell of Erythzee, as alſo of Clazomenie. Stronbichides, being aduertyſed therof, he departed incontynently from Tea, & whan he had taken the mayne ſea, ſeing afarre of ſo great nõber of ſhips he retired into Samie, where he ſaued himſelf, although that the other did geue him the chaſe. Which perceyued, the Theriens although that at beginning they had refuſed to receyue garnyſon into their cytie, receyued it after Stronbichides was fledde fromthence. And there were lefte the ſotemen Erithzyens and Clazomeniens: who haunge certen dayes attended the retourne of Chalcideus, that followed Stronbichides, and ſeynge that he came not, they dyd raſe downe the walles of the towne, whiche the Athenyans had made frome of the coaſte of the mayne lande. And that did they, wyth the ayde and perſwacion of certaine ſtrangers that came thider in the meane time vnder conducte of Stages, lieutenãt of Tiſſaphernes. In this meane time Chalcideus & Alcibiades, hauing chaſed Strõbychides into the porte of Samie, they retourned fromthence to Chio, & there left their maroners in garniſõ, whõ they armed as ſouldears. And hauing in their ſtede put into their ſhips men of ỹ countrey & moreouer armed .xx. other ſhipps, they ſailled fromthence to Phylet, truſting to cauſe the towne to rebelle. For Alci-

Erithrei Clazomenes

Strõbichides

Tea.

biades,

biades, who had great amytie vñ many of the pryncipall cytezeins therof, wolde gladly do that acte, byfore that the shyps of the Peloponesians shulde be sente thyder for that same cause, and to haue that same honnour, aswell for him as for Chalcydeus and also for those of Chio, whome they hadde in their compaignie, and moreouer for Endius, who was author of hys voiage: that by their meane, many Cyties, whyche toke parte wyth the Athenyans, shulde rebelle. Hauynge than made greate dyligence by sea the moste secretly that they myght, they arryued at the said Milet a lytle before Stronbichides and Thrasicleas, who were sente thider by the Athenyans wyth. xii. shippes, and caused the towne incontynently to tourne to their confederatie. Sone after arryued other nyneteene shyps of the Athenyans, whyche followed those here, the whyche not beinge receyued by the Mylesians, they retyred into an Ilande there adioyngning, named Lada. Sone after the rebellyon of Mylet, the furst alliance was made betwene the kinge Dareus & the Lacedemonyans by Tyssaphernes & Chalcideus in this manner. Thrasicleas. Lada.

The tenour of the allyaunce betwene the kinge Dareus and the Lacedemonians.

IN thies enterlaicres, the Lacedemonyens and their allyes, made allyaunce wyth the kynge Dareus and Tyssaphernes hys prouoste, in this maner. That the cyties, landes, countreys and seigniories, that the Athenyans helde, those same, whyche the kynge or hys predecessours had holdene, shulde remayne vnto hym: and that all the reuenue that those Athenyans dyd take therof, shulde be enioyed by the kynge and the Lacedemonyans togiders, and that they shulde defende that no parte thereof shulde come to the profitt of the Athenyans. That the kynge and the Lacedemonyans wyth their allyes shulde make warre commonlye agaynste the Athenyans: and that the one shulde not conclude peace vñ them wythoute the othere. And that if any of the kynges subiectes rebelledde agaynste hym, the Lacedemonyans and their allyes shulde holde them for their ennemyes: and of the subiectes of the Lacedemonyans and allyes, if they rebelled, the kynge shulde take theym for hys. Such was the comme of the allyaunce betwene them.

Howe those of Chio or Chiens after that they were rebelledde agaynst the Athenyans, caused Mytilene and all the Isle of Lesbos to rebell. And howe the Athenyans dyd afterwardes recouer it wyth certen other cyties, whych were also rebelled. And howe, hauing vainquished the Chiens in three battailles they pillaged and wasted all their lande: and of some other thynges.

☞ The. iiii. Chapter.

AT the selfe tyme the Chiens armed tenne othere shyppes, wyth the whyche they toke their waye for to saille to the cytie of Anea, aswelle for to lerne what the Cytie of Milet hadde done, as for to solycitte the othere Cyties, whyche toke parte wyth the Athenyans for to habandone them. But beinge aduertysed by Chalcideus howe Amorges did come agaynste their cytie wyth a great hoste by lande, they retourned fromthence vnto the temple of Jupiter, oute of whyche place, they mighte see commynge. xvi. Athenyans shippes, whyche Diomedon conducted, who was sente from Athens after Anea. Amorges. Diomedon.

after Thrasicles. And knowing that they were shippes of Athenes, one parte of the Chiens wente vnto Ephesus and the other to Tea: of the whiche, foure were taken by the Athenyans. But that was, after that those, that were within them were landed. The other saued themself in the porte of Tea, and the Athenyās departed fromthence against Samū. And yet neuerthelas, the Chiens hauing assembled the other shyps that were escaped, and also a certen nomber of fotemen, they perswaded the cytie of Lebedus to forsake the partie of the Athenyans, and afterwards that same of Eras. And that done they retired vō their shyps ⁊ fotemē into their houses. Abouts the same tyme the .xvi. shyps of the Peloponesians, the whiche did holde a like nōber of the Athenyans shipps allieged at Pireus, issued soubdainly ⁊ vnlosed for, vpon those Athenyans: and delyed ⁊ repoulsed them in such sort, that they did take foure of them: and that done, they sailled to the port of Cenchree, where they repaired and tacled their shyps, for to saille afterwardes to Chio and into Jonū vnder the conducte of Astyochus, whom the Lacedemonyans sente vnto them, vnto whom they had geuene charge of all the armye by sea. After that the fotemen that were at Tea, were departed fromthence, Tyssaphernes arryued there. Who hauing causeд the reste of the walles to be beatene downe, sailled frōthence incontynently. And sone after Diomedon arryued there, with .xx. Athenyans shyps, who did somuch with them of the towne, that they were cōtent to receue him, but he tarried not there, ⁊ so sailled to Eras, thinking to take it by force: which thing he coulde not do, and for that cause departed. In that same tyme, the meane people of Samū did rebelle against the greater, hauing vō them the ayde of the Athenyans, which were come to arriue there wyth thre shyps. And they did slay two houndred of the principall of the same greater occupiers and they banniшed other two houndred: and forfeyted their goodes, aswel of the dead, as of the banniшed: the whiche they departed amongest them. And by consente of the Athenyans, after that they had promyseд them to persener in their amytie, they sett themself into lybertie, ⁊ gouerned themself of thēself, without geuing to the banniшed, whose goods they did wythhold, any thing for their lyuinge, but rather made a great defence and prohibition, that none shulde take any land or house of them, nor also deliuer thē any. In thies enterfaicts the Chiens, that had determyned to declare themself against the Athenyans, in all sortes ỳ they coulde, celled not vō their proper force, vō out any ayde of the Peloponesians, for to sollycit ⁊ practise the other cyties, holding the partie of ỳ Athenias for to tourne frō them, ⁊ they did this for many reasons, but principally for to vōdraw so many more people into sell danger, wherin they were. And so they armed .xiii. shyps, with the which they sailled towards Lesbos, enuyng the derre of the Lacedemonyans: by ỳ which it was appointed ỳ the second nauigatiō or voiage by sea shuld be made to ỳ said Lesbos, ⁊ the thirde to Hellespōte. For the fotemē which were come thider, aswel Peloponesiās, as other borderers, were gone to Clazomenie ⁊ to Cumes: of whō Eualas ỳ Spartiā was capitain, ⁊ Dimiadas of ỳ shyps. The Chiens came with this army furst to Methimne, ⁊ at the arriual caused thē to rebelle: ⁊ hauing left there four shyps, came frōthence to Mytilene vō the reste of the shyps, whō they causeд likewise to rebell. On ỳ other side Astiochus ỳ admiral by sea of the Lacedemoniās, departed frō Cenchre vō thre shyps ⁊ did come to Chio. Being at which place, thre daies after his cōminge, he vnderstode how Leōtes ⁊ Diomedō were arriued at Lesbos vō .xxv. Athenians shyps. which vnderstāding, he departed ỳ same day in the euening with one only shyp of Chio, for to saille into ỳ parte, ⁊ to see if that he could geue any newe succours to the Mytilenians, and did come that night to Pyrrha, and the morowe after, to Erelle.

Lebedus. Eras. Cumes. Eualas. Dimiadas. Methimna.

Erelle. In which place he was aduertised, how the Athenyãs had at the furst assaulte, taken the cytie of Mytilene by thys manner. For bifore that any man perceyued yt, they were sodaynly arryued in the porte, where they destroyed the shipps of the Chiens, which they found there, and fourthwith were landed, & hauynge repoulsed those of the towne, that came to the defence, they were entred into it by force. Alcyochus than vnderstandinge this nouelte, he changed hys opynyon to go to Mytilene. But rather vō the shipps of the Erelliens & three of those of Chio, which the Athenyans had taken at Methymna with Eubolus their cappytain (but after the taking of Mytilene, were eskaped, and the fyth remayned) he wente to Erellus, and after that he had put good garnysone with in it, he sente by lande to Antilla and to Methymna the men of warre, that he had within his ships vnder the conducte of Eteonicus. and he vō his shippes and three of the Chiens, sailled by sea that self way, hoppinge that the Mytilenians, seing his army by sea, wold take courage for to persiste and contynue in their rebellion agaynste the Athenyans. But seyng that all thynges came contrary vnto hym in the Ile of Lesbos, he recharged hys men, whyche he had sette on lande and retourned fromthence to Chio, and there parted or dilleuered the men that he had, aswell of sea, as of lande, through the townes and villaiges vntill that, whereby they shulde passe into Hellespont. And sone after came thider fire ships of the allyes of the Peloponesians, to wyt of those, that were in Chencre. On the other syde the Athenyans, hauinge than ordayned the assayres of Lesbos, they did come to the newe towne, whyche the Clazomenyans had newly made in the mayne lande, and did beate and rase it vtterly downe: and the cytezens, whiche they founde wythin it, they caryed agayn into the cytie within the Ilande, those excepted, which had bene authors of the rebellyon, who were fledde fromthence to Daphnus, & by that meane brought Clazomenie agayne into the obeissance of the Athenyans. The same sommer, the twenty Athenyans shipps that were rested at the Ile of Lada, nyghe vnto Mylett, hauynge sett their men on lande, did comme to assaille the towne of Panormne, whyche is in the terrytorie of the Mylesiens. At whyche assaulte Chalcideus duke of the Athenyans was slayne. who was come wyth a small nomber of men, for to succour the towne: and that done they departed fromthence, and the thirde daye after they dyd sett vp theire Trophee, whyche the Mylesiens dyd afterwardes beate downe, saying that they ought not to haue reysed vp an Trophee in a place, whyche they hadde not taken by force. On the other syde Leon and Dyomedon with the shipps that they had at Lesbos departed fromthence, and came to the Ilandes nert to Chio, and fromthence made warre agaynst the Chiens by sea, and also by lande wyth the foote men well armed, which they had caused the Lesbyans to furnish by chappoynct mẽt, whych they had made wyth thẽ, in suche sorte that they brought agayn the townes of Cardomyla, and that same of Bolissus and the other nyghe bordering of the lande of Chio, into their obeissance, chiefly after that they had destroyed and baynquished the Chiens in three battails, whyche they had agaynst them. The furste byfore the sayde towne of Bolissus, the seconde byfore Phanes and the thirde byfore Leuconitū. After the whyche, they durste no more yssue fourth of their cytie, and by that meane the Athenyans remayned Lordes of the feldy grounde, and also pillaiged and wasted all that same fayre and ryche countrey, whyche had not endured anny dammaige of warre, sithens that same of the Medes: and they were also, nerte the Lacedemonyans, of all that I haue knowin, both most blessed and also the moste modestuous and sober. And also they had thys pollecie that howe muche the more the cytie encreased in ryches, somuche they

Eteonicus.

Hellespontus.

Clazomenei.

Cardomyla.

Bolissus.

Phane.

Leuconicum.

they enforced themself to make yt the more saver and triumphant in all things. And they never enterprysed to rebelle agaynste the Athenyans, vntill they perceyued that there were many of the other puissaunte and honorable cyties, whiche did put themself into the self danger. And that the case of the Athenyans was in such declination after the losse, that they had made in Sycille, that they themself helde their estate in manner for lost. And though that they had an euyll opynyon therein, lyke as it happeneth in humayne affayres: yet neuerthelas it was comon with many other sage and puissante parsones: who helde it for certayne that the estate and the Empire of the Athenyans, wythin shorte tyme shulde be losse. Seinge than that they were oppressed, aswell by sea as by land, there were come in the towne that intreated to rendre it agayn to the Athenians. The principall esse of the towne beinge aduertysed therof, wolde make none other shewe or apparance therin of themself, but sent vnto Alyochus, who was at Erythree, that he shulde come wyth foure ships that he had, for to geue some remedy therin, takynge hostaiges or pledges of the suspected: or by suche other meane, as he shulde thynke to be expedyent: the moste modestuously that he coulde. In suche termes or condition were the affayres of Chio.

Howe the Athenyans hauing

assieged the cytie of Mylet, hadde a battaille agaynste the Peloponesians, in the whyche both the parties, in dyuers respectes, had the victorie. And howe the Athenyans vnderstandinge that succours did come vnto the cytie, they reysed their Siege and departed frõthence. And afterwardes howe the Lacedemonyans and their allyes dyd take the cytie of Lase: and wyth in the same Amorges, who rebelled from the kinge Dareus, whome they rendred to hys Lieutenante.

☞The.v.Chapter.

Phrinicus. Onomocles. Scironidas.

About the ende of that same sommer, a thowsande, fyue houndred men well armed, beynge Athenyans: and a thousande Argiues being the one half well armed and the other moytie lightly armed, and so many of their other allyes, togiders wyth.xlviii. shypps, the one parte wherof were Barques for to cary men, and the other galleys, hauinge Phrynicus Onomocles and Scironidas, for capytayns: departed from Athenes, and passed through Samie, and afterwardes did saille fromthence to plante theire campe byfore Mylet. Agaynste whome didde yssue fourth eyght houndred men of the towne well armed, togiders with those, whyche Chalcideus had brought and a certaine nomber of mercenaries or hyred souldyars, that Tyssaphernes had, who was in that same affayre, and did come to the battaill. Wherin the Argiues, whyche were in the ryghte poyncte, beinge of themself dispersed and more sett at large than reason wolde, for to enuironne their ennemys: estempynge that the Ionyens shulde not haue bene hable for to susteygne and wythstande their strengthe, were broken and putt to flyghte: and there were slayne of theym fewe lesser than thre houdred. As touchyng the Athenyans that helde ȳ other poincte. hauynge at begynnynge repoulsed the Peloponesians and the Barbarous wyth the other trowpe, they dyd not kaygh̄t agaynste the Mylesians: who after that they had deseated the Argiues, were retyred into the cytie, and as hauynge the victorie, had putt of their armure nyghe to the walles, byfore that they dyd see, that

that the other poinct of their army was repoulsed. And by that meane it chaūced in the same battail ỳ the Jonians on both sydes had the victorie against the Doriens, to witt, the Athenians against the Peloponesians, & the Milesians against the Argiues. After the battaill, the Athenyans, hauing reysed vp their Trophee, determyned to enclose the cytie wyth walles on all sydes by lande. For the more parte was enuironned wyth the sea: prelupposing that if they did take that same cytie, the other wolde easly come agayne into their obeysſance. But the selfe same day in the euening newes came, how that there were cōming against them fyftie ships, aswell of Sycille, as of Peloponese, that wolde be shortly there: like as yt was for trouth. For the Siracusians at the perswation of Democrates, for to extinquish vtterly the forces of the Athenians, had deuysed to sende succours to the Peloponesians, and so did sende therin. rr. ships of theirs, and twoo of the Selynuntyns, which were ioigned vnto those of the Peloponesians, that were. rrrii. And the charge was geuen to Theramenes Lacedemonian for to cōduct them all to Astyochus admyrall & generall capitain of all the armye, and so they came furste to abourd at Eleus, which is an Jlland and is sytuated directly against e Mylet. Understanding from thence that the Athenyans were before the said cytie of Mylet, they did come to the goulphe of Lasycus. For to learne more easly, what was done at the said Mylet: & afterwards they arryued at Tichiusa, which is the terrytorie of Mylet. Being in whiche place, they were aduertised of the battaill that had bene before the said Mylet, by Alcibiades, who was therat on the partie of the Mylesiens and of Tyssaphernes. That same man shewed them that if they were not willing to suffre Jonum, and afterwards all the rest to be lost: it was nedeful ỳ they shuld come to succour the cytie of Mylet soubdainly before that it might be enclosed vnto walls, which shulde be no small matter if they permitted the enemys to do it: vpon thies wordes and declarations it was determyned and concluded on the morowe for to depart in the morning for to succour the said cytie. But Phrinicus, being aduertysed of the cōming of that same army into that quarter although that his cōpaignions and collegues wylled that men shulde tary for to fayght: said that he would neuer consente vnto it, nor for hys power suffre the other to do it, saying and declaringe vnto them, that before they shuld faight, it was requisitt furst to vnderstande what nomber of ships the ennemys had: and what nomber was necessary for to faight wyth them, and afterwardes to haue tyme and leasure to put them into order and in battaile, as the case requyred it. And that it was neuer holden for shame or cowardenes not to be willynge to hazart a thing, whan there was no necessitie: and therfore that it was no shame to the Athenians for to retyre wyth their army for a certen time: but rather yt shulde be muche greater shame for theym, if it happened that they were vanquished, in what soeuer sort, that it shulde happene. And besydes the shame, the cytie of Athenes and hys estate shulde be brought into greate daunger: the whyche, consydered the greate losses that shee hadde wythin shorte tyme byfore made, ought not to be putt in hazarte of battaylle, although that yt happelye hadde her preparatyon assured and sufficyente in all thynges, and that therein were no necessytie or lacke. Wherefore the thynges beynge in woorser termes and condytyon, there was no apparence to doyt wyllyngly, where that yt was not nedefulle. Therfore hys opynyon was, that they shulde fourthwith charge into theire shyppes all their men rogyders wyth theire munytions, bagguages and vesselles, whyche they had brought onelye thider, and to leaue the others which they had got one frō the enemys, for that they wold not ouercharge their ships, and vnto the same to retire wyth the greatest diligence that they could vnto

Therames. Eleus. Mylesii. Lascus Tichiusa. Phrynicus.

Ym Samie:

Samye: and hauyng there assembled theyr shyps agayne to sayle fromethence to serche their ennemyes, where they shulde thynke that they might do yt wyth their aduantage: the whiche oppynyon the other dyd sollowe. And aswel for that, as in many other thinges, that were committed to Phrynicus, he was always reputed to be a saige man and of a clere understandinge. In thys manner the Athenyans wythout fynishinge their enterpryse departed frome Mylet about the euenynge tyde. And they being arryued at Tame, the Argiues, that were wyth them, for the dispyte, which they hadde, to haue bene vainquished, retourned thence into their howses. The Peloponesians, ensuyng their deliberation, in the morninge departed frothence for to come to mete wt the Athenyans at Mylett. But being there arryued, and understanding the departure of the ennemys, after that they had soiourned there one daye, they dyd take the shyps of the Chies, that Chalcideus had brought thider, & determyned to retourne frothence to Tichiussa for to recharge their baggage, whiche they left there, whan they departed. And they beinge there arryued, Tissaphernes did come to mete them wt his sotemen, and perswaded them to saille vnto Latus, where Amorges bastard sone of Pissuthes, who was enemy and rebell to the kinge Dareus, kepte himself. whereunto the Peloponesians did agre and came to the sayde place wyth so greate dyligence, that the sayd Amorges parceyued it not: but rather whan he did see the come straight into the porte, he thought that they had bene ships of Athens. And by that meane, they did take the porte, though that those of ye towne, whan they dyd knowe that they were ennemys, made great defence: but they could not resiste the puissance of the enemys, and chiefly of the Syracusains, who did beste ye same day. In that same towne Amorges was taken prysoner by the Peloponesians, who sente hym agayne to Tyssaphernes for to couey him to the kinge his maister if he thought good. But the pyllaige of the towne was graunted to the souldyars, who soisde it all full wyth goodes, and specially wt mōney, forsomuch as that same towne had longe bene in peace and in prosperyte. As touchinge the souldears, whyche the same Amorges had, the Peloponesians receyued them in to their soulde or wages, and deuyded them amonge their compaignies, for ye, that there were many of the countrey of Peloponesa. But the rest of the people, which were founde in the towne, the Lacedemonyans cōmitted theym togiders wt the towne vnto Tyssaphernes paying for euery of the sayd prysoners one stater of Darea: and wyth the same they retourned to Mylet. And fromethence sente Pedaretus, sonne of Leon, whō the Lacedemonians had sente to Chio, for to be gouernour of the towne, wt the souldiars ye they had had of Amorges. And they lefte Philippe for cayptain, and in thies enterseates cometh the ende of sommer.

Howe the Cytie of Chio beinge

assieged by the Athenyans, Astiochus, chief of the armye by sea of the Peloponesyans, refused to succour it. And how the seconde treatie of allyance was made wt Tyssaphernes, wyth some other small seates that were done on bothe sydes.

☞ The.vi. Chapter.

IN the begynning of winter, Tissaphernes, after ye he had wel furnished Latus, did come to Milet, & there made paymēt to ye souldiars, which were in the shyps, as he had promised to the Lacedemonians, to wyet, one groate of Athens for euery man at that payement, but he declared that fromthensfourth he wolde geue but three half pence for the man, vntil he

understode

vnderstoode the kinges pleasure. But Hermocrates Duke of the Syracusains
wolde not be content with thys payement, although that Theramenes made no
great instance touching the same, for that, that he was not chief of that same ar-
my, but had only the charge to bringe yt to Astyochus. And in effecte for the in-
stance that Hermocrates made, yt was concluded wyth Tyssaphernes that the
payement from thence forwardes, shulde be more than three half pence, reserued
only for those, that were in fyue shyps. And for it was concluded, that of .lv. shyps
that he had there, fyftie shulde haue the whole payment, and the fyue, three half
pence. In that same wynter the Athenyans, that were at Samie, a newe armye
of .xxxv. shipps being there come to them, whereof Charmynus, Stronbychides Charmi
and Eucremon had the charge, and hauinge moreouer retyred and wythdrawn nus.
some other aswel of Chio, as of other places, they determyned to parte & deuyde Strōbi
their puissance amonge them, and with one partie, to witt, the shipmen, to go to chides.
assaulte Mylet, and to sende the fotemen by sea vnto Chio. Ensuing which deter- Eucre-
mination, Stronbychides, Onomaches and Eucremon, who had the charge for mon.
to sayle wyth thirty shipps & one partie of the souldyars, that were come against
Mylet, sailled frōthence vnto Chio: which voiage chaunced vnto them by lotte.
And their collegues and cōpaignyons that remayned at Samie departed from
thence vō .lxxii. shyps, and sailled against Mylet. Astyochus being aduertised ther-
of, who was come to Chio for to take hostages of the suspected, cessed to execute
ỳ, which he purposed. But vnderstāding that Theramenes was come vō a good
nōber of shipps, & that the affaires of their leagge did take ill successe, he did take
tenne of ỳ Peloponesiās shyps, & asmany of those of Chio, with which, he depar-
ted, and in passinge, he thought to take Pteleū: but he failled therof, & sailled from
thence to Clazomenie, & there cōmanded those, which toke the partie of the Athe
nyans, that they shulde render the cytie & departe fromethence vnto Daphnus:
and the like cōmandement was made vnto them by Tamus Pyetor or chief of-
ficer of Jonū, notwithstāding they wold do nothing. Which perceiued, Astiochus
did gene thē one assaulte, thinking to haue taken them easly, for ỳ, that they had
no walls, but he coulde not, & so launched fourth. And after that he had sailled a
lytle way, there soubdainly did come a great wynde, whiche parted & skatered a-
broade his shyps, in such maner that he came to aboord at Phocee, & from thence Phocee.
to Cumes: & the other abooarded in the Iſlands nerre adioignynge to Clazome- Cumes.
nie, to witt, Myrathuse, Pele, Drymusse, where they founde much victuails and o- Clazo-
ther goods, which the Clazomenians had withdrawin thider: wherof, in ỳ space menie.
of eyghte dayes that they abodde there, they cōsumed one parte, & the other parte Mara-
they charged in their shyps & afterwards sailled frōthence to Phocee & to Cumes thusa.
to finde Astyochus. Unto whō, there being, the Amballadours of ỳ Lesbyans did Pele.
come, for to treate vō him to bring againe the sayd Iſland into his power, where Drimil
vnto he readely agrede. But seing ỳ the Corinthians, & the other allyes wold not sa.
gladly cōsente vnto it, by cause of the mysfortune ỳ bifore time had there happe-
ned vnto thē, he sailled straight vnto Chio, where all ỳ shyps did arriue finally, al-
though ỳ an other time they were skatered abroad by fortune of ỳ sea, & were dry-
uen by force of wind into diuers places. And Pedaritus, who was left at Erithre Pedari-
came to mete them there, & brought by land frō Mylet the fotemen that he had, tus.
which were abouts fyue houndred: and had bene taken by the maronners of the
Chalcidians and lefte there with harnes & weapons. After whose cōming, some
of the Lesbyens did come vnto Astiochus, offeringe effectes to render the cytie
& the Iſland. Who declared & cōmunicated the thing to Pedaritus & to ỳ Chiens,
shewing that it coulde not but serue for the enterpryse, for if ỳ thing did comme

to effecte, the Peloponesians shulde haue so many the moze frendes, and though ẏ it myght not be brought to the purpose, yet shuld it greatly noye the Athenyans. But seinge that they wolde not consente therunto, and that Pedaritus chiefly refused to delyuer the shippes of the Chiens, he toke wyth hym fyue Corinthyans shipps and one of Megare besides hys owne, whiche he had brought out of Laconie, and retourned to Mylet, where his principall charge was: and sayd in anger vnto the Chiẽs, that they shuld not loke to haue any aide from him, whatsoe
Corycus uer busynes that they mighte haue. So he sailled to lande at Corice, where he soiourned certen dayes. During this tyme the army of the Athenyans, departed from Samie & arryued at Chio, and they came to lodge themself at the fote of a hill that was betwene the porte and them, so that they, whiche were within the said porte, perceyued them not: nother also the Athenyans did knowe what the other did. Betwene both, Alciochus was aduertised by letters frõ Pedaritus, how some Erithriens, which had bene prisoners at Samie, were released by the Athenyans, and sent to Erythree to cause the cytie to rebelle. So he incontynently launched fourth to returne thider, and it failled very litle, but that he had fallen into ẏ Athenyans handes: neuerthelas he came thider in saulftie, where he foũde Pedaritus, who was lykewyse come thider for the self cause. And so both of thẽ made great inquyzie of the same treatie, & did take many of them, that were suspected. But being informed that no naughty thynge had bene there perpetrated, but that the same was faigned for the welth of the citie, they absolued them all and retourned fromthence, the one to Chio, the other to Mylet. During thys time the Athenyans shipps, ẏ passed out of Corice vnto Argiue, encountred three longe shipps of the Chiens, which incontinently, as they had perceyued them, they followed to ouerwhelme thẽ, & did geue them the chase vnto their poarte, where they wt great paine could skarcely saue themself by cause of ẏ tempest that came vpon them And three shipps of the Athenyans that followed them into the porte, perished and were loste: and they, that were won, partly taken and partly slayne.
Mimas The other shipps, retyred into a porte, that was vnder Mymante, named Phe-
Phenicus. nicuate and fromthence they sailled to Lesbos, where they repaired newe rampares. In that same wynter Hippocrates Lacedemonian with tenne shipps of the
Lesbos Thuryens, ouer which, Dorycus sonne of Diagoras one of the three chiefest of ẏ
Hippocrates. army, and wt two other, to wit, one of Laconie, & the other of Sarragosse, did rule or gouerne, passed through Peloponese to Cnide, which cytie was alredy rebel-
Dorycus. led agaynst Tyssaphernes. Wherupon those of Mylet, vnderstãding the coming
Laconia. of that same army by lea: lente the moytie of their shipps for to warde & defende the said cytie of Cnide, and for to succour certen barques that were coming out
Cnidus of Egipte, charged wyth men, which Tyssaphernes cauled to come, and ordayned to mete wyth them, the shipps, that were in the hauon of Triopie, which was
Egiptus. a rocke in the promontorie, situated on the heigh of the regyon of Cnyde, vpone the whych, standeth a temple of Apollo. But the Athenyans aduertised herof,
Triopiũ whyche were at Samie, preuented the sayd shipps, that were at Triopie, to the nomber of syxe and dyd take them: neuerthelas the men that were within them saued themself on lande. And fromthence they came to Cnyde: the whych failled but lytle, that they had taken it at the arryuall, for that, that it had no walles: notwithstandynge they were repoulsed. And yet neuerthelas the day following, they dyd geue them an other assaulte, but they dyd lesse profitt therein, for that that ẏ men of the towne, had in the nyght better rampared their dyches. Also the shyppmen, that were saued in the lande at Triopie, were comme thider in the self nyght: wherby the Athenyans, seynge that they couldẽ do nothinge there, they re-

tourned

tourned to Samie. In the selfsame tyme Astyochus beinge come to Mylet, he founde his armye ryght well appointed with all thinges, for that, that the Peloponesyans fournished ryght well to the payemente of souldyars, who besides that same, had greate and muche monney for the butie, whych they had gotton at Lasus. And on the other parte, the Mylesians were all desposed to doo that, whiche was possible for them for their partie. But for somuche, as the laste allyance, whiche Chalcideus had made wych Tyssaphernes, semed not to be ample inough, but defectuous and faulty in some things, which made more for the partie of Tyssaphernes, than for them they reseurmed and renewed yt an other tyme by the meane of Theramenes, in the manner, to followeth.

The seconde treatie of allyance bitwene the Lacedemonyans and the kinge Dareus.

HEre followe the articles, conuenaūtes and treaties of amytie, bitwene the Lacedemonians and their allyes of the one paatie, and the kynge Dareus, his children and Tyssaphernes on the other partie. Furst that all the cyties, contreys, landes and seigniories, whiche do at this present apperteigne to kyng Dareus, & that haue bene hys fathers or other his predecessours, shall remayne franke and free vnto him in manner, that the Lacedemonyans nor their allyes may not go thider for to warre or to do damage therin, and that they may not exacte nor take any trybute there. And lykewyse that the kynge, nor any of those, whiche be vnder him, may do damage nor exacte any trybute in the landes of the Lacedemonians nother of their allyes. And moreouer that if any of the said parties requireth any thinge of the other, & if that yt be graūted vnto him, in like case that same partie that shall haue receyued the plaisir, shalbe bouūde to render it to the other, whā he shalbe therunto required. And that the warre, whiche they haue begonne agaynste the Athenyans, shalbe followed to the ende, generally by the sayde parties, and shall not be lefte of by the one wythout the othere. That all the men of warre, whyche shalbe leuied in the kynges countreys by his ordenance shalbe payde wyth hys monney. And if any of the confederated cyties shall come to inuade any of the kynges prouinces, the other shall forbydde and kepe them from it to his power. And to the contrary yf any of the kynges countreis or subiectes come to inuade any of the confederated cyties or their lande, the same kynge shal empesche and forbydde them with his power. After this treatie made, Theramenes, hauing delyuered his ships to Astiochus, departed thence, & was neuer after sene. During this time the Athenians, that were cōme frō Lesbos against Chio, hauing alleged it by lande and by sea, did geue thēselfe to enclose the porte of Delphinie, which was a strong place on ỹ lande side, wh walle: and also it had a porte sufficiently suer, & was not verey farre from Chio, wherby the cytezeins were greatly troubled, aswell for many greate lolles & damages, whiche they had already sustaigned, by occasyon of the warre, as also for that, that the inhabytantes were yll agreinge amongest themselfe, and muche troubled otherwaies. For Pedaritus had caused already Tideus the Ionian wh all his men to dye, for that, that he suspected them to haue confederation wh the Athenyans. By reason of which acte, the reste of the cytezens, whych were brought to a small nomber, did not truste the one the othere, and therby it semed vnto them thot nother they, nother nother the strangers beinge souldyars, whiche Pedaritus had brought, were sufficient for to go fourth against the enemys. So they sente to Astyochus to Mylet to praye hym that he woulde comme to succour them. And for that, that he woolde not doit, Pedaritus did wryte to the

Lacedemonyans agaynſt him, that he did greatly endõmage the comen welthe. In this maner the Athenyans did holde the cytie of Chio alleged, and mozeouer their ſhips, whiche they had at Samie came to pzeſence battaille to thoſe of the ennemyes that were at Myler: but ſeing that they would not yſſue fourth of their poarte, they retourned fromthence.

¶ How the Peloponeſians had a vyctozie in the ſea agaynſte the Athenyans, and howe certene of their chiefes, hauynge had ſome wozdes afterwardes with Tiſſaphernes touchynge an article of their allyance, they ſailled to Rhodes and cauſed it to rebelle againſte the Athenyans.

☞ The.viii. Chapter.

Calligetus. Tymagozas. Antiſthenes Lychas

IN that ſame wynter, the affayze of Pharnabaſus being appoynted and concluded by Calligetus of Megara, and by Tymagozas Cyzicien: xxvii. ſhipps did paſſe out of Peloponeſe into Ionum, about the middeſt of September, vnder the conduct of Antiſthenes Spartian wyth twelue other hys fellowe cytezeins, whiche the Lacedemonyans ſente vnto Aſtiochus, foz to aſſiſte and geue him counſaill in the affaires of warre. Amongeſt whom, Lychas ſonne of Archeſilas was the pzincipall. And they had geuen vnto them in comiſſion foz to deuyſe, after that they ſhulde be arryued at Myler, in all affaires, and therupon to pzoude in ſuch ſozte, that all thinges there might be well. And foz the reſte, to ſende, if they thought good the ſhips, that they ſhal haue brought thider, aither in greater nomber oz in leſſer, as the affayze ſhulde requyze yt, into Helleſponte to Pharnabazus, vnder the conducte of Clearchus, ſonne of Ramphias, who was in their compaignie. And alſo yf yt ſemed to them to be good, that they ſhulde take the charge of the armye frome Aſtyochus, and delyuer it to Antiſthenes, foz that, that they hadde the ſayde Aſtiochus ſuſpected foz the letters, whyche Pedaritus had wzyttone againſt him. Thies. xxvii. ſhypps, than beinge departed fro Malee, they founde at Melee, tenne Athenyãs ſhips, wherof they did take thzee, being voide oz empty, which they burned: and fearing leſte the other, that eſkaped ſhuld do their cõmynge to be knowen to the Athenians that were at Samie, like as it chanced, they ſailled to Creta. Hauynge longe ſailled foz their ſaulfgarde, they abozded in the pozte of Cumes, which ys in the countrey of Carie: and reputinge themſelf to be in a ſuer place and oute of dangier, they ſente fromthence vnto thoſe that were at Milet, that they ſhulde come to mete them. Durinng this tyme the Chiens and Pedaritus ceſſed not to inſtante Aſtiochus, that he ſhoulde come to ſuccour them, ſeing them ſo alleged, & that he wold not ſo habandon the pzincipall cytie of Ionũ, which was encloſed on the coaſte of the ſea, & pillaged on the lande ſyde, and ſomuch the moze fyercely, that in the ſame cytie there was greater nomber of eſklaues, than in anny other of Greece, nexte to Lacedemonie, the whych foz feare of their multitude, men did kepe in greate feare, and were moze charpely chaſtyſed and cozrected than elſewhere. By reaſon wherof, the hoaſte of Athenyans, being lodged in ſuer places after ỳ they had made their rampares: many of the ſayd eſklaues and bondemen ſtedde vnto them: & foz that, that they did knowe well the countrey they greatly endõmaiged the cytezeins. Foz all the which reaſons, ỳ Chiens declared to Aſtiochus that he oughte to come to ſuccour them, whileſt that it was in hys power to empeſche that they ſhulde not fynyſhe the cloſure of Delphinum, whiche was

Malea. Melum

Clearchus.

not

not yet fully made. For after that it were achieued, the shypps and the armye of the ennemys shulde haue more spacious lodgyng there, than they had had. The whiche requestes & declarations perceyued, Astyochus albeit that he was mynded not to do it, as he had sayd and affirmed vnto them at his departure: yet neuerthelas he determyned for to succoure them. But beinge thereupon aduertised of the comyng of the sayd, xxvii, shypps and of the, xii, counsaillours to Caunus, it semed to hym more expedyente to leaue all othere thynge, for to goo to seke the sayd shypps, with whiche he myght be Lorde of the sea, and to bryng the counsaillours, whiche were come for to discharge hym, in suerte. So he lefte the nauigation whiche he purposed into Chio and sailled straight to Caunus. And in passynge by Meropide, he caused hys men to lande, and pyllaged the towne, whiche had bene destroyed through an earthequake that chanced there, the greatest that euer had happened in mans remembrance. For it had shakedde downe not onely the walles of the towne, but also the greatest parte of the houses. Howbeit the inhabitantes, perceyuyng the comyng of the ennemyes, wythdrewe themself partly into the mountaignes, and partly into the feldes, in suche manner that the sayd Peloponesians did take what they would in that same lande and caryed al into their shypps reserued the free men whiche they suffred to eskape. Astyochus came fromthence to Cnidus beyng arryued at whiche place, as he would haue landed hys men, he was aduertised by those of the towne, that there were weille nigh, xx, Athenyans shyppes, whiche Charminus, one of the Dukes of the Athenyans, that were at Samie, dyd conducte, who was sent for to espie the passage of the, xxvii, shypps that came out of Peloponese, agaynst whome, the same Astyochus sailled. And the other Dukes had geuen hym comission to followe theym and to coaste in hys passage, by Syma, by Rhodes and Lycia, for those same Athenyans had bene already aduertised, that they were at Caunus. Astyochus beynge than herof aduertised, was mynded to dissimule or faigne hys voiage and made towardes Syma, for to see if that he coulde discouer the sayd, xx, shyppes. But there did come vpon hym a suer of rayne, so troublesome & so obscure, that he coulde nother perceyue theym, nor yet gouerne that same nighte hys owne in good order, in suche sorte, that the morowe at the breake of the daye, those, whiche were in the ryght poynete, dyd fynde themself in the sight of the ennemyes in the mayne sea, and those whiche were in the lefte poynete, sailled yet scatteryng aboute the Islande, whan the Athenyans perceyued them thynkynge that yt had bene those that were aboorded at Caunus, whiche they sayled for to espye, they sett vpon them although that they had but twenty shypps, and all the arryual dyd synke three and crussched many of the other, thynkynge to haue the victory. But sone after, seynge that there were manye more shyppes, than they thoughte which came to enuirone and compasse them aboutes on all sydes, they put themself into flight, wherein they loste sixe of their shypps, the other saued themself in the Islande of Teuglussa, and fromethence they sailled towardes Halicarnasses. That done, the Peloponesians retourned to Cnidus. And afterwardes that they were joigned with the other, xxvii, that were at Caunus, they sailled all togiders to Syma, where they reysed vp a Trophee, & afterwardes retourned fromthēce to Cnidus. In this meane tyme the Athenyans that were at Samie, vnderstanding the combate that had bene at Syma came with all their puissance into that same parte. But beyng there aboorded, and seyng that the Peloponesyans, whiche were at Cnidus, durste not come to mete them there, and they also fearynge to saille to assaulte them in the forte, they dyd take all the vesselles and other instrumentes of Nauigation, that they founde at Syma, and retourned fromthēce

Syma. Chalces Rhodus Lycia. Caunus

Lorymus. to Samie, but in their waye they pyllaiged the towne of Lorymne, whiche is in the mayne lande. The Peloponeſians, haumge aſſembled at Cnidus all their armye, they cauſed all that was nedefull to be repaired. And durynge this the .xii. counſaillours wyth Tyſſaphernes, who was come to mete with them there deuyſed of thynges paſſed, whider there had bene any thynge therin done, that they iudged not good, and alſo of the manner of contynuynge the warre to the greateſt aduantage that myght be for the welthe and profytt, aſwelle of the Peloponeſians, as of the kynge. And amonge the other Lychas alleaged that the artycles of the allyance, had not bene verey reaſonably made, for he ſayd, that reaſon would not that all the landes, whiche the kynge or his predeceſſours hadde gouerned, ſhoulde retourne into hys puiſſance, forſomuche as by that meane of neceſſitie al the Iſlandes, the Locrians, and the countreys of Theſſale, and of Beocie ſhulde come agayne into his ſubiection, & the Lacedemonians by that meane, in ſtede of ſettynge the other Grekes into lybertie, ſhoulde bryng them into the bondage of the Medes. Wherfore he ſayde and concluded that aither newe artycles ſhulde be made, orelles that ſame allyance be lefte of and diſſolued, and that for to obteigne the ſame, yt was not nedefuile that Tyſſaphernes ſhoulde paye annye more ſoulde or wages. Who, hearynge thys prepoſition was ryghte angry and fulle of deſpyte, and ſo departed in greate angre and coller frome the ſayd Peloponeſians. Whyche, after hys departure beynge calledde by certene of the prynctpalles of the Rhodiens, they ſailled into that ſame quarter, hoppynge wyth the ſame cytie to gett a greate nomber of warrpours and of ſhyppes, and that through the ayde of them, and of their allyes, they might haue monney ſufficiente for to enterteigne their armye. Being than, the ſame wynter, departedde frome Cnidus with fooze ſkooze and fortene ſhypps, they dyd come to abooʒde at Camirus, whiche is in the Iſlande of Rhodes. Whereof thoſe of the countrey, and of the cytie, that knewe nothynge of the treatie, were muche afrayde, ſo that many of them habandoned the cytie, for this chiefly, that it was not cloſed wyth walles. But the Lacedemonyens ſente vnto them, and cauſed them all to aſſemble togider, and lykewyſe thoſe of Lyndus, and of Ielliſus, and perſwaded them that they ſhulde departe from the allyance and amytie of the Athenyans, and by that meane the cyties of Rhodes reuolted and dyd take parte wyth the Peloponeſians. Nowe the Athenyans, that were at Samie, had bene bifore aduertiſed of this armye that was in the waye for to ſaille vnto Rhodes, and ſo they departed altogider hoppyng to ſolarue and ſuccoure it, bifore that it ſhulde haue tourned frome theym, but beynge come vntyll wythin the light of the ennemyes, and knowynge that they came to late, they retyred into Chalces, and fromthence to Samie. And yet notwithſtandyng after that the Peloponeſeans were departed frome the Rhodes, thoſe ſame Athenyans came to make manye aſſaultes agaynſte the Rhodiens, aſwelle oute of Samie, as of Chalces and Coo. But the Peloponeſians haunge withdrawin their ſhypps, there into the poorte, ſoiourned there .ix. dayes, wythout doyng any feate of warre, durynge whyche tyme they recouered, xxxii. talentes of the Rhodyans.

Camirus.

Lindus Ielliſus

Chalces

(.·.)

☞ Howe

Howe Alcibiades beinge come into ſuſpition of the Lacedemonyans, dyd repaire to Tyſſaphernes, and perſwaded hym to forſake the partie of the Peloponeſyans, and to reaſly or confederate hymſelf with the Athenyans. And howe ambaſſadours were ſente by the ſayd Athenyans vnto Thiſſaphernes for to conclude yt.

☞ The.viii.Chapter.

DUryng this tyme, and bifore the rebellion of Rhodes, after the death of Chalcideus, and the battaile, that was made at Miler: the Lacedemonyans had Alcibades in greate ſuſpition, ſo that they did wryte to Aſtyochus, to cauſe hym to dye, for he was enmempe of Agis their kynge, and in the reſte he was reputed a man of lytle fayth. But he beyng aduertiſed herof, had withdrawin hymſelf, euen at begynnynge as he had knowlaige of yt, towardes Tiſſaphernes, with whome, he had practiſed, all that he coulde againſte the Peloponeſians, and had declared vnto hym all that he had lerned of their affaire, and alſo he was the cauſe to make hym to abate and dymynyſhe the ſoulde or wages that he payde vnto the ſouldiars, and in ſtede of a groate of Athenes, whiche he ſhulde haue payde them for the daye: to delyuer theym three half pence onely, whereof he alſo dyd oftentymes faille the paymente, and by information of the ſayd Alcibiades, he excuſed himſelf, ſaying that the Athenians, whiche had better vnderſtandyng in the feate by ſea than they, dydde paye vnto their maronners, but the ſayd wages: and that he would not bryng them thervnto, aſwell for to ſpare the monney: (not for anye lacke that he had therof) as alſo not to geue them occaſion, to abuſe ytt, and to become more laſcyuious and delycate, ſomuche the more, that the ſurpluſage of that whiche ſhulde be neceſſarye for them to lyue wythin their belleſies, ſhulde not by theym be expended in ſuperfluous thynges, whereby they ſhulde be the more weakened. And where that he deteigned from thē for a certene tyme, one parte of the payment, yt was to the ende that they ſhulde haue no occaſion to departe & habandone the ſhyps, if nothynge were due vnto them, wbyche thynge they durſte not do, whan they ſhulde perceyue themſelf contregaiged with any parte of their ſoulde. And for to be hable to obteigne and perſwade this ſame vnto the Peloponeſians, the ſame Tiſſaphernes, by the counſaille of the ſaid Alcibiades, had gotton all the patrons of the ſhyppes and all the cappytaines of the townes for monney, reſarued, that ſame Hermocrates of the Syracuſayns, who onely dyd reſiſte agaynſte yt with all hys power, in the name of all their confederates. And moreouer the ſelfe Alcibiades, ſpeakynge for Tyſſaphernes, dyd with reaſone confute the cyties whiche demanded monney of the other confederates, for to kepe and defende them. And furſt he ſaid to the Chiens, that they ought to haue ſhame for to demande monney, conſidered that they were the richeſt of Grece, & alſo that they were ſett into lybertie and exempted from the ſubiection of the Athenyans, throughe the ayde of the Peloponeſians, wherfore there was no apparance to demande that the other cyties ſhulde bryng into danger their perſones and alſo their goodes and monney for to conſarue the lybertie of that ſame cytie. And as touchynge the other cyties, that were alſo lykewyſe rebelled againſte the ſayed Athenyans, that they dyd greate wronge not to be wyllyng to paye for the defence of their lybertie, that, which they had accuſtomed to pay to the Athenyans by tare or by ſubſedie. And moreouer he ſayde that to the ſurpluſage, Tyſſaphernes had reaſone to ſpare

to spare the monney in that manner for to sustaigne the charges of the warre, at the least vntill he shulde haue newes frō the kynge, whider that he intended that the soulde shuld be entierly payde or not, and than if he comanded him to pay the whole, there shulde be no lacke therin, & also shulde recompense the cyties particulerly euery one accordinge to his deserte. And moreouer the sayed Alcibiades counsailled Tyssaphernes, that he shulde not go aboute to make by any meanes an ende of that same warre, & also that he shulde not cause the ships that he had causled to be tacled in Phenice to come, nother those which he had caused to be armed in Grece to ioigne with the same of the Peloponesians, for in that doyng he shulde make them lordes both of the sea, & of the lande. But rather that he shuld maigntaigne them alwayes in strife & in warre, for somuche as by that meane he shulde be alwayes in his puissance to prouoke the one of the parties against the other, which shuld haue offēded him. But if he suffred that the one of the parties were destroyed & that the other might haue the dominion in sea and in lande: he shulde fynde none, that might ayde him against those same, if he would chastile them, and it shulde be forced ỳ he himself in that case shulde onely take the aduēture with greate danger & greate expences. Wherfore it was better, with smal expence to entertaigne them in controuersie & by that meane to haue hys estate in full quiertie. And also he shewed further to the sayed Tyssaphernes that the allyance of the Athenians shulde be muche more comely for the king, than the same of the Lacedemoniens, for that, that the same Athenians went not about to rule on lande. And their intent and facyon of making warre, was muche more profytable for the kyng, than the same of the other, for this, ỳ the Grekes, whiche they shulde subdue in the sea, beynge his allyes, shulde redute and bringe them partly into their seruitude, and those that were in the lāde, inhabyting in the prouynces of the king, shulde remaine his subiectes, where the Lacedemoniens proceded directly to a contrary ende, to wytt, to restore all the Grekes into lybertie, wherfore it was to beleue that those, whiche went about, to bring the Grekes oute of seruitude of the self Grekes, that they would not suffre that they shulde remayne in the lyke bondage of barbarous or estrangers, & so would go about to sette in lybertie all those, that biffore tyme were not restored therunto, which thā were in the subiection of the kinge. Wherfore he counsailled him ỳ he shulde suffre the one partie to weaken & destroy the other. For after that the Athenians shal haue lost the greatest parte of their force, the Peloponesians shuld be so weakened, that he shulde easely chase them out of Grece. Tyssaphernes did easely agree to thies instructions, and knewe sufficyently that Alcibiades had tolde him the trouth, for somuche as he might cōprehende & perceiue it by the affaires that occurred. And insuing his counsaille, he furst payde the soulde to the Peloponesians. But for al that he would not suffre theym to make warre, but rather, he sometyme shewed them that they must attende the ships of the Phenecias that shulde come, sometyme that they were to hoate & to ayger to fight. And by that meane he troubled all the enterprise, and made the same armye, that was so fayer and puissance, in manner as vnprofitable. And also in other thynges he declared moste openly wyth woordes, sayinge that he vnwyllyngly made warre in compaignie of the sayed allyes, wholy by instruction of the sayed Alcibiades, who iudgynge the same to be a good thing, did perswade it aswel to the kmg as to Tyssaphernes, whan that he was wyth them. And that dyd he principally for the desyre that he had to retourne into hys countrey, whiche thyng he hoped at some tyme to obteigne, if yt were not vtterly destroyed. And somuche the more, whan men shulde vnderstande that he had greate amytie with Tyssaphernes, lyke as it happened.

For as

For as the souldyars Athenyans, that were at Samie, vnderstode the samplia-
citie that he had with the said Tissaphernes with this, that he had already prac-
tised the principalles to sett forwarde hys restoryng towardes theym that had
moste auctorytie in the towne, & to bryng the gouernance therof to a smal nom-
ber of the most honnest men, doing thē to vnderstāde that by that meane This-
saphernes would the sonner lynke & ioigne in their amytie the more parte of the
patrons and cappitaines of the shyps & also of the other pryncipalles that were in
the army, who, of theymself hated the comons estate: they agrede thereunto, and
after that the matter was broughte into the campe, the bruyt thereof did renne
throughout the cytie of Athenes and chiefly that it had bene ordeyned, by those
that were in Samie, that some of them shulde go vnto Alcibiades for to treate
and parlament with him of that same matter, like as it was done. Who assured
them furste to make Tyssaphernes their frende, and afterwardes the kyng, pro-
uyded that they shulde change their cōmon gouernment, & shulde compt it into
the handes of honnest substanciall mē, as is afore sayd, for by that meane he sayd
that the kyng would take and conceiue the greater fuertie, & trust in them, where-
unto those which were sent vnto him, did readely agree, aswell for that, that it se-
med to them, that by that meane the Athenians might haue the victory of that
same warre: as also for this, that they themself that were of the pryncipalles of
the cytie, hoped that, by that meane, the admynistration shulde come into their
handes, where before they had bene oftimes persecuted by the commaltie. Being
than come again to Samie, after that they had treated and perswaded the thing
vnto them that were there, they sailled to Athenes, and shewed the cōmons that
in calling againe Alcibiades, and cōmytting the gouernement into the handes of
the pryncipalles of the cytie, they shulde wynne the kyng on their syde, who shuld
fournishe them with monney for to soulde & paye their men, in that same warre.
Wherunto, although at the furst sight, that the people were vnwilling to cōdes-
cende and agree, yet the charge, which they sustteigned for the warre, in payment
of the warryours, vnderstanding that the kyng would pay them, caused them to
enclyne and consente vnto yt. And therunto those, which stomacked the matter
dyd greatly helpe, aswelle for the loue of Alcibiades, as for their particuler profy-
tt. And so declared, all that which Alcibiades had sayd to them, vnto the people
right amply, which semed in many thinges right greate, and ryght assured. But
Phrynicus, who was yet Duke of the Athenyans, founde nothyng good, whi-
che came to that purpose. And it semedde to hym, that Alcibiades in the estate,
wherin he was, desired not more the gouernance of the pryncipalles, than of the
comon estate, but rather that his ende and intente, was to make some sedition in
the cytie, hoping that by one of the parties, he shulde be called againe, and wholy
restored, whereagaynst the sayd Phrynicus mynded well to withstande, aswelle
for his particuler interest, as for to eschue the destruction of the cytie. And more-
ouer he coulde not vnderstande, howe the kyng would departe from the amytie of
the Peloponesians, for to allye hymself wyth the Athenyans, considered that the
sayd Peloponesians had already asmuche practise & puissance in the sea, as the A-
thenians, & also þ they possessed many of the cyties within the kynges countrey.
Wherfore for to ioigne himself with the Athenians, in whome he might skarcely
haue confydence, it shulde be vnto hym but charge & trauaille. And that it were
a muche more ealy thyng for him and more conuenable for to enterteigne the a-
mytie vō the Peloponesiās, who had in nothing offēded him. On the other parte
he sayd that he knewe that the other cyties, whā they shulde vnderstāde, that the
gouernance of that same Athens was altered and translated from the cōmons,
to a smal

to a small nomber of men, and that they must lyue of the self sorte: the same that were already tourned frome them, would not therfore come againe to the amytie and obeyllance of the Athenyans. And those, whyche had not done yt, woulde not therfore lette to do yt. For where they hoped to recouer there lybertie by the meane of the Peloponelians haupnge the victory: they would not choose to remayne in subiection of the Athenyans, in whatsoeuer manner that their estate shulde be gouerned, were it by the comons or by the pryncipalles. And on the other syde, that those, whiche were reputed for the most honnest & for the pryncypalles, cõsidered that they shulde suffre no lesse the gouernãce, being in the power of a small nomber, than they dyd whan the same was in the handes of all the cõmons. For they shulde be almuche troubled, by those, whiche vsed guiftes and corruptions, and that were inuentours and conductours of all euyll thynges for to make their particuler proffyt, as they were in the cõmons estate. And also the cittizens shulde vnder the auctorytie of those, whyche shulde haue this gouernement, be punissched and putt to death without hearing their offences, where they than had recourse to the people whiche punyssched suche violences, and that the same was the opynyon of the othere cyties, whiche were in their obeyllance or amytie, which had knowyn yt by experience. Phrynicus sayd that he was well informed of all thies thynges, and therby not to synde any thynge of that good, whiche Alcibiades dyd than sett forwarde. Yet alwayes those, whiche frome the begynnynge had bene of the contrarye opynyon, all that same not withstanding, persseuered styll therin, & so ordeyned to sende messengers vnto Athens, amõgest
Pisãder whome was Pysander for to propone and declare vnto the cõmons the restitution and restoryng of Alcibiades, & the abolysshynge of the comon estate. Whereupon Phrynicus, seynge and knowyng of what sorte the messengers shulde propone & declare the bryngyng againe of Alcibiades, & doubtinge least the cõmons would accepte it, and if it were so, that euill shulde chance to him, for the resistẽce that he had made to the contrary, Alcibiades hauing the pryncipall auctorytie, he deuyssed one suche a practique. Which is, that he secretly sent one of his men to Astyochus, chief of the army by sea, of the Peloponelians, which was yet at Milet, whome he aduertised by his letters of manye thinges, and amonge other howe Alcibiades destroyed all the affaire of the sayd Peloponelians, and treatedde to make allyance bitwene Tyssaphernes and the Athenians, and by the said letters declared that he was to be pardoned in that he aduertysed and did counsaille the thyng, whiche was to the disaduantage of hys cytie and countrey, insomuche as he dyd yt for to noye his ennemye. Astyochus, hauing receyued his letters, dydde not greatly esteme them. For yt was not in his puissance to punysshe Alcibiades, for that, that he did no more come to him. But he went to Tissaphernes and the sayd Alcibiades, which were in the cytie of Magnelia, and seignifyed vnto them
Magnesia. what was wryttone to hym oute of Samie, makynge hymself wytnes of that, whiche had bene addressed vnto hym, by that meane for to gratefie Tyssapherne: and as men dyd iudge to make his particuler proffytt thereby, and also that, vnto that ende, he suffred that the paymente of the souldyars was delayed by the sayd Tyssaphernes. Alcibiades, haumge recouered the letters of Phrynicus, sent them incontinently to the officers & chiefest that were in Samie, admonysshing and requirynge theym, that they shulde putt Phrynicus to death. Who, beynge herof aduertised, and perceyuyng hymself in greate danger, he did wryte esttones to Astyochus, complaynyng of this, that he had discouereddde and deliuered hys letters to hys ennemyes, offryng vnto hym an other partie, to wytt, to bryngе into hys power all the army, that he had at Samie, for to cause theym all to dye.

Delyuering

delyuerynge hym sufficient easy meanes, for that that the towne had not walles, and he excused himself afresshe vnto him saying, that no mā ought to repute him wicked, whider that he did the same or whatsoeuer any other thing, for to eschue the danger of his lyfe, wherin he was, by procurement of his mortall ennemyes. Astyochus caused eftsones this treatie to be knowen to Tissaphernes and Alcibiades. Phrynicus being aduertised herof, & that the same Alcibiades had not yet had his later letters in his handes, he toke & furst practised the other cayptaines that were at Samie, & sayd vnto thē that he was aduertised how the enemyes, considering ỳ the same cytie was not enclosed with walles, & that the porte was so lytle that all the shyps that they had there, coulde not be within it: were determyned for to assaille their campe, wherfore he was of opinion ỳ incontinently the walles shulde be reysed roundeaboutes the towne, and in the rest to make great watch & great warde, & ỳ he, for the auctoryte, which he had ouer thē by meane of his charge, shuld constraine thē to do it. Which thing they did willingly aswell for to eschue the danger ỳ was prestēt, as also for to be hable to warde & conserue it in time to come. Sone after, the letters of Alcibiades did come to the other capitains of the army, by the which he aduertised thē of the treatie of Phrynicus, & how ỳ he would betray & deliuer thē al into the hādes of thennemis, who would right sone saile to assault thē. But the said capitaines & other that vnderstoode it would not credyte it, but rather iudged ỳ he did write it but for hatred & that he charged Phrynicus to haue intelligence & confederatiō wyth thennemys of that thing, which the same Alcibiades knew wel ỳ they would do, and by that meane the letters of Alcibiades did in nothing hurt the sayd Phrynicus, but rather they did auerre & credit that, which he had alredy discouered of thenterpryse of ỳ sayd enemys. After ỳ, Alcibiades cessed not to perswade Tissaphernes, ỳ he shulde conclude amitie vō the Athenians, whervnto he redely enclined, for that, ỳ he alredye was in feare of the Lacedimonias, seing that they were more puissant by sea, thā the Athenians. And neuerthels Alcibiades wēt about to get auctoritie towardes Tissaphernes, in manner that he shuld geue faith vnto him. And chiefly after that he had vnderstāde the difference, ỳ had bene betwene Tissaphernes & the comissaries Lacedemonias at Cnidus, touching the articles of allyāce made by Theramenes, which differēce had already bene moued before ỳ the said Peloponesians came to the Rhodes. And also before that same, Alcibiades had vttred ỳ purpose, wherof we haue spokē, to Tissaphernes, shewing vnto hym that the Lacedemonians went about to restore & set al the grekishe cyties in lybertie, wherby, being afterwardes chāced the propolition ỳ Lychas had at the assēble of Cnidus, who sayd that ỳ same article was not to be holden, by the which it was spokene ỳ the king shuld recouer to his obeissāce al ỳ cyties, which he or his predecessours had gouerned: he fortefied his opinio more & more. And by such meanes, Alcibiades, as a mā that intended great thinges, wēt about to shewe himself in all sortes, affectioned to ỳ said Tissaphernes. During this time, ỳ messengers which were sēt with Pysāder by the Athenians ỳ were at Samie, to ỳ citie of Athēs, being there arriued proponed & declared to ỳ comons ỳ which they had in charge, touching so marely the principal poinctes, & chiefly that in doinge this, whiche was demanded of thē, they might haue ỳ king on their syde, & by ỳ meane obteigne ỳ victory against the Peloponesias, to wit, in calling again Alcibiades & in chāging the gouernance of ỳ towne, like as hath bene said. Against the which thinges many of ỳ peple did speake vō great instāce, aswel for the affectiō which they had to ỳ comon estate, as also for thenmytye ỳ they had against Alcibiades. And they said that it shuld be a thing tomuch to their repryoch for to restore to auctorite him, who had violated & broken their lawes, & against whom, those ỳ pronoticed the hallowed

Cnidus

thynges had borne wytnes of the coꝛruptyng, and violation of their ceremonies. By reasone wherof, perceyuynge hymself coulpable, he wyllyngly bannyshedde hymself, and therefoꝛe the same cytizeins were bounde to greate curssynges and punyshmentes towardes the goddes, in case that they shulde calle hym againe. Wherupon Pylander, seynge the greate multitude of the Againesayers, he went thider, where the greatest prealle of them was, and takyng theym by the hande the one after the other, he demaunded of theym if they had any hope of victoꝛye agaynste the Peloponesians by other meane, seynge that they had so greate an armye by sea, as theirs, and greate nomber of cyties of Grece in their allyance, and moꝛeouer the kynge and Tyssaphernes, who fournysshed them wyth monney, wherof the Athenians had no moꝛe, nother coulde hope to haue, but on the kynges behaulf. Wherunto al those, whome he demaunded, aunswered him that they perceyued none othere meane. Than he replyed vnto theym that the same coulde not be done, if they reformed not the gouernance of the cytye, & dyd not cõmytt it into the hande of a smalle nomber, and that the kynge desyred it foꝛ to be moꝛe suer of the cytie. Wherefoꝛe he required theym that they shoulde not be wyllyng to haue moꝛe regarde to the gouernaunce of the cytie, than to to welth of the same. Foꝛ afterwardes, wyth the tyme, it shoulde be in their faculte and power foꝛ to change yt, if they thought good. Lett vs than call agayne, sayed he, at thys presente Alcibiades, who alone hath power to do yt. Through thies declarations and perswations of Pylander, the people, whiche at the begynnynge dyd take this change of the estate and gouernance to be strange, vnderstandyng by the propositon of the same Pylander, that there was no other meane to saue the Empire and the cytie, partly in feare and partly in hope, they were contente that the gouernance shulde be commytted into the hande of a smalle nomber of men. And the decree was made, wherby the people dyd gene charge and comission to Pylander, wyth tenne other cytizeins foꝛ to go to Tyssaphernes and Alcibiades, foꝛ to treate and accoꝛde wyth them, touchyng the same, in suche foꝛte as shulde seme vnto them moste profficable foꝛ the cytie. And by the self decree, Phrynicus wyth hys compaignion Sciron, who had been accused by the sayed Pylander, was deposed frome their charge, and in their stede were placed Diomedon and Leon, who were sente vnto the army in the sea. And the charge, whiche Pylander had layed agaynst Phrynicus, was that he suffred Amoꝛges to be betrayed and lost, and it semed to hym that he was not sufficient foꝛ to conducte the thynges, that shoulde be treated wyth Alcibiades. Pylander hauynge than sett fourth all the coniurations and fourme of doynges, whiche were in the begynnynge, bifoꝛe that the common estate, had auctoꝛytie, aswelle touchynge the iudgementes as also the officers, and done so much that the people being assembled, had consented to the abolysshyng & abꝛogating of the comons estate, and moꝛeouer pꝛouyded foꝛ all thynges that semed to hym necessarye foꝛ the state of the thynges presente: he launched fourth into the sea wyth hys tenne compaignions and sailled frome thence to Tyssaphernes.

Sciron
Diomedon.
Leon.

(∴)

Howe those of Chio hauinge

bene repoulsed at a saulte which they made in the campe of the Athenians, with great losse of their men: were straitely allieged & brought into greate necessitie. And howe the treatie, whiche Alcibiades purposed, for to make allyance bitwene Tyssaphernes and the Athenyans, was brokene, and the allyance renewed bitwene the sayd Tyssaphernes and the Lacedemonyans.

The.ix.Chapter.

On the other syde, Dyomedō and Leon, after that they were arryued at the army by sea, they gouerned it agaynst the Rhodes. And seinge that the Peloponesyans shyps were in the poorte, whiche wardedde it and by that meane that they coulde not enter therein, they sailled fromethence to lande in an other place, whereat the Rhodians being abone readye agaynste them, they repoulsed them, and that done, they embarqued theymselfagaine, and sailled into Chalcedon, fromwhence and also fro Coo, they made sharper warre agaynst the Rhodyans, and also myghte ealely spye if anny Peloponesyans shypps passed therby. Durynge this tyme, Xenophantydas Laconian dyd come out of Chio to the Rhodes from Pedaritus, who signifyed to the Lacedemonyans that were there, that the wall, which the Athenyans had reysed vp againste the cytie of Chio was already synysshed. And that if all the army by sea, did not right shortly come to their succours, the same citie shuld be losse. Which thing vnderstanding, It was determyned by an generall accorde of thē all for to succour it. In this meane time Pedaritus and the Chiens yssued fourth agaynst the rampars whiche the Athenyans had made aboute their shyppes, with suche force that they did beate downe and breake one parte therof, and also dydde take some of the sayd shyps. But the Athenyans, beyng come to the succours of their men and rampares, the Chiens did furst flye. And afterwardes Pedaritus, who was wylling to stande to it, beynge habandoned of those, which were about him, was slayne & a greate nomber of Chiens with him and a greate quātitie of harnoies takene. By occasion of whiche ouerthrowe the cytie was allieged yet more straitly than bifore, alwel by sea as by lande, & therewith was in greate necessitie of victualles. On the other syde, Pylander and his compaignions beyng arryued with Tyssaphernes, they begon to treate with him the appoynctmente and to set fourth the parties. But he fearing more the Lacedemonians than thē, and as he that minded (ensuing the counsaille of Alcibiades) to suffre thē yet more to feeble and weaken the one the other, did not wholy declare himself to the same Alcibiades. Who perceiuing that, did put fourth such parties bitwene the Athenyans & Tyssaphernes, ỳ they coulde not agree, whiche thing, in my fantasie, the said Tyssaphernes also purposed, but to dyuers endes & for diuers causes. To witt, Tissaphernes, for that ỳ he feared the Peloponesiās, & therfore durst not wel departe frō them. And Alcibiades for this, that seing ỳ Tissaphernes was not willing to conclude the appoynctment, he would not geue knolaige therof to the Athenians ỳ it was not in his puissance to cause hym to cōdescēde vnto it, but rather was he wylling to cause theym to bileue, that he had already wonne hym, and that they were the cause of the breaking of, for that that they made to hym tomuch slender offers. And for to comme to hys purposes, he demaunded of theym in the name of the sayed Tyssaphernes, for whome he dydde speake in hys presence of thynges so greate and so vnreasonable, that he was forcedde to kepe hymselfe frome agreynge vnto theym, that the conclusion shulde not be made. For furst he demaunded of theym all the countrey of Jonium with all the Illandes adioignyng to the same. And that same beyng agrede vnto by the Athenyans at the

thirde assemblie, which they made, for to shewe that he had some auctoritie with the kynge, he demaunded them that they shulde suffer hym to make shyppes at hys wylle and wyth the same to sayle into hys landes wyth suche nomber and as often as it shulde seme good vnto hym. The Athenyans would not geue place to that demaunde, but seinge that intollerable thynges were demaunded of thē, and iudgynge them selfe as deceyued by Alcibiades, they departed in greate anger and disdeigne, and returned to Samie. After that same, Tyssaphernes the selfe wynter sailled agayne to Caunus, to ioigne hymself a newe wyth the Peloponesians and to make allyance vpon suche conditions as he myghte, payinge vnto them the soulde or wages, at their pleasure, to the ende that they shoulde not become hys ennemyes, fearynge that if they were constrayned for to come to battayle, by sea wyth the Athenyans, least that they shoulde be ouercome for lacke of men, considered that the more parte of them had not be payde, or elles that the Athenyans shoulde obteigne that, whiche they required wythoute hym: or happely that he feared more, least that for to recouer their payemente, they woulde waste and destroye the countrey of the kynge borderynge vnto theyme, whiche was in the mayne lande. For theis reasons than, and for to come to his intentes, whiche were to make the Grekes egall in force, hauyng caused the Peloponesyans to comme, he delyuereddе theym payemente and soulde or wages, of the armye by sea, and dyd come to the thirde treatie wyth theym in this same manner and substance.

The thirde treatie of allyance bitwene the Lacedemonyans and the kyng Dareus.

Alexippidas. Meāder Theramenes.

THe thirteneth yeare of the kyng Dareus, Alexippidas, being Trybune of the people at Lacedemone, the treatie was made in the fielde of Meander, bitwene the Lacedemonyans & their allies of the one partie, & Tyssaphernes, Theramenes, and the childrē of Pharnacus on the other partie, touching the affaires bitwene the sayd parties. Furst that all the same whiche apperteigned to the kyng in Asia, shulde remayne to hym, and that he might determyne and dispose of his prouynce at his pleasure. That the Peloponesians nor their allyes shulde not enter into the kinges countrey, for to endomage it, nor lykewyse the kyng into the countrey of the Lacedemonyans nor of the allyes. And if any of the sayd allyes did the contrary, the other shulde prohybitt & resist them: and the king lykewise, if any of his subiectes did it in the lādes of the sayd confederates. That Tyssaphernes shulde pay the soulde or wages to the shyps, which be presently ready, attending that those of the king shulde come, and than the Lacedemonians and their said allyes shulde wage and enterteigne theirs, at their proper costes & expences if they would, and if they rather desired that Tyssaphernes shulde paye the charge, that he shulde be bounde to lende thē monney, which shulde be rendred & repayde vnto him the warre fynyshed by the sayd allyes. That after that the kinges shyps shulde be come, they shulde ioigne with those of the allyes & al togiders make warre against the Athenians, so long as it shulde seme good to the sayd Tyssaphernes, & to the sayd Lacedemonyans and confederates, & if it shulde seme good vnto thē to departe frō the said enterpryse, that it shalbe done wyth a comon accorde & not otherwyse. Suche were the articles of the sayed treatie. After the whiche, Tyssaphernes bled diligence to cause the shyps to come frō Phenice, and to accomplishe all the other thinges, which he had promysed, and he shewed himself moreouer much affectioned vnto the enterpryse. About the ende of the wynter, the Beotians did take the towne of

Oropе, with

Ozope, with the garnison of Atheniās, that were within yt, & that by the treatie of those of the towne, & also of some of ỹ Erethziens, hoping afterwardes to cause the towne of Eubee to rebell. For the same towne of Ozope, being in the lande of Erythzee, which those Athenians did holde, it could not be, but ỹ the losse therof shulde tourne to their greate domage aswell to the cytie of Erythzee as to al the Isle of Eubee. After ỹ same, the Erythzeens sent to the Peloponesians that were at Rhodes for to cause thē to come into Eubee. But for that, ỹ thaffaire of Chio semed vnto thē moze vrgent, for the necessitie, wherin the towne was, they refused the other enterprise, & departed frō thence for to saile to succour it. And passing nigh to Ozope, they descriued the Atheniās ships that were departed frō Chalce, whiche kepte the mayne sea, neuerthelas for that, ỹ they sailled to diuers voiages, the one came not against the other, but rather toke euery one his way, to witt, the Athenians to Samie, & the Peloponesiās to Milet, for so much as they perceiued wel that Chio coulde not be succoured without battaille, and in the meane time the ende of the wynter didde come, whiche was the twentith yeare of the warre, which Thucidides hath wzittō. In the beginning of the furst spzing, Dercilidas Spartian was sent with a smal nomber of men into Hellespont, for to cause the towne of Abide, to rebell against the Atheniās, whiche is a coloine of the Meleſiens. On the other syde the Chiens, seing that Astyochus slacked so much to come to their succour, they were constrayned to come to fight in the sea agaynst the Athenians vnder the conduct of Leontes the Spartian, who they had made their chief after the deathe of Pedaricus, in the tyme that Astyochus was yet at Rhodes, & was come with Antisthenes, frō Mylet. Now they had, xii, strange ships, that were come to thier succours, to witt, fyue of the Thuriens, foure of the Syraculains, one of Anea, one of Milet, & one of Leontes, and, xxvi, of theirs. And so all those that were hable to fight, yssued fourth, and came to assaulte the Athenians very boldely, haupnge chosen a place of aduantage for theymsell. And the combate was sharpe & dangerous on both sydes, wherin the Chiens shulde not haue had the woorse, but the night came vpon theym which departed them, and the Chiens retourned into the towne. In the self time Dercilidas being arryued by lande in Hellespont, the towne of Abide, did fourthwith render it self into his handes & of Pharnabazus, and twoo dayes after, the citie of Lamsaque dyd the syke, whereof, Strombichides, who was afore Chio, beynge aduertised, he came soubdaynly with, xviiii, Athenians shipps for to succour and defende that same quarter, amōgest the which ships, there was barques that caryed mē at armes, Being thā arryued at Lamsaque, & hauing vanquissed in battaille those of the towne, that yssued fourth against theym, he did take euen at one compynge the sayd towne, for that, that it was not walled, togiders with all those whiche were within the shipps, afterwardes hauinge restored the free men into the towne, he sailled fourthwith vnto Abyde. But seinge that there was no hope to take it nor apparence for to assiege it, he departed and did go to Sestie, which is a cytie in the countrey of Cheronese, situated directly forayenpst Abyde, the whiche the Medes had holden for a certene time, and therin he did putt a good garnison for the sauls garde and defence of all the countrey of Hellespont. But in thies enterseates by cause of the departure of Dercilidas, the Chiens, & also the Meleſiās were maisters of the sea, whereupon Astyochus, vnderstandynge the combate by sea, whiche the same Chiens had had against the sayd Athenians and the departure of the sayd Strombichides, he was more animated and assured therein. And so he dyd come wyth two shyps and no more to Chio, and there he toke with hym all those that he founde there, and sailled straight to Samie. And seynge that the

Ozope.

Chalce.

Sestus

ennemyes wouldē not yllue fourthe to fight, for that, that they trusted not well the one the other, they retourned to Mylet.

Howe a greate deuision happened amongest the Athenyans, alwell within the cytie, as wythoute, chiefly in the army that was in Samie, by meane of the change of the estate and gouernance of the same, whiche did greatly endomage them.

The.x. Chapter.

THe differente and controuersie of the sayd Athenyans was for that, that in the same tyme, the estate and gouernance of the towne, had bene changed at Athens, oute of the power of the comon people, vnto a smalle nomber. For Pylander and hys compaignions, beynge retourned to Samie, brought the army that was there, to their wylle and obeysance, and one greate parte of the Samiens, chiefly they erhoyted the pryncipalle of the towne to take the gouernance thereof into their handes, althoughe that there were manye, whyche were wyllynge to maignteigne the common estate, wherby happened greate deuision and sedition betwene them. Also the Athenās, that were there in the armye, hauynge consulted vpon the thyng amonge themself, and seynge that Alcibiades was not earnest in the matter, they concluded to forsake hym, and not to calle hym agayne, for that, that it semed to theyme, that thoughe he dyd come agayne into the cytie, yet shulde he not be conueniente nor mete, for to order and gouerne the affaires vnder the gouernance of a small nomber, but rather was expediente that thole that were there, of the estate, whereof was question: shulde deuyle the manner, howe that practique shulde be conductedde, and also howe the feate in warre shulde be pursued. Whereunto euery man of theym dyd readely offer to contrybute of hys owne monney and all other thinges necessarye, knowynge that they shulde no more laboure for the comons nor for any other, but for theymself. And so they sente againe Pylander and the moytie of the ambassadours whyche had bene sente towardes Tyssaphernes, vnto Athenes, for to geue order there in the affaires, and charged them, that through al the cyties whiche they shulde passe, of the obeysance of the Athenyans, ỳ they shulde compytte the gouernance into the hande of a smalle nomber of the pryncypalles, and the other parte of the sayd ambassadours also departed & euerye one dyd goo into sondry places for to do the lyke. And also they ordeyned that Dyotrephes, who was thā at the siege of Chio, shuld go into the prouince of Thrace, which was delyuered into his gouernance, who, in his departure from the sayd siege, passing through Thasse, abolisshed the comon estate, and compytted the gouernance into the handes of a small nomber of men. But being departed oute of the cytie, the greate parte of the Thessyans, hauing encloled their towne vō wall aboutes one moneth after his departure, perswadedde themself to haue no more nede to be gouerned by thole, which the Athenians had sett there, nor by ỳ meane to remayne vnder their obeysance: but rather hopedde within shorte time to recouer entier lybertie through the ayde of the Lacedemonyans, for that, that their cytizeins, which were banniſshed by the Athenians, were withdrawin to Lacedemonie, and sollycited with their power, that shyppes shulde be sente vnto theym and that the towne myghte rebelle. So it chanced vnto theyme hooly in that same, as they desyred, whiche is, that the cytie wythoute anny danger was commytted into their lybertie, and the commons, whyche were bente to speake agaynste the estate of a smalle nomber, were wythoute hurte rebuke or offence

Diotrephus.

deprysed

depryued of the gouernance, and to those that toke partie wyth the Athenyans, and vnto whome Diotrephes had betaken the gouernement, yt chaunced whole contrary to their thinkinges. And the lyke was done in many other of the cyties subiected to the Athenyans, which, consyderynge (as it semeth to me) that they shulde haue no more feare of the Athenyans, and that the same fourme of lyuing in their obeissance vnder the couloure of pollecie, was for trouth but a coloured seruitude or bondage, they attended al for a true lybertie. As touching Pisander and hys compaignions, that were gone vnto hym, they comytted the gouernance of the cyties, through whyche, they passed, into the hande of a small nombere, at their pleasuer: and oute of some of the same, they dyd take souldyars, whyche they caryed wyth them to Athenes, where they founde that their complices and frendes, hadde already done many thynges, redoundinge to their intente for to abolisshe the comons estate. For one Androcles, who had greate authoritie wyth the comon people, and that had bene one of the chiefest, that were cause of the banishmente of Alcibiades, was slayne by a secrett conspiracie of some ponge compaignyons of the cytie for twoo purpoles. The one for that, that he had tomuche authoritie wyth the comon people, the other for to acquire and gette the good wille of Alcibiades: who as they thoughte shulde haue comme agayne into authozie, trustinge that he wold make Tyssaphernes their frende. And for the selfe purpoles they had by lyke meanes cauled some other to be slayne, whyche semed vnto them, to be contrary vnto that practique: & also they had shewed vnto the comons by studyed and apparante narrations and reasons: that there shulde be no more wages payde but to those, that sarued in the warrre, and that in the admynistration of the comō affayres, no greater nomber shulde entermeddle, than of fyue houndred men, and chiefly of those, that were hable to sarue the comone weale, both wyth bodyes and wyth goodes: whyche thynge semed honorable to the comon people, and those same, whiche were cause of the bryngyng downe of the comon estate, thought yet by that change to haue authorytie. For also the auncyent facyon of assemblynge the people and the counseille in alle affaires, of hearynge the opynyons of all men, and of followynge the greater nomber, bidde stylle remayne. But nothing might be proponed or declared wythout deliberation of the small nomber, whyche hadde the authorytie. Amongest whom, there were that conferred a parte of all that shulde be proponed and sette fourthe for their intente: and whan they had said their opynyon, no man durst speake against yt for feare: seinge the great nomber and authorytie of the said gouernours. For also, whan any dyd speake against yt, meanes were founde for to cause hym to dye: also they dyd no iustice, nothere make inquyrie for manqueliers or murtherers: wherof the people were so afrayed and abashed: that they durste not saye a worde: and they thought that they dyd gett very muche by holdyng their peace or keppynge sylence, in that they receyued no other incomodytie and violence. And somuche the more they were in greater feare, that they doubted, leaste there had bene a much greater nōber of people in that same conspiracie, for it was not very easye to vnderstand, who were the conturatours and accomplices or parttakers in that same secte, aswell for greatnes of the cytie and multytude of people, as also that the one dyd not knowe the intent of the other, and also dyd not complaine the one to the other, nother to discouer his secret vnto hym, nor to treate to take secrete vengeance therof. For the suspition and mystruste was so great through oute the people, that a man durste not truste, no not hys acquaintance and frendes, doubting leaste they had bene of the same cōspiratie, for that, that there was in yt suche thynges, as neuer were doubted. By reason whereof a man coulde no

more knowe, to whyche, of the comons he might truste, wherby the estate of the conjurators or partakers was greatly assured, principally because of the said diffidence or mistruste. Pylander and his compaignions than being come in the tyme of that same trouble, they brought to passe right easly, & in a smal season, their enterprise. And furst hauyng assembled ỳ people, they caused thē to consent to chose tenne grephiers and secretayries, the which shulde haue full power and auctoryte to pronounce to the people, that whyche shulde be demyded to be putt in consultation for the welthe of the cytie at a daye, which was named. The whiche day beynge come and the assemblie made in a great feide, wherin was situated the temple of Neptunus aboutes tenne stades out of the cytie: there was no other thinge recyted by the grephiers, but that it was lawfull for to declare and publisshe the decree of the Athenyans in whatsoeuer parte a man wold. And who soeuer shulde wryte that the pronouncer did againste the lawes, or otherwyse did him oultrage or empeschemente, shuld be greuously punished. Afterwardes, the saide decree was published, whiche was of this substance, that all the officers whiche were than in authoritie by the chosynge of the comons, shulde be abolisshed and sett of, and that no wages shuld be payde vnto them: & that they shuld electe fyue presidentes, who shuld afterwards name an houndred men, and euery of those, shuld choise three other, which shuld be in the whole foure houndred: who, whan they shuld come vnto the court, shuld haue full power & ample auctoryte to execute that, which shulde be determyned to be for the welth of the common weale: and moreouer to assemble fyue thousand cytezens, at all and almany tymes, as they shuld thinke good. Pylander dyd pronounce that same decre, who in the same, & in other things did willingly al that, which he learned to serue for the extinguishinge and abrogation of the comons estate. But the said decree had
Antiphō already of longe tyme before bene made by Antiphon, who was in great reputation. For truly there was not at the same tyme in the cytie any man that exceaded him in vertue, and also he was very well aduysed and prudente for to fynde & counsaill in good, expedient & comon affayres: & moreouer he had a great grace to speke and declare them: and albeit that he neuer wolde come to the assemblie of the people, nother to any other cōtentious cōgregation, except that he were required: yet the comon people had him in suspition for the effycacitie & elegancie of his speakinge. And though that he wolde not entermedle in causes, yet euerye man that had any matter, were it iudiciall or touchinge the comons, he reputed that he had great sauour, yf he might haue hym for counsaillor. And afore that the estate of foure houndred was abrogated & that men proceded against those, whiche were the principall authors therof, being accused as the other, he defended his cause and answered therein in my conceyte better than anny man, to my remembrance, euer dyd. Phrynicus also shewed hymself greatly fauorable to the same comons estate, for feare of Alcibiades, whome he knew to haue vnderstanded al ỳ, which he had treated w̄ Astiochus being at Samie: for it semed to him that he wold neuer retourne so long, as the said gouernance of foure hondred endured. And also he was estemed a man vertuous & constant in great aduersities for ỳ, that mē had sene by experyence, that he neuer shewed himself that his herte failled him. Theramines also sone of Agnō was of ỳ chief & principall for to extinguish ỳ comon gouernemēt, who was a mā veray sufficient, alwel in worde as in dede. This worke being than conducted by so great nōber of mē of vnderstāding & of auctority: it was no marueil that it was brought to effect, though ỳ it semed and was for trouth a very difficile and harde thing to depryue the comon people of Athens frō their lybertie, which had bene & wherin they were about a houdred

yeares

yeares after that the tyrantes or euyll rulers were banniſhed. And they had not only bene exempted out of the ſubiection of all other: but alſo for, more than the halfe of the foreſaid tyme, they had gouerned ouer other people. The aſſemble of the people beinge departed, after that they hadde approued and ratefyed the ſayde decree, the foure houndred gouernours were afterwardes brought into the courte, in thys manner. The Athenyans were contynually in armure by reaſon of the ennemyes, whiche were in Decelea, to wytte, the one for to warde the walles, the other the gates and other places, whereunto they were appoyncted. And whan the aſſygned daye dyd come for to do the ſayde acte: thoſe that were not of that conſpiration or ſecte: were ſuffred to goo into their howſes, as the cuſtome was. And to thoſe, that were of yt, was comaunded that they ſhulde tarye, not in the place of their watche, and where their weapons were, but in ſome other parte therby, and that if they perceyued any that woolde reſyſte that, which was done or empeſche or let yt, that they ſhulde repouſſe ſuche wyth their weapons if nede were. And thoſe, whiche were deputed and ordeyned therunto, were the Andrians, the Thenyans, three houndred of the Caryſtiens, and thoſe of the cytie of Egyne, whyche the Athenyans had cauſed to come for to inhabite there. The thynges beynge than ſo ordonned, the foure houndred cholen to the gouernance, euery of them bearyng a dagger hydde vnder his habillement or clothing, and wyth them fyue ſkooze ponge men for to aſſyſte and ſtrengthen them, whan it ſhulde be nedefull: entred all togiders into the pallays, where the courte was holden, and enuyronned the ſenatours, whyche dyd ſytt in counſaill. Who after the cuſtome declared their opynyons by blacke and whyte beanes, and ſo sayde vnto them that they ſhulde take their payment, for the tyme, that they had ſerued, and departed. Whiche payment the ſame foure houndred had brought the, and as they yſſued fourthe of the counſailles chamber, they delyuered to euerye of them their duties. And by that meane, they departed out of the court without makynge any reſiſtence, and wythout that the reſte of the comons ones ſtyred. And than the foure houndred dyd entre and chooſe amonge themſelfe certayne threaſourers and receyuours, and that done, dyd ſacrefyce ſolempnelye for the treatinge of the ſayde newe offycers. And by that meane the comone gouernance was hooly changed, and a greate parte of that, whyche was done byfore that time, was reuoked, relarued, that they did not calle agayne the banniſhed men, for that Alcibiades ſhulde not be compryſed therein. In the reſte, the ſayde gouernours dydde all thynges at theire wylle, and amonge othere cauſed ſome of the Cytezeyns to dye, doubtinge leaſte that they ſhulde haue bene placedde in theire ſteede, for that they ſemed to them not to be for their purpoſe. Some other they dyd put into pryſone, and ſome they banniſhed. That done, they ſente vnto Agis kynge of the Lacedemonyans, who was at Decelea, an Heraulte: ſignefying that they woolde reconcyle themſelfe wyth the Lacedemonyans, and ſhewynge hym that he myght conceyue and take more ſuertie and truſte in them, than in the variable and vnconſtant comons. But he, whiche thought wel, that the cytie could not be but in trouble: and that the comons woolde not ſuffre their authorytie to be eaſely aboliſhed, ſpecially, if they perceyued any great army commyng byfore their towne: and that the eſtate of the ſayde foure houndred was not ſo eſtabliſſhed, but that it myght well be troubled, he made them no anſwer touchyng the appoynctement. But wythin fewe dayes after, he cauſed to aſſemble a greate nōber of men of warre, in the countrey of Peloponeſe, & wyth them and thoſe, that he had Decelea, he came vnto the walles of the cytie of Athenes, truſtynge that they wolde haue rendred themſelf to hys wylle, aſwell for the trouble, that was

amonge

amonge them, both wythin and without the cytie, as also for feare, seing so great puissance at theire gates. And though that they woolde not doo yt, yet yt semed vnto hym, that he myght easely take the great walls by force, for that, that they were solitarie and required euer great watche and warde. But it chaūced wholy otherwyse, for the Athenyans dyd make no tumulte nor insurrection amongest themself, but they caused their horsemen and also one parte of their fotemen, alwell well armed, as lyght armed to yssue fourth, the whiche repoulsed incontynently, thole, which were approched next vnto the wals, and did slay a great part of them, & spoiles of whom, they caryed into the towne. Wherupon Agis seyng, that his enterpryse did take no good effect, he retourned to Decelea, & certen days after hys retourne, he sent backe the strange souldyars, whych he had caused to come for that same enterpryse, and reteygned thole, that he hadde furste there. And neuerthelas the foore houndred sente excusones vnto hym for to treate the appoynctement, the whyche he did take in good parte, so that he perswaded them to sende Imbassadours vnto Lacedemonie for to treate the peace, whyche they greately delyred. On the other syde, they sente tenne cytezeins of their faction or secte, vnto thole, that were at Samie, for to shewe them, amonge many other charges, whyche they had, that the same, which they had done in changing of the comons estate, was not to the damage of the cytie, but for the welth therof, and that the auctorytie, was not in the power of foore houndred onelye, but of fyue thousand, and therby that it was asmuch in the handes of the comons, as before time it had bene: forsomuch as at no assayze, that euer was treated vpon in the cytie as domesticall, nor wtin the self countrey as foreyne, there was neuer sonde vnder the comons gouernance so great a nomber, as fiue thousand men. And the foore houndred did sende this Imbassade vnto Samie, immediatly after the begynninge, fearing leaste thole that were there of the army by sea, wolde not be agreable to that change, nother obey their gouernance, and leaste the euyll and the discorde should begynne there, and afterwards come into the cytie, as it happened. For after & time, that the sayd change was made at Athens, there was a mutyne and sedytion made in the sayd cytie of Samie, for the selfe occasion in this manner. For some Samyens, the whyche in fauoure of the comons estate, that was than in the cytie and for defence ther of, were reysed vp and in the armure against the pryncipalles of the towne that wolde haue vsurped the admynistration, did sone after tourne & changed their opynyon at the perswation of Pylander, whan he was come thider, and of other his followers and accomplices Athenians, whō he founde there. And willing to put downe the sayd comō estate, they assembled to the nomber of foore houndred fully determyned to assaulte and dryue awaye all thole, that conducted the comon gouernance: pretendinge themself to be and represente all the comons. And at the arryuall they dyd slay an vngracious man, and one of an euill lyuinge an Athenyan named Hyperbolus, who was bannisshed oute of Athens, nother for suspytion nor feare, that anye man had of hys puissance nor of hys auctorytie: but for synne and offence, and for that, that he procured shame to the cytie, togiders with one of the Dukes Athenyans named Charminus, and some other Athenyans that were in hys compaignie, by whose counsail he gouerned himself. And they determined to procede further in fauour of the smal nōber. But & other cytezeins taking partie wt the comon estate, which vnderstode this cōiuration or conspyratie, did discouer it, chiefly to some of & capytains that were vnder & charge of Diomedō & of Leon, dukes of & Athenias. The which dukes, for somuche as they had had that same charge & other honnours of the comōs, were not cōtent that & auctorytie should come into hands of a smal nomber.

Hyperbolus.

Charminus.

nomber. And lykewyse they discouered it vnto Thrasylus, wherof the one was patrone of a shipp, and the other cappitayne of the men of warre, that were in the same: and also the sayd men of warre, whome they knewe to haue affection to the sayde comons estate: prayinge and requyringe that they wolde not suffer them to be so spoyled and ouercharged by the sayde conjuratours, whiche had conspyred their death, nother also in suche affayre, to habandonne, the cytie of Samie, whyche shulde cause it to lose and wythdrawe the good wille, that it had borne to ỹ Athenyãs, if they wold change the fourme of lyuing, which they had vsed vntyll that same time. This thinge, being so declared to the Chiefes and capitains, they did speke particulerly to the souldyars: perswading them not to suffre that same conspyratie to take effecte. And furste they practysed the compaignie of the Athenyans, that men call Parales, and afterwardes all the free men, that were in that same Athenyan shyp, whych had bene both than & at all tymes byfore, contrarye to the estate and gouernance of the smalle nomber, and also were in good estymation wyth Diomedon & wyth Leon, in suche sorte, that whan they made any voiage in the sea, they delyuered vnto them willyngly the charge and warde of certayne shippes. Those same than beynge ioygned wyth those of the towne, that were for the comons estate, they defyed the thre houndred conjurators that were chosen and putt in authorytie. Wherof they dyd slay thirty and banniſshed three of the pryncypal authors. They pardoned the othere, and restored the commons estate into his former auctorytie. That done, the Sampens and the Athenyan souldyars, that were there, did incontynently sende that same shippe wyth Parales togyders wyth that Cappitayn and Patrone of the same ship, named Chereas, the sonne of Archestratus, that was aydinge to that same busynes, for to aduertyse the Athenyans of that, whiche had bene there done, knowinge also that the gouernance of the cytie of Athens had bene putt into the power of four houndred. Who vnderstanding the commyng of that same shyppe, cauled two or three of the sayde Parales to be taken and putte into pryſone, and cauſed the other to be charged into other shyppes, and sent them into dyuers places of Eubea for to be suerly warded, reſarued Chereas, who perceyuynge, whiche waye the wynde wolde blowe, hydde and saued himself: and afterwardes retourned to Samie, and reported to those, that were there, alle that, whyche had bene done at Athens, and made the thynges muche greater, than they were: saying that all they that toke parte wyth the comons, were beatẽ and oultraged, wythout that, that there was any one parsone that durste hylle agaynste the gouernours: and that they oultraged and wronged not onely the men, but also theire wyues and childzen. And moreouer that they determyned the lyke to all those that were in the armye of Samie, that shulde be swarueinge and discrepant from their wille and to take their wyues, childzene and nerte parentes, and to cause them to dye if they wolde not condescende vnto their wylle. And the sayde Chereas reported many other thynges, whyche were all lyes, wherby the souldyars were so spytefull and inflamed, that they were of opynyon to slay not onelye those, that hadde brought in the estate of a small nomber at Samie: but also those alle, that had cleued and consented therunto. Beynge declared vnto them by some, whiche entermedled for to quiett and appayse theym, that in so doynge they shulde putte the cytie in danger to fall into the handes of the enemyes, whyche were in greate nomber in the sea, for to come to assaulte them, they dyd forbeare to do yt. And neuerthelas wyllynge to sett vp agayne openly the comon estate in the same cytie: Thrasibulus and Thrasillus, who were the chiefes and pryncypall conductours of that same practique, constrayned all the Athenyans, that were there in

the armye

the armye, and chiefly those, that toke partie wyth the gouernance of the smalle nomber, for to helpe with their power to defende the comon estate: and to follow (touchynge the same) that, whyche those capytains woulde do, and in that doynge to defende the cytie of Samie againste the Peloponesyans, and to take the foure houndred newe gouernours of Athens, for ennemyes: and not to make any treatie nor appointement wt theym. All the Sampens, whych were in age to beare weapons, made the lyke othe: vnto whō the souldyars made also othe, for to lyue & to die wt them in one self fortune. Reputing that there was none other hope of welth, nother for them nor for those of the towne. But rather they al did take theymselfe for lost, ayther yf the estate of foure houndred shulde take place at Athenes, ozelles if the Peloponesyans shulde take the towne by force. In thies entrefaictes a longe tyme was employed ad lost, whyles the souldyars Athenyans that were in the army of Samie, wylled to restore the cytie of Athens to the comon estate: and those, which had the gouernance at Athens, to constraine those of Samie, to do as they dyd. But the souldyars beynge assembled for thys matter, they fourthwt deposed all the capytains & other, hauing charge in that same army, that were suspected to fauour the estate of foure houndred, and dyd putt other into their places. Of whyche nomber were Thrasybulus and Thrasillus, who the one after the other, exhorted all the souldyars to be constant in the same purpose for many reasons, whyche they declared vnto them: though that the cytie of Athenes had condescended to the gouernement of the said foure houndred. And amonge other thynges they shewed them, howe they themself were in greater nomber than those, whyche remayned in the Cytie, and also had greater habundance and facultie of all thinges than they, for somuch as hauinge the ships in their handes and all the army by sea, they myght constraigne all the subiected & confederated cyties, for to contribute monney. And if they were bannyshed out of Athens they had ỹ same cytie of Samie, which, was nayther smal nor weake, but rather the same of Athens, beyng depriued of the force by sea, wherin it preteended to excede al other: they shuld be sufficiētly puissant, for to chase away the enemys Peloponesyās, yf they shuld come to assault thē in Samie, like as they had done at other times: & also for to resiste those that were at Athenes, & for to be ỹ maisters, hauyng the ships in their handes, by meane wherof, they might haue victuailles in habundance, where those of Athenes shulde haue lacke therof. And that, whyche they had had vntill that same houre, which came to descende in the poarte of Pyreus, was by the meane and fauour of the army by sea, whych was there at Samie, which thyng they could no more haue, if they refused to restore the gouernance of the cytie into the handes of the comons: and therby, that those, whyche were there, myghte better empesche, and stoppe the vsage of the sea, fro those, that were in the cytie of Athenes: than the same that were in the cytie, from them. For that, whyche the same cytie coulde fournische of yt selfe, was the least partie, that a man might hope to haue for to resiste the enemis, & loking the same they shuld lose nothing: for that, that there was no more monney in ỹ Cytie that they myghte sende, but rather the souldyars were constrayned to serue at their expences: and also they had no more good counsail, whiche was the onely thyng, that causled the cytie to haue obeissance of the hoostes that were wythout: but rather they had greatly lacke therof, for somuche as they had violated and corrupted their auncyent lawes: where they, whych were at Sampe, bothe woolde conserue them, & also constrayne other to kepe them. Wherfore it was not to bileue that those amongeste them, whyche had bene authors of a better counsaille and opynyon in thys matter, than those: that were in the cytie: shuld be more meane

Thrasybulus.
Thrasillus.

and

And on the other parte, yf they woolde offer vnto Alcibiades hys restoryng and hys reappeale: he wold ryght willingly make the allyance and amytie betwene them and the kynge. And if all other parties shulde faille them, hauinge so great an armye by sea: yet myght they saille into whatsoeuer such place as they shulde thynke good, where they myght fynde bothe cyties and landes for to inhabyte. Wyth suche sayings and perswations they animated the one, the other: & neuer thelas vsed all diligence for to prepare all thynges apperteigning to the warre. Whyche thynges perceyued by the Ambassadours, whyche the foore houndred sente thyder, to be already dyuulged and spredde abroade through the comons, they kepte silence and dyd not expounde nor vtter their charge.

¶ How Tissaphernes did come into greate suspytion of the Peloponesyans: aswell for that, that he abused them wyth the succours whyche he had promysed: as also for thys, that Alcibiades was restored and called agayn by the Athenyans that were in the armye, and had all the auctorytie wyth them, whyche he vsed to the welth and profytt of his partie.

¶ The.xi. Chapte.

In thies enterfayctes the Peloponesyans souldyars by sea, that were at Mylet: murmured and dyd speake openly agaynste Astyochus and againste Tyssaphernes, saying that they destroyed & wasted all, to wit, Astyochus, for that, that he wolde not fyght, whan their armye by sea was weake, yea althoughe that they than were in a greate dyssentyon amonge theymself, and that their armye by sea was departed into many places, yet wold he not assaylle theym, but consumed the tyme vnder couloure of attendynge and caryinge the shyppes, that shulde comme oute of Phenice, and he dyd geue them succours wyth woordes, but not in effecte, wylynge so to consume and destroye theym in expenses: and also he payde not entierly and continuelly the armye by sea, by occasyon whereof it was loste and destroyed. Wherefore they sayde that he shulde delaye them no moore, but sayille to assaulte the sayde Athenyans, and the Syracusayns moste instantely requyred hym thereunto. Astyochus and the other Chiefz that were there for the confederated cyties, being aduertysed therof, determyned to faight, vnderstandinge specyally, that there was greate mutyne and sedytion at Samie. So they assembled all the shippes, that they had, which were sire skore and two at Mycale, and fromthence aduertysed and cõmaunded thole, which were at Mylet, that they shulde marche by land. Nowe the ships of the Athenyans were foore skoore and two in nomber, whiche were comme oute of Samie, into Glauca, in the countrey of Mycale. And it muste be vnderstande that the Cytye of Samye ys a lytle in lengthe of the lande frome the coaste of Mycale. Fromewhence the Athenyans, seynge the Peloponesyans shyppes to comme agaynste theym, they retyred to Samye: for yt semed vnto theym, that they were not suffycyentlye stronge for to hazarde the battaille, wherein rested the question of the whole estate. And forasmuche as they hadde learned, that the ennemys dyd comme wyth an erneste wylle to fayghte: they sayled lokynge for Stromb ichides, who was at Hellesponte & shulde come thider wt the ships that he had broughte frome Chio to Abyde, whyche thinge they hadde commaunded him to doo, soone after that they retyred to Samie, and that the Peloponesians

Do came

came to Micale. In the whyche place, they had the same daye made their cam-
pe, alwell wyth men, whyche they had in their shippes, as wyth those, that were
at Mylett, and also wyth the people of the countrey. And they determyned to go
the morowe after to mete the enemys at Samie. But beinge aduertyled of the
comynge of Stronbichides, they did retourne vnto Mylet, in the whyche place,
the Athenyans determyned to go to presente them battaill, after that they shuld
haue bene reforced or newe strengthened wyth the shippes, that Strombichi-
des gouerned: for they were in all an houndred and eight shippes. But seing that
the Peloponesyans wolde not issue fourth at large, they retourned vnto Samie.
And after their departure, the Peloponesyans, although that they had so fayer
and so puissante an army: yet neuerthelas reputinge not themselfe sufficiente for
to fight agaynste the ennemyes, and not knowynge in the reste howe they might
entertreigne that same army, specially seing that Tyssaphernes payed it not wel:
they sent vnto Pharnabazus, Clearchus sonne of Ramphius, Cappytain of forty
shippes, enjoynge that whiche had bene already commaunded vnto them from
Peloponese, for that, that the sayd Pharnabazus had promised to paye the ar-
my: and on the other syde, they did vnderstande that if they sayled to Bizance,
the towne wolde tourne vnto them. So Clearchus launched fourthe wyth hys
forty shyps keping the mayne sea, for not to be perceyued of hys enemyes. But
there came vpon him souddainly a tempest, so that his ships were disparsed and
skatered abroad, a one parte, which followed Clearchus, satisfied to Delos, & other
retourned to Mylet, and sone after did come agayne to the said Clearchus. Who
came by lande into Hellesponte. But tenne shipps, whyche were before arrined at
the sayde Hellespont caused the cytie to tourne to their confederation. Whereof
the Athenyans, whiche were at Samie, beinge sone after aduertyled, sente a nō-
ber of shyps for to warde and defende Hellesponte, the which had a light battaill
before Byzance: to wytt, eyght shippes of them, against the like nomber of the Pe
loponesians. In this meane tyme, they, that were chiefs of that same army for the
Athenyans, and principally Thrasibulus (who had alwoays bene of aduyse, that
Alcibiades ought to be called home agayne, and also sithens that the estate of A-
thens was changed, by his meane) they were alwaies from muche into more in
that purpose. And he declared it in suche sorte and so perswaded the souldyars,
whyche were there: that they all agrede to the restorynge of the sayde Alcibiades:
and the decree was concluded and put in wrytinge, by the whyche the sayde Alci-
biades was pardonned, and that he shulde be called home agayne into the cytie.
The whyche beynge so published, Thrasibulus wente vnto Tyssaphernes, and
brought the same Alcibiades wyth hym to Samie. Hopynge by hys meane to
wythdrawe the sayde Tyssaphernes to the amytie of the Athenyans. Alcibiades,
beinge arryued at Samie, caused the people to assemble, and proponed and de-
clared vnto them, many greate losses and damaiges, whiche he had sustayned in
his banishement: and afterwardes did speake profoundely, highly and wyttely
of the affayres of the comon welth: in suche sorte, that he did put them in greate
hope, to set it vp agayne: magnefyinge greatly the auctorite, whiche he hadde vn
the said Tissaphernes, to the ende, that those, which had the auctoryte and admi
nistration at Athenes, shuld be in feare of him, & by that meane their cōspiracies
and confederations shulde be dissolued and weakened: and also that those, that
were at Samie shulde conceyue and haue the more truste in hym, and by conse-
quente, that he myghte be in more reputation, and that the ennemyes shulde the
more mistruste the sayde Tyssaphernes and lose the hope, whiche they had to
be ayded by him. For he sayde to the sayd Athenyans, that were at Samie, that

Pharna
bazus.
Clear-
chus.

Hellespō
tus.

the

the same Tyssaphernes had promysed hym to paye the wages of their souldyars (yf he might finde and take suer truste in them) vntill the ende of their assayres: though that he shulde therefore sell asmuche as he was worth: and that he wold cause to come to their succour and ayde the Phenicians shyps, which were already in Aspendus, in stede of sendyng thē to the Peloponesyans. And for all ỹ assurance, he demaūded of them, but that they shulde receyue and take agayne ỹ said Alcibiades. who hauing declared suche and lyke wordes, the cappytams and souldyars did adioigne and adde hym to the nōber of the other chiefz of the army, & dyd gene him auctorytie for to order in all thyngs. And in effect they toke so great confidence and hope in him, that they made no maner of doubte in their welth: nother of the ruyne & fall of the foore houndzed, also they were all ready euen at the selfe tyme, vpon confydence of that, whyche he had sayde, for to saille into Pyreus, wythout haupnge regarde to the enemyes that were there so nighe: but though that there were many that made greate instance to obteygne the same, yet wolde he not consente therunto, saying, that it was not expedient, hauing the ennemyes so nyghe, to saille into Pyreus. And that sithens that they had geuen the charge of the warre vnto hym, and had made him Chief, that he wolde prouyde for euery thynge wyth Tyssaphernes. Towardes whome he retourned incontynēntly after the departure of that same assemblie, for to shewe and declare vnto them, that he woolde communicate and consulte wyth him in all thinges: & to the said Tissaphernes, that he was in great auctorytie with the Athenians, and was their chief, to the ende that he myght be the mooze estemed of him, and that he shuld vnderstande that by the same meane, he might ayde and hurt him. Also it happened therin euen as he vnderstode yt: for through the fauour of Tissaghernes he helde the Athenyans in feare: and through the feare of them, the selfe Tissaphernes. whan the Peloponesians, that were at Pylet, vnderstode the repeale and callinge home agayne, that was made of Alcibiades, haupnge already so great suspytion agaynst him: they begon to blame him openly. And for trouth in that, that they refused to saylle to encounter the armye by sea, whyche was come to presente them battaill, euen to Pylet, had caused the said Tissaphernes to be mooze colde to paye the souldye or wages of the sayd armye, togiders wt this, that Alcibiades had a right longe tyme trauailled and laboured to cause him to come into difference and dissention with the said Peloponesians. Thys bruyt beinge than come, vp the warryours, that were at Pylet, begonne to assemble thē selfe by trowpes, as they had done byfore time, & to make a great mutyne or sedytion. So that some amōgest them, men of auctorytie, saying that they had neuer had their entier paiment, & also that the same litle, which had bene paid to them, was not contynued: they threatened ỹ if they were not brought into some parte auther for to fight or for to haue to liue wt, they wold habandone and forsake the shyppes, and charged Astyochus therewyth: who, for hys particuler profit was mynded to complayne to Tyssaphernes. By thys murmuratyon and mutyne, a greate tumulte ensued agaynste the sayde Astyochus. For the marroners of the Syracusains and those of the Thuriens, for that, that they were lesse subiected, than the other: made greatest instance, and that wyth sharpe and more pryckyng wordes, to haue their payment, than the other. Unto whome, Astyochus made a rude aunswere, & Hermocrates, willinge to speake for his men and to maintayne their quarelle, he lifted vp a staff, whiche he helde for to stryke him: which parceyued, the marouers & souldyars Syracusains did all come impytuously & furiously vpon ỹ said Astiochus who perceiuing them cōming, withdrew himself into Franchise or Sanctuary in a chapell therby, & by that meane saued himself.

But afterwardes being come fourth fromthence, they dyd take hym, and besides that, the Myletiens wente to assaulte a castelle or bullewarke, whyche Tissaphernes hadde there made, the whyche they toke, and chased fromthence hys men, that he had sette therein, whyche thynge was agreable to the other allyes, and also the other Syracusains. But Lychas was therwyth displeased, saying that the Myletians and other, which were vnder dompnyon of the kynge, shuld obey and please Tissaphernes in the thynges that were reasonable vntil that the affayres of the warre might haue bene better ordered: by occasion wherof, and of many other like declarations, the Mylesyans conceyued so great indignation against him, that, being sone after dead as a disease or maladie, they would not suffre that hys body shulde be engraued in the place, where the Lacedemonyans, that were there, had appointed. In thies entrefaites and thies dissentions being amonge the souldyars: Tyssaphernes and Astyochus arryued at Mylet. Myndarus, beinge sente for chief of that same army from the Lacedemonyans in the stede of Astiochus: who after ỳ he had rēdred the charge to the said Myndarus he retourned to Lacedemonie, and Tyssaphernes sente wyth hym an Imballadour of Gaulere named Cara, whyche coulde speake well both languages, to wytte, Greke and Persyan, aswell for to complayne of the outrage that the Milesians had done vnto hym and hys men in thys castell or bastillion: as also for to excuse hymselfe of that, wherwyth he knewe well that they woolde charge hym & that they hadde sente men to Lacedemonie to do yt, and that Hermocrates was gone wyth them, who affyrmed that he and Alcibiades were agrede for to destroye and marre the affayres of the Peloponesians. For he had had of a longe tyme a meruelous hatred agaynste the sayde Tissaphernes by cause of the payemente, and also for thys, that beinge come the other three Chiefes of the Syracusains chippes vnto Mylet, to wytte, Potamus, Miston and Demarchus, the same Tyssaphernes had sharpely charged hym in their pryelence of many thinges and amonge othere, that the hatred, whyche he had agaynste hym, was for thys cause, that he would not delyuer vnto hym a certen some of monney, whyche he had demaunded of him. In thys manner Astyochus, the messengers of the Myletians and Hermocrates sailled frome Mylet the Lacedemonye. And on the other syde Alcibiades retourned from Tyssaphernes to Samie. Beinge arryued at whyche place, certen messengers dyd come from Delos, whiche, the fowre houlded gouernours of Athenes had sente thyder for to pacefie & quyett those, that were in the sayd place of Samie. But at the begynnynge, the people beynge by them assembled, the souldyars made instance that no man shulde geue them audyence, but rather cryed wyth a lowde voyce, that men ought to hacke into pieces suche people, as woolde destroye the comone estate, neuerthelas after manye woordes, syence was made, and they were heard wyth greate difficultie: who declared howe the change of the estate, whych had bene made, was not for the destruction of the cyte, as they were done to vnderstande, but rather for the welth of the same, and to the ende that it shulde not come into the power of the ennemyes, who were comme vnto byfore the towne. Whereupone yt was demyded to be necessarye to depute the sayde foore houndred to geue order to the defence, and in the affayres of the same, wyth the othere fyue thowsande, all the whyche shuld be partakers in euery whatsoeuer thyng for the cōductyng or admynistration of the affayres. And also that yt was not trewe, whyche Chereas had spoken for envye, that men had bannyshed and euyll intreated the Childrene, parentes and frendes of those, whyche were wythout: but rather suffred them all in their goodes, howles and in lybertie, as they had byfore tyme bene. But haynge

Myndarus.

Gaulestes.
Cara.

Potamus.
Miston
Demarchus.

made

made their excuses and declarations and wylling to passe further: they were empesched or interrupted by those Chartagians that were there, whiche toke that, that was sayde in an euill parte, and bigone to speake many and dyuers opynyons, but the more parte did put it fourth, that men shulde saille fromthence by vnto Pyreus. In the whyche trouble, Alcibiades shewed hymselfe asmuche or more frende to the partie, wherwyth he did take, than any of the other. For seing that the Athenyans, whyche were there, were mynded to saille agaynst those, that were at Athenes, and knowinge that if that dede were donne, it shulde be occasion, that the ennemyes shuld take all the contrey of Ionum and of Hellespont, he wolde not suffre it, but rather did speake against it: whych thynge, none other but he, might do in the same surye. And by hys auctorytie he stayed that same nauigation: and also cauled those to holde theire peace, whyche cryed agaynste the messengers and blamed them openly. And afterwardes sente them agayne despeched by hymself in thys manner. To wytte, that as touchynge the fyue thowsand men, whiche were named for to ayde in the gouernance of the Cytie, he was not of opynyon, that they shulde be taken frō the gouernance, but he willed gladly that the foure houndred shulde be dysmysed, and that the counsaill shulde be readmytted in the nomber of fyue houndred in like forme, as it was bifore. And somuche as touched that, whyche had bene made by the sayde foure houndred, for to dymynisshe the expences of ỹ cytie for to fournisshe the payment of the men of warre, he dyd right well allowe it, and exhorted them to prouyde well in the other affayres of the cytie, and not to suffer the cytie to comme into the handes and power of the ennemyes, geuinge them good hope for to appoincte and conclude all thies dissentions, the cytie remayninge in his entier estate, wythout that they shulde ryse in stryfe and armure the one agaynst the other, whereunto men ought to haue good regarde. For if they at any tyme shulde come to fight, to wit, those that were in the cytie, agaynste them that were at Samie, which of the parties shulde haue the victorie, there shulde none remaine with whom the appointement might be made. Nowe were come thider Imbassadours from the Argiues, which presented to the Athenyans that were there, ayde & succours agaynst the foure houndred, for defence of the comon estate, vnto whome Alcibiades dyd render thankes for their good offres, and neuerthelas hauing demāded of them, who had prayed them to come thider for that matter, and they hauyng answered that they were not come thyder, as called by any parson: he sente them away gracyously. And for trouth they had not bene required to come. But certayne Paraliens, beynge sente by the foure houndred in a shippe of warre for to saille to see what was done in Eubee, and also for to carye three Imbassadours, that those foure houndred sent to Lacedemonte, to wyt, Lesponidas, Aristophon & Aleisias: the said Paralians whan they were arryued at Argos rendred the sayd Imbassadours pryseners vnto ỹ Argiues, as those, which had bene the pryncipal auctors & accomplices for to beate downe the comō estate of Athenes: and the sayd Paralians dyd not afterwardes retourne to Athenes: but did take in the Imbassadours of the Argiues, and did cary them in the ships to Samie. In the same somer, Tyssaphernes knowinge that the Peloponesyans had a ryght naughty opynyon of hym, aswell for other reasons, as also for the restorynge of Alcibiades, for the whyche, they presumed that he was reallied wyth the Athenyans, for to pourge hymself of that same suspition towardes them, he prepared hymself for to goo to mete the Phenycyans shyppes, that shulde comme, and for to haste theym forwardes, whyche were in the poarte of Aspendus: and requyred that Lychas shulde come with him: and duringe that he shuld be in his voiage,

amus he lefte Tamus one of hys prouoſtes, to whome he dyd geue charge, as he ſaid, for to paye the ſoulde or wages to the Peloponeſyans maronners: howbeit yt appered afterwards that he was not gone to the ſayd place of Aſpendus for the ſame purpoſe. For he cauſed not the ſayde ſhips to come, though that there were in the ſame place one houndred and.xb. all readye to ſaylle. And albeit that it can not be knowin for trouth the cauſe wherfore he ſayled thyder, and wherefore he cauſed not the ſayde ſhips to come: yet were there ſundry iudgementes pronoſ-ced. For ſome did preſume that he dydde it, for to entertaigne the affayres of the Peloponeſyans vnder the hope of that his iourney: for alſo Tamus who he had lefte for hys Lieutenant payde no better than he had done: but rather wooꝛſe, the other iudged that he was gone thyder, for to recouer the monney, which was ordened for the ſoulde of the Phenycians by ſendynge them home agayne: other preſumed that he was gone for to aboliſhe the euyll opynyon, whyche the Pelo ponelyans had of hym, and for to ſhewe them that he was wyllynge effectuouſly to helpe the: ſithens that he ſailled for that ſame army by ſea, which was knowin to be readye. But as for me I holde yt for mooſte certayne, and the thinge is cle reiye euydente, that he was not mynded to bryngе hys ſhippes, but to dyſſimu-le in that voyage to the ende, that in attendynge hys commynge, the affayres of the Grekes ſhulde comme into confuſion: and that by not geuynge ayde to the one partie nor to the other, and kruſtratynge and deceyuinge theym both, they ſhulde remayne egall and weake. For yt was verayy notoryous that if he hadde bene wyllinge to ioygne wyth good purpoſe and ſyncerely wyth the Lacedemo-nyans, they myghte than haue obteigned the victorie. For that, that in the ſelfe ſeaſone they were of themſelf as puyſſante by ſea, as the Athenyans. And the er-cuſe, that he made for that, that he hadde not broughte the ſhippes: declared eui-dently his malice & deceyte. For he ſayd, that it was not for that, that the Phen-cians had not iourny ſhed ſuche nomber of ſhippes, as he had appoincted them. And yet neuerthelas it is to belieue that the kynge wolde haue bene ryght ioye-fulle that he myghte haue done the ſelfe effecte wyth leſſer nomber, and by conſe-quente wyth leſſer expences. But for whatſoeuer intente that he dyd yt, the Pe-loponeſyans by hys order, dyd ſende twoo galleys wythe hym to the ſayde place of Aſpendus, of the whyche was Chiefa Lacedemonyan, named Philippe. On the other ſyde Alcibiades vnderſtandynge the voyage of Tiſſaphernes, did take xiii. ſhips of thoſe, that were at Samie and ſailled into that ſame quarter: doing the Athenyans to vnderſtande, that were at the ſayde Samie, that hys iourney ſhulde prouffit theym greatelye. For he woolde compaſſe it that the ſame armye by ſea, whyche was at Aſpendus, ſhulde comme to their ſuccours, or els ſhulde not go to the ayde of the Lacedemonyans, and therof aſſured theym, knowinge (as it is to be beleued) the wylle of the ſayde Tiſſaphernes, by the communication whyche he had hadde wyth hym: whyche was, for none ſendynge of the ſayd ar-mye to the Peloponeſyans, and alſo he practyſed yt to the intente for to rendere the ſayde Tyſſaphernes frome mooze into mooze ſuſpecte wyth the Pe loponeſyans, to the ende that afterwardes he ſhulde be conſtray-ned to tourne to the partie of the Athenyans. So he ſailled towardes hym, keyping alwayes the mayne ſea from the coaſte of Phaſelide and Cumus.

Howe the Athenyans beyng come into greate deuision and dissenciō among themself, by cause of the common estate, whiche had bene changed, assembled to come to some accorde and appoynctmente.

The.xii.Chapter.

DUrynge thys tyme, the ambassadours, whiche the fooze houndzed had sente to Samie, beynge arryued and retourned to Athenes: they made their repozte of the charge, that Alcibiades had geuen them, to wytt, that they shoulde geue theymselfe to warde and kepe well the cytie, and defende theymselfes agaynste the ennemyes, and that he had hope foz to reconcyle those that were in the armye at Samie, and also foz to vainquyshe the Peloponesians. Whiche woozdes dyd geue greate courage to manye of the fooze houndzed, whiche were already cloyed and anoyed wyth that same fourme of gouernemente and woulde wyllyngly haue wythdzawin themselfe if they had thought them to be hable to do it wythoute danger: so that all with one accozde dyd take the administration of the affaires, hauyng specyally the two pzyncypall men, and the moste puissante of the cytie foz their chiefes, to wytte. Theramenes, Theramenes. sonne of Agnon, and Aristocrates, sonne of Sicillus. & beside those same, manye other of the moste apparente and excellente of the assemblie of the fooze houndzed, who excusedde theymselfe, of this that they had sente ambassadours to the Aristocrates. Lacedemonyans, sayinge that they dyd it foz feare of Alcibiades, and of othere that were at Samie, to the ende that the cytie shulde not be offended. And it semed to theym that men myght excuse, that the gouernemente shulde not come into the handes of a smalle nomber, if it were ordeined that the fyue thowsande, that had bene named by the sayd fooze houndzed, myghte haue the auctozytie in effecte and not in wozde: and that by the same meane the estate myght be retourned in an other sozte to the welthe of the cytie. Whereof albeit that they made alwayes mention in their pzopolitions, yet neuerthelas the mozeparte of theym dyd wzynge yt to their particuler pzoffyt, to ambition and auctozytie, hoppnge that in abatynge the sayd gouernemente of fooze houndzed, they shoulde be not onely egall to the other, but also superyours. And mozeouer in the comon estate. euery one endured and suffred the rather oz better wyllynge a repoulse, foz that that the offices were geuen by election of the people: than in the estate of the particulers, foz it semed vnto hym, not to haue bene repoulsed by hys egalls, whan that it was done by the people. And foz trouth the auctozytie, which Alcibiades had wyth theym at Samie, dyd geue greate courage to thies here, toigned, that it semed not to theym good, that the same estate of fooze houndzedde shoulde endure, wherefoze euerye one of theym infozced hymself, the moste that he myght, to acquire and get credytt with the people, foz to be pzyncipall in auctozytie. Neuerthelas, those, which were the pzyncipalles of the sayd fooze houndzed, trauailed to the contrarye somuche, as they might, and chiefly Phzinicus, who, whilest Phzynicus. that he was Duke and chiefe of those, that were at Samie, had bene contrary oz aduersary to Alcibiades. And also Astiochus, who had alwayes bene contrary to Aristarchus. the common estate, and lykewyse Pysander, Antiphon and the other, that were Pysāder Antiphō the moste puissante in the cytie, who, after the tyme that they had embzaled and takene the admynistration, and also after the change and sedition, that had bene at Samie: sente ambassadours of their owne bodyes and conueyde them to Lacedemonie, and wente aboute to maignteigne the gouernemente of the smalle

nomber wyth all their power, and also cauſed the walle of Eetione to be repaired and heightened. And after the retourne of their ambaſſadours, whiche they had ſente to Samie, ſeing that many of their owne ſecte changed their wylle, who had bene taken for conſtante and fully determyned in the affaire, they ſente readelye Antiphon and Phrynicus, with tenne other of their bende eſtelones to the Lacedemonyans, and did geue them charge for to appoynct with them, for and vpon the leſſer euyll that they myght, prouyded that the appoynctmente ſhulde be tollerable. And this did they for feare that they had aſwell of thoſe, that were at Athens, as of thoſe, whiche were at Samie. And as touchynge the wall, that they repaired and heightheneed at Eetione, they dyd it (as Theramenes ſayed, and thoſe that were wyth hym) not ſomuche for to empeſche that they, whiche were at Samie might not enter into the porte Pyreus: as for to receiue the army by ſea and by lande of the ennemyes, whā they would, for ſomuch as the ſame place of Eetione ys at the entrynge into the poorte of Pyreus, in manner of a creſſente or half a circle, whereby the walle, whyche they made for the coaſte of the lande, rendred the place ſo forteſyed, that it ſhulde be in their power wyth a ſmall nomber of people, that they myght putt wythin yt, to ſuffer the ſhyppes that ſhulde comme to enter or for to empeſcher or kepe theym fourth, for that, that the ſame place ioigneth to the other tower of the poorte, whyche hathe a veray ſtraite entrynge, and beſydes that reparation which they made at Eetione, they repayred the olde walle, that was wythoute Pyreus, of the coaſte of the lande, and buylded a newe wall wythin yt of the coaſte of the ſea, and bitwene both, made great halles and Stoarehouſes, into the whiche they conſtraynedde euerye one of the towne to brynge and beſtowe the corne, whiche he had in hys houſe, and alſo the ſame, that was from without by ſea, they cauſed to be diſcharged there, and they that were mynded to haue therof, were conſtrayned to go and buy it there. Theramenes, had already (before that the later ambaſſadours wente frome the poore houlded to Lacedemonie) diuulged and opened theis thinges, to witt, that the poore houmbred did make the ſayd reparations & prouiſions for to receyue the enemys. But after ỳ they were recourned without doing any thing, he did ſpeake & publiſhe more openly ỳ the ſame wall, which was cauſed to be made, ſhulde be cauſe of puttinge the eſtate of the cytie into danger, for at the ſelf tyme dyd come thider, xliii, ſhips of the ennemis, wherof the one parte were Italians & Siciliens, that came frō Peloponeſe, to witt, of thoſe that were ſente into Eubea: & certene other were of thoſe, that were lefte in the porte of Ye, in the countrey of Laconie, of whom Agilandridas, ſonne of Egilander the Spartian was chief, wherupon Theramenes ſayd, ỳ they were not arryued there, ſomuche to ſayle their voiage of Eubea, as for to ayde thoſe that made the ſayed walle of Eetione, and that if they made not verye good watche, there was greate danger leaſte they ſhulde take Pyreus ſecreatly or by ſtealthe. And that whyche Theramenes and thoſe that were wyth hym dyd ſpeake, was not wholy lyes, nor ſayed for enuye. For truely thoſe, whyche helde the eſtate of a ſmall nomber at Athens, would gladly (if they myghte) haue gouerned the cytie in lyberrie and vnder their auctorittie, and to haue bene hable to commaunde the ſubiectes, in the name of the ſayd cytie, as reprẽſenting the common welth. But if they coulde not defende and maigteigne their auctorittie, they were determined (hauing the porte, the ſhips and the forterelle of Pyreus in their hande) to lyue there in ſuertie, fearing leaſt if the people dyd retourne vnto their former common eſtate, they ſhulde furſt be deſtroyedde. And if than they myght not ſaue and defende theymeſelf there: rather than to fall into the handes of the people, they determyned to lett the ennemyes into

Ya. Agilandridas.

Pyreus,

Pyreus, but so that they shulde not haue nother the shypps nor the fortresses in their handes, and to capitulate and conferre wyth them touchynge the estate of the cytie, the beste that they coulde, so that their parsones myght be saued. For thies respectes they kept good watche and warde, on the walles & in the portes, and in the reste they aduaunced theymselfe, the moste that they myght to buylde the places, where the ennemyes myght haue entryng and passage forth: fearyng to be soubdainly taken and preuented, the which enterpryses and delyberations were furst deuysed and treated vpon amonge a fewe people. But sithens Phrynicus, after hys retourne oute of Lacedemonie, was hurte in the myddest of the market place, by one of those that warded, whereupon anone after hys retourne frome the Palais, he dyed: and the same man that dyd hurte hym, fledde awaye. But an Argiue, that had ayded hym, was by order of the foure houndred taken, who beynge racked and demaunded, to tell who had caused hym to do it, coulde name no parsone. And he sayd that he knewe none othere thynge, but that in the house of the capytayne of the watche, and of manye other cytizens, a great nomber of people dydde oftentymes assemble. Whereupon, and throughe occasion of that same newes, Theramenes, Aristocrates, and the other, whiche were of their confederatie, aswell of the nomber of foure houndredde, as other, were the more chafed and heated in their enterpryse. And somouche the more, that the armye by lea, the whiche was at Ye, hauyng taken the poorte and sojourne at Epidaure, made manye courslynges and pillages, in the lande of Egyne. Wherefore Theramenes sayd, that it was not to be bileued that if the sayd armye had bene wyllynge to saille into Eubea, that it woulde haue come courslynge buttyll the goulphe of Egyne, for afterwardes to retourne to Epidaure, except that they had bene called by those whyche helde and fortefyed Pyreus, lyke as he had alwayes said. For this cause, after manye declarations made vnto the people for to cause the comons to reise agaynst theym, it was fynally determyned to take Ye, by force. Ensuyng the which delyberation, they ỳ were busyed at the fortefynge of Fetione, ouer whome Aristocrates was chief, did take one of the nomber of foure houndred, whiche neuerthelas helde secretly the contrary parte, named, Alexicles and warded hym in hys owne house, and after the same, they toke many of them, and amonge other, one of the capytaynes that had the wardyng of Munichie, named Hermon, and that was done by consente of the greateste partie of the souldyars. The whyche thynge beyng signefyed to the foure houndred, whych at that tyme were in the pallais of the towne (reserued those, that was not pleased wyth the gouernemente) determyned to take their armure & weapons, for to geue charge vpon Theramenes and those whiche were wyth hym. Who excusynge hymselfe sayd that he was ready for to saille to Ye, to apprehẽde and take those, that made suche noueltyes. And so he dyd take one of the capytaynes, whyche was of hys wyll and mynde, wyth hym, and went to Pyreus. Unto whom Aristarchus and the horsemen were aydynge, whereby a greate and horrible tumulte was incontinently stirred vp. For they that were wythin the cytie, sayd playnly, that Pyreus was taken, and all those that were founde wythin yt, were slayne. And on the other syde, those, whiche were wythin Pyreus, thought that al those that were in the cytie, had come againste them. So that the auntyente of the cytie had ynough to do for to kepe the cytizeins frome puttynge theymselfe alle into armure, and therin Thucidides the Pharsalien trauayled greatly with them. Who, hauyng had greate amytie and acquaintance wyth manye amongeste them, laboured to appaise theyme wyth swete woordes, requyrynge and exhortynge theyme, that they shoulde not wylle to putt the cytie into danger of destruction, hauynge the

Alexicles.

Munichie.

Thucidides.

Pharsalius.

ennemyes

ennemyes to wyghe, whyche layde in wayte for theyme, by meanes of whyche declarations, the furye was appayſedde, and all wythdrewe theymeſelues into their houſes. Durynge thys tyme, Theramenes, who was officier wyth the othere beynge at Pyreus, made ſemblante, wyth woordes onely, to be angrye agaynſte the footemen well armedde. But Ariſtarchus and thoſe of hys bende, whyche were of the contrary faction or ſecte, were for trouth, throughly diſpleaſed agaynſte theym. The whyche for all that, ceaſſed not to proceede in their buſynes and worke, vntylle that ſome of theym demaunded of Theramenes, whider yt ſemed vnto hym for the beſte to fynyſhe the walle, or to raſe it downe. For beynge by hym aunſwered, that if it pleaſed theym to grynde it downe, he woulde not therewyth be angry: incontynently all thoſe, whiche wrought, and manye of the othere that were in Pyreus, mounteddе vpon the ſayed walle and in a verey ſhorte tyme, brought it to grounde. And in that doynge, to thintente to encouraige the people vnto their purpoſe and wyll, they ſayd with a lowde voyce vnto the ſtanders by, thies woordes. Wholoeuer hath more deſyre that the fyue thouſande ſhall gouerne, rather than the foore houndred, he oughte to doo this, whiche we doo. And that dyd they ſaye for to declare that they were not wyllyng to ſette vp agayne the common eſtate: but rather ſhewed theymſelf contented, that the fyue thouſande ſhoulde gouerne, fearynge leaſte that it ſhulde eſkape to any of thoſe, whyche pretended to haue anny gouernaunce in the ſayd comon eſtate, for to name it by errour or ouerſyght, by ſpeakynge the one to other, wherof the foore houndred were muche aſtonyed, for that, that they were not contente that the ſayd fyue thouſande ſhoulde haue auctorytie, nor alſo vnderſtande that they ſhulde be depoſed. For in that doyng it ſhulde come agayne, to the comon eſtate, alſo in geuynge theym the auctorytie, yt ſhoulde in manner be all one, the auctorytie beynge in ſo greate nomber of men. And ſo this facion of not declarynge the thynge helde the men in feare, aſmuche of the one ſyde as of the other. The morowe followynge, the foore houndredde, although that they were yet in greate trouble aſſembled togiders in the pallais. On the other ſyde thoſe, whiche were in armure in Pyreus, hauynge raſed downe the walle, and releaſſed Alericles, whome they had bifore apprehended, they went into the Theatre or guylde hall of Dyoniſius, that is to ſaye of Bacchus, whyche is bifore Munichie within Pyreus. So they helde there their counſeylle, and after hauynge debated vpon that, whyche they had to doo, they concluded for to goo into the cytye, and there to beſtowe their armure in the place accuſtomed, whyche thynge they dyd. And they beynge vnarmed, came manye cytizeins, ſente ſecretly frome the foore houndred, whyche addreſſed and repayred to thoſe, whyche they knewe to be moſte tractable, prayinge theym, that they ſhoulde kepe the peace wythoute makynge anye trouble or tumulte in the cytie, and alſo to deſende, that the othere dydde yt not, ſhewynge theyme, that they all togiders myghte name the fyue thowſande that ſhulde haue the gouernance, and putt into the ſame nomber the foore houndred to ſuche charge and auctho[illegible]itie, as they ſhoulde thynke good, for to kepe the cytye frome danger of compynge into the power of the ennemyes. Throughe whiche declarations and requeſtes, whiche were made by dyuers men in dyuers places and to dyuers perſonaiges, the people was greatly quyetted, fearynge leaſte their diſſention, ſhulde come to the ruyne and deſtruction of the cytie. And in effecte yt was generallye agreede, that at a certene day, an vniuerſall aſſemblie of the people ſhoulde be made wythin the temple of Bacchus.

Howe the Peloponesians had a victorye by sea agaynst the Athenyans, nigh to Erithree.

And afterwardes howe the gouernance of the sooze houndzedde was abzogated, and the sedition in the cytie by that meane appaised.

☞ The.xiii. Chapter.

The people, beyng at the day alligned, assembled in the temple of Bacchus: bifoze that any thyng had bene pzoponed and declared, newes came, that .xlii. shyppes were departed frome Megare, foz to comme to Salamyne, vnder the conducte of Agisandzidas. Which thyng semed to the people, to be the effecte of that, whiche Theramenes and his followers had sayd bifoze, that the armye by sea of the ennemyes, would come straight to the walle, whyche was in buyldynge, and that foz the same cause it was expediente foz to rase it downe. And yt myghte be, that Agisandzidas, kept hymself aboutes Epidaure, and other nygh places of a sett purpose, knowyng the dissension wherein the Athenyans were, foz to execute some good thynge, if he myghte see occasion and opozturnitie. The Athenyans vnderstanding thes newes, departed all commyng into Pyzeus, reputyng the same domestically and intestyne warre, moze greate and moze dangerous, than the same of the ennemyes, and beyng bifoze their poozte, moze than if it had bene in anny other place further of. Foz thys cause some dyd caste theymself into the shippes, whiche were ready and tacled within the poozte: the other they did bzinge to shoare, and trymmed those whiche were not ready: and the other mounted vpon the walles, that were at the entrynge of the sayd poozte, foz to defende it. But the Peloponesyans shyps, haunge passed Sunie sayled oz kepte their way, betwene Thozice and towardes Pzasie, and came fromethence to aboozde at Dzope. Whiche parceyued, the Athenyans did soubdainly apprehende and take the maroners, which they founde readye (lyke as the custome is to doo in a cyte, whyche is in Ciuille warre, and in greate danger of ennemyes) foz to wythstande yt. Foz also all the comfozte and succours, whyche they than had, was oute of Eubea, the coaste of the lande beynge occupyed by the ennemyes. And so they sente Tymocrates, with the shyps that they coulde than make readye into Erithzee, whyche after that he was arryued haunge in all, .xxxvi. shyppes, those same compzyled, which were bifoze alreadye in Eubea: he was constrayned to fight, foz somuche as Agisandzidas haunge already dyned, was departed frome Dzope, and dyd come agaynste Erethzie, whiche is not distante from the said Dzope but thzee shoare stades by sea. The Athenyans, than seynge the armye of the ennemyes compynge in battayle agaynste theym: they mounted soubdaynly into their shypps, thynkynge that the souldyars shulde haue sourthwith followed the, but they were skatered thzough all the quarters of the towne, foz to make pzouysion of victuailles, foz that, that the burgeoses of the same had malicyously founde meane that there were no victuailles to be solde in the market, to the ende that the sayd souldyars, being occupyed to serche victuailles thzough the towne, they myght not in tyme mount into the shyppes, and by that meane that the ennemyes myght betrapp oz soubdaynely take them. And also they in the reste conuenanted wyth the ennemyes to make theym a signe, whan they shoulde perceue that yt were tyme, foz to assaile the sayd Athenyans shypps. Whyche thynge they dyd. And notwythstandynge all this, the Athenyans, that were in the shyps wythin the poozte, sustayned a good whyle the foze of the enemyes, but at the ende they were constrayned to putt theymself in flyght. So they were followed by the ennemyes euene vnto the shoare

the shoare of the sea, whereupon those, whyche retyredde into the towne as into the lande of frendes, were by the burgeolles villaynously slayne. But those, whyche retyred into the fortes, that the Athenyans helde, were saued. And lykewyse the shyps, that coulde sayle vnto Chalcide were saued. But the other that were to the nomber of, xxii, were takene, with all those, that were in them, maronners and othere, whereof some were slayne, and the other deteigned pryseners, and by reasone of the same victorye, they reysed vp there a Trophee and wythin a small tyme after, they brought all the Iland of Eubea, into their obeysiance, except Oreum Oree, whyche the same Athenyans dyd holde, and also compounded with all the places borderynge thereaboutes. Whan the newes of the same ouerthrowe, dyd comme to Athenes, all the people were afrayde almuche or more, than of annye thynge, that had euer happened vnto theym. For although that the ouerthrowe, whyche they had receyued in Sycille had bene of greate ymportance, and many other losses whyche they had had at dyuers tymes: yet the hoste whyche was at Samie, beynge courned and rebelled agaynste theym, and not haynge nother more shyps nor men to putt in theym, and they theymselues more ouer in suche dissension in the cytye, that they dyd but attende and watche the houre for to inuade the one the othere: to haue presently loste, after so manye calampties and myschantes, euene at one instante all the Iland of Eubea, oute frome the whyche they had more succours than oute of their owne lande of Athenes: it shoulde haue bene a ryght strange thynge, yf they had not bene thereof astonyed. And so muche the more that the sayd Iland beynge so nyghe vnto the cytie, they feared greatly leste the ennemyes in the furye and heate of the same victory, would haue come fourthwyth, all wyth one power, vnto Pyreus, the whych being wholye vnprouyded of shypps. If they had had courraige, they myght well haue done, and chiefly they myght haue assaulted the cytie, the whiche by that meane shulde haue come yet into greater deuysione, or at the leste assieged it. By whych doynge those that were in the armye by sea of the Athenyans in Ionum, thoughe that they were aduersaries, and agaynste the gouernemente of the fooze houndredde, shoulde yet haue bene constrayned for their particuler interest and for the welth of their cytie to habandone & forsake the sayed countrey of Ionum, for to come, to the succours of their cytie. And by that meane all the countrey of Ionum, of Hellesponte, and the Ilandes that be in that same sea aboutes Eubea, and in effecte all the Empire and the seigniorye of the Athenyans shulde haue come into the power of the Athenyans. But the Lacedemonyans, bothe in the same and in manye othere thynges were muche profytable to the Athenyans, and principallye throughe the multytude and dyuersitie of people that there in their compaignie, who were muche differente, contrary and dilagreynge, bothe in wylle & in manner of lyuing. For some of them were hasty and dyligente: the other slacke and loyterynge, some hardye and the other fearefull, and specially touchyng the feate by sea, they were in great discorde, whych redounded to the greate profytte of the Athenyans. And that myght be welle knowyn by the Syracusayns. Who, for that, that they were all of one accorde and of one wylle: dyd greate thynges, and had faire victoryes. And for to retourne to the hystorye, the Athenyans haynge lerned theis newes, in whatsoeuer manner and necessitie that they were, they neuerthelas armedde twentye shyppes, and fourthwyth at the selfe houre, they assembled togider in the self place of Pyreus, and at an other tyme, in a place Pieue. whyche they name Pieue, wherein they had at othere tymes accustomed to assemble theymself, and it was concludedde in the same assemblies that the fooze houndred shoulde be deposed, and that the auctorye shoulde be in the handes of fyue

fyue thoulande, of the whyche nomber, all thole myght be, that coulde beare armure and that would ſarue in the office without wages, and whoſoeuer would do otherwyſe, ſhoulde be abhorred and execrable. Afterwardes there were manye othere aſſemblies, wherein dyuers lawes and ordonances were made touchynge the adminiſtration of the common welthe. And in the begynnynge thereof, it ſemed to me that they made manye good thynges for the conductynge of the common affaires to the welthe of the cytie, reducynge and bryngyng the diſſenſion that was amongeſte theyme, by cauſe of the particuler and common gouernement, vnto a good meane, whiche was occaſion for to cauſe manye euilles thynges that were done in the cytie to ceaſſe, and by that meane maigteigned yt. Moreouer they ordeyned that Alcibiades and the other which were wyth hym ſhoulde be reapealled and called home agayne, and lykewyſe that yt ſhoulde be commaunded to theyme that were at Samie, that they ſhoulde comme for to ayde to gene order in the affaires of the citie. In thies enterfeates, Pyſander and Alexicles and ſome othere of the nomber of foore houndred wythdrewe themſelf to Decelea. But Ariſtarchus, whiche was their chief wythout other compaignie of theyme, dyd take a certene nomber of Archers, whyche were there of the moſte barbarous or eſtrangers, and departed fromethence to Oenoe, whyche Oenoe. ys a caſtelle that the Athenyans helde in the frontiers of the Beotiens, whome the Beotiens dydde kepe alleged by cauſe of certene murthers, that thoſe, of the ſayd caſtelle had commytted and done to their people, and there were wyth him certene Beotians that were comme of their oune mynde. Ariſtarchus being there arryued, he treated wyth the ſayd Corynthians and Beotians to cauſe the place to be rendred vnto theym. And ſo he dyd paciamente and ſpeake with thoſe that were wythin yt. Doynge theyme to vnderſtande that the appoynctmente was made of alle the othere differences and queſtions betwene the Lacedemonyans and the Athenyans. Wherfore it was requiſitt that they ſhoulde render the ſayd caſtell to the Beotians. Vnto whyche wordes and declarations, thoſe that were wythin it (who knewe not hynge of that, whyche was done, as people that be alleged) dydde gene credytt and layeh, for that ſpecially, that the ſayd Ariſtarchus was the chief of the foore houndred, and ſo rendred the place by compoſition. In ſuche manner the gouernemente of the ſmalle nomber ceaſſed at Athens, and by that meane the ſedition and deuiſion of the cytizeins.

Howe the armyes by ſea alwell of the Athenians as of the Peloponeſians, ſailledde into Helleſponte, and there prepared themſelf for to fyght.

The.xiiii.Chapter.

In the ſelf ſeaſon, the Peloponeſians, that were at Mylet, dyd knowe manifeſtly that they were abuſed by Tyſſaphernes, aſwelle for that, that none of thoſe (to whome he had commaunded, whan he departed to ſaylle at Aſpendus, that they ſhoulde haue payde the ſayd Peloponeſyans their ſoulde or wages) nother hadde delyuered theym any thynge, nor alſo there was any newes of the comyng againe of the ſame Tyſſaphernes, nor of the ſhyppes that he ſhulde bryng out of Phenice. But Philippe that was Hyngone thyder with him, had wrytten to Hyndarus, chief of the army by ſea that Darius. he neded

Hippocrates.
Pharsalide.
Pharnabalus.
Hellespontus.
Icarus.
Methimna.

he neded not to attende or tarye for the sayd shyps, and a Spartian named Hippocrates, who was at Pharsalide had wytton the selfe thyng. For that cause the sayd souldiars, being solycited and instanced by Pharnabazus, who desyred with the ayde of the sayed armye by sea of the Peloponesians to cause all the townes, which the Athenians helde in his prouynce for to rebelle, lyke as Tyssaphernes had done: Myndarus chiefe of that same armye allyed and confederated hymself wyth hym, hoppynge to haue some more aduantage of hym, than of Tyssapher-nes. And for to doo the thynge more secretly: before that the Athenyans, that were in Samie parceyued yt, wyth the greateste diligence that he coulde, he departed frome the sayd Myket wyth, lxxiii, shyppes, and dyd take hys iourney towardes Hellespont, whider in the selfe somer were also gone, xii, othere, the whiche had made many courlynges and pyllaiges in one quarter of Cheronese. But he being in the gouff of the sayd Cheronese, was taken with a storme or tyrye, and was constrayned to wythdrawe to Icare, & there to soiourne fyue or syxe dayes, attendynge that the sea myghte be appalled and quietted, & afterwardes to saille to Chio. In the meane tyme, Thrasylus, who was at Samie, was aduertised, howe that same Myndarus was departed from Myket. So he departed wyth, lv, shyppes in the greateste halte that he coulde, for to be the furste in Hellespont. But beynge aduertised that the armye of the ennemyes was at Chio, and thynking that it would haue soiourned there certene dayes, he set eftyes into the Ille of Lesbos, and also in the mayne lande, that is in the quarter ouer anempste the Ille, to the ende that the sayd ennemyes shoulde not passe, but that he shoulde be aduertised thereof. And he, wyth the reste of the armye sayledde to Methymna, where he cauled flower and othere victuailles to be takene in, for to saille frome Lesbos to Chio, yf that the ennemyes woulde longe haue soiourned there. And also they were mynded to saille to ỹ cytie of Erese, for to recouer it, if they coulde, for that, that yt was rebelled frome the Lesbyans, by meane of certene banny-shed men out of Methymna, whiche were of the prynepalles of the cytye. Who, haupnge called out of the cytie of Cumes aboutes fyftie good men, their frendes and allyes, & foulded or waged aboutes three hundred souldyars of the mayne lande, vnder conducte of a citizeine of Thebes whiche they had cholene, for the amytie & allyance, that they had wyth the Thebayns: were sayled by sea straught to Methymna, thynking to enter therin by force, but their enterpryse did take no effecte. For they being entred into it, the Athenians, that were at Myttlene in garnison: did come soubdainly to the succours of the burgeoles, and hauynge fought agaynste the sayd bannyshed men, constrayned theym to yssue fourth agayne in the night out of the towne, and dyd go straight to Erese, the which they constrayned to receiue them and to rebell from the Mythilenians. Thrasilus with all his armye than beinge there arryued, prepared himself, for to assault the towne. And on the othere syde, Thrasibulus, who had bene aduertised at Samie, of the comyng of the sayd bannyshed men to Erese, was already come thider before with fyue shyps, and moreouer two other shyppes dyd arryue there after the comyng of Thrasilius, whiche came out of Hellespont, and sailled fromethence home to their houses, in suche sorte that aswelle wyth the shyppes that were at Methymna, as wyth the other, that were come thider, there were to the nomber of, lxbii, which caryed, men, artillery and Engynes, for to take Erese. In the meane tyme Myndarus wyth the Peloponesyans shyppes, hauynge made prouision of victuailles, for the space of twooo dayes at Chio, and receyued the payemente of the souldyars by those of the towne, to wytte, xlii pence for euery one: the thirde daye they launched fourth, and fearynge to encounctre and mete the shyppes, that were at Erese,

at Erese, they toke the mayne sea, and leauynge the Isle of Lesbos on the leafte hande, they came alongeft the mayne lande for to aboorde in the towne of Carterie in the lande of Phocaide, where he dyned wyth his bende. And incontinentlye as they hadde dyned, they paffed alongefte of the lande of Cumes and dydde comme for to fupper in the towne, of Arginuffe, whyche is in the mayne lande directly agaynfte Mytilene. And after that they had fupped, they faylled moffe parte of the nyghte fo longe that aboutes none they arryued at Hamatus, whyche is a towne in the mayne lande forayenempft Methymna, where they foudainlye dyned. Sithens after dynner paffynge forayenemfte Lecte, Larille, Imaritie, and othere places of that fame countrey, one parte of the fhyps came to aboorde at Rhetee, where Hellefponte begynneth, aboutes mydnight, and the other parte aboorded at Sigea, and in othere poartes and hauons adioignynge. The Athenyans, that were at Seste, to the nomber of, cviii, fhyppes, fepnge the fignes and tokens of their watches, whyche were made by fyers, and alfo lykewyfe a greate nomber of othere fyers that were made alongefte the fea coafte: knewe that the Peloponefians were entred into the goulphe of Hellefponte. And fo embarqued theymfelfe incontinently, and the felfe nyghte dyd comme bynethe Cheronefe, for to aboorde in Eleunte, thynkynge by that meane to auoyde and exchue the armye of enmenyes by the mayne fea, and for effecte they dydde paffe fo diligently, that the, cvi, fhyppes, whyche were in Abyde, parceyued them not, althoughe that they were aduertifed by the Peloponefians, that they fhoulde take good hede or watche welle, that the Athenyans fhyps fhulde not paffe wythoute their knowlaige. But after that the breake of the daye appered, they dyd fone fee the fhyps of Myndarus. So they incontinently fledde, but they did not all take the mayn fea, for one parte retyredde into the mayne lande, and fome other to Lemnus, there were fooze of theym that remayned the laffe, whyche were takene nyghe to Eleunte, with the people, that were within them, for they came to croffe a thwarte theyme forayenempfte the chapelle of Protefilaus, twoo were takene emptye or voyde, whereof the people was faued, and one was burned, whiche hadde bene lykewyfe takene emptye. And that done, haynge affembled the fame day alwell of Abyde as of other places, the nomber of fooze fhooze and fyre fhyps, they dyd comme ftraight to Eleunte, thynkynge to take it by force, but fepnge that there was noo hope therin, they failled to Abyde. In this meane time the Athenians, thynkyng that the armye by fea, of the enmenyes, couide not paffe, but that they fhoulde knowe yt, they were ftyll biforе Erese, and made there preparations for to aflaulte the waile. But whan they were aduertifed that the othere had paffed they leafte fourthwyth their fiege and faylled wyth all diligence towardes Hellefponte for to fuccoure their people. So they encountredde or mette two of the Peloponefians fhypps, whiche had ouer aigerly followed the other Athenyans, and dyd take theym, and the morowe after they arryued at Eleunte, beyng locked in the whyche place, they receyued the othere fhyppes that were efcaped frome the encountryng at Imbre, and by the fpace of fyue dayes, they made their preparations for the battaylle, after the whyche they dyd comme to the combate, whiche was in the manner that folowech.

Cumes. Arginuffe.

Lectus. Larilla. Imeritus. Rhetiũ. Sigeũ.

Lẽnus

¶ Howe the Athenians hadde a victorye agaynste the Peloponesians in the sea of Hellespont.

¶ The.xv. Chapter.

THe armye of the Athenyans was locked at both poynctes and extended from of the coaste of Sestie towardes the mayne lande. On the other syde that same of the Peloponesians, perceyuynge the other to come forwardes, departed from Abyde, for to encounter it. And whā both parties did see, that it was nedefull to fight, they extended themself into the sea, to wytt, the Lacedemonyans, who had, xlviii, shypps, enlarged themself frō Abyde to Dardane, in the ryght poyncte whereof were the Syracusayns, and Myndarus helde the lefte, wherin the lightest shypps were. The Athenyans extended themself towardes Cheronese: frō Idaque to Archiane, whiche were in al foure skoore and fiftene shypps, in the left poynete whereof was Thrasyllus, and Thrasybulus in the ryght, and the other cappytaynes, euery one in the place, that was appoyncted for hym. So the Peloponesians auaunced theymself to fyghte and furst to geue the assault, to the ende to haue enclosed with their left poynete, the ryght poynct of the Athenians, if they myght, in suche sorte, that they shulde not haue bene hable to enlarge theymselfe in the sea, and that the other shyppes, whyche were in the myddeste shoulde be constrayned to retyre to the lande, whiche was not verye farre of. Whereupon the Athenyans, perceyuynge frome the coaste that the ennemyes wouldecom me to enclose them, they assaulted theyme lyuely, and hauynge taksene their charge of the sea, they sayled and gouernedde their shyppes more gallardly: than the othere. On the othere syde, their leafte poynete had bene passed already the rockye place, whyche is called, the sepulchre of the dogge, by meane whereof the shyppes, that were in the myddeste of their battaylle, remayned naksedde and dysseparated frome those of the two poynctes, somuche in the greater danger, that the ennemyes hadde the more nombere of shypps, and farre better fournyshed wyth men. And moreouer that same rockye place of the sepulchre of the dogge, extendeth alongest into the sea of suche sorte, that those that were wythin the goulphe and retreatte therof, couilde see nothing of that whyche was done wythoute. For thys cause the Peloponesians, seynge those same, separated and feobled in suche sorte, came to geue charge vpon theyme and repoulsed theyme vnto the lande, and those same Peloponesians, seynge theymselfe to haue the victorye, a greate nomber of theyme landed for to followe the Athenyans, whyche couilde not be sucoouredde by their people, to wytte, by those, that were in the ryght poynete wyth Thrasibulus, for that they were oppressed wyth greater nomber of shyppes, than they had. Nothere wyth those, whyche were in the left poynct wyth Thrasillus, for that, that they couilde not see what those same dyd there, by cause of the rockye place or promontorye that was betweene both, and moreouer they hadde muche to do for to resiste the shyps of the Syracusians and a greate nomber of other, whyche oppressed them greatly, vntil that the Peloponesians, perceiuing themself to haue the victorye, bigonne to putt themself into disorder for to followe the ennemyes shipps, so as they skattered themself abroade. For Thrasybulus, which perceiued it, wythout more contending to saille with those, that were before him: rusthed wyth all his shyps and with all his strength vpon them, so that he put them to flight. And fyndynge those, whiche had brokene the myddeste of hys battaylle into disorder, he brought them in such feare, that many of them without tarying did put themself into

The sepulcre of the dog.

into flyght. Whiche parceyued, the Siracusains, and the othere that were wyth them, whyche had bene already greatlye oppressed by Thrasilius, dyd likewyse putt themselfe in flighte: in suche sorte, that all the armye of the Peloponesians fledde straight towardes the ryuer of Pydia, and fromethence towardes Abyde. And albeit that the Athenyans dyd not take a greate nomber of the ennemyes shippes: yet that same victorie dyd come very wel to their purpose: for that, that they were before tyme in greate feare of the Peloponesians by sea, by cause of many losses, whiche they had made in many places wyth them: but aboue all, for the fame of Sicille Wherby, after the victorie, the feare ceassed, whiche they had of the said Peloponesyans by sea, and also the murmuracion that was amongest their people, by cause of the same. And neuertheles they dyd take of the enemys ships those, whyche dyd followe eyghte of Chio, fyue of the Corynthians, two of the Ambraciotes and twoo of the Beotians: and of the Leucadians, Lacedemonyans, Siracusains and Pellyens of euery of them, one: & they losse syxten of theirs. So they receyued after the battaile the shipwrackes and the carionges. Where of they dyd by appoynctement render to the ennemyes, theirs: and afterwardes, haunge addressed and reyled their Trophee vpon the rocky place of the sepulcre of the dogge, they dylpeiched a bryganetyne, by the whyche they aduertysed the Athenyans of that same victorie. Through the which newes, the Cyrezeins that were in muche greate feare and dylpayre by cause of the greate inconueniences, that were happened vnto them, aswell in Eubea, as in the cytie it self, throughe their seditions: recouered theire spirittes, and dyd greatelye take agayne theire courage, hoppinge to be yett hable to haue the victorie agaynste their ennemys, if there caie were well and diligently conducted. Foure dayes after the same victorie, hauinge in thys meane tyme, wyth greate diligence repaired their shippes, whych were bruised and crushed at Sesse, they departed fromthence for to saille to recouer the cytie of Cizice, whiche were rebelled frome theym. And in pallynge their voiage, they dyd see eyght Peloponesyans shyps in the hauon of Harpagie and of Priape, whiche were departed from Bizance: the whyche they assaulted, vaynquished and toke. And fromthence they sailled to Cizice, and also did take it easely for that, that it had no walles, and they recouered of the burgeoles a good somme of monney. During thys tyme the Peloponesyans departed out frome Abyde, and saiſed to Eleunte. Where they dyd take of the shyppes, whyche had bene gaigned and wonne of the ennemyes those thereof, that they founde whole and entier: for they of the towne had burned a greate nomber of them. And also sente Hypocrates and Epicles into Eubea for to bryngе awaye other of theym. In the self seasone Alcibiades departed out of Caunus & of Phaselide wyth xiii. shyps, to Samie: and did the Athenyans that were there to vnderstande, howe he had empeiched that the Phenycians shippes did not come to the ayde of the Peloponesians, and also had drawen and trayned Tyssaphernes to the beny uolence of the Athenyans, muche more than before tyme he had bene. Strthens hauinge with hys eyght shyppes tacled other nyne that he founde there, he sailled into Halicarnassus: where he leuied a greate some of monney, and so encloied the towne wyth wal. Afterwardes he did retourne to Samie about the beggynnunge of Autumpne. On the other syde, Tissaphernes, hauinge vnderstanded, howe the armye by sea of the Peloponesyans was departed from Myiet for to palle into Hellespont, departed from Aspende for to saille into Ionium. And in the meane tyme that the Peloponesyans were occuppyed in the affayres of Hellespont, the Citezeins of Antandrie (which is a towne of the Eoliens) hauing takene a certen nomber of people in Abyde, caused them by nyght to palle throughe the mounte

Sicum.
Herpagius.
Priapus.
Hippocrates.

Antandrii

of Ida. So they put them into the towne and dyd chase from thence the men of
Arsacus the Persyen, who was capytayne there for Tissaphernes, for that, that
Arsacus he intreated them noughtelye. And besides the euill intreatinge, they had greate
feare of him and of his cruelitie for the experyence, whyche they hadde sene hym
vse agaynste the Delyens. Who, whan they were chased out of the Isle of Delos
by the Athenyans, vnder coulour of relygione, they beinge wythdrawin into a
towne nyghe vnto Antandria, named Atrampytum: that same Arsacus, whyche
Atrampytii. dyd beare them certen hatred, dissimuled or cloked hys euill wyll, and faigned vn
the pryncipalles of them that he wolde vse their seruyce in warre, and geue the
wages, and by that meane caused them all to ryse fourth into the feldes. And
one day, as they were at dynner caused them to be bisett rounde aboutes by his
men and wyth stroakes of dartes to be slayne righte cruellye. For this reasons
than and for not beynge of power to supporte the charges that were exacted of
them, the Antandryans chased away his men. Whereby Tyssaphernes found him
selfe greatly offended, besyde that, whyche had already bene done by the Pelopo-
nesyans at Myet and at Cnydus: from whence they had lykewise chased hys men.
And fearyng leaste it shulde happen worse, and also hauing in great despyte, that
Pharnabazus, hauinge wythdrawen them to wages shuld with their ayde, doo
wyth lesser charges and in lesser tyme, more in effecte than he could do wyth the
Athenyans, he determyned to sayle vnto the into Hellespont for to complayne
to them of the sayde outrages that had bene done to hym, and also for to excuse
and discharge hymself of that, wherewyth men charged hym, specyally tou-
chinge the Phenycians shippes. So he toke hys iourney, and beinge
Ephesus. arryued at Ephesus, he made hys sacrefice in the temple of Diana.
And whan the wynter that shall comme after thys sommer
shalbe fynished, yt shalbe the ende of the twentye
and one yeare of thys same warre.

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HEre endeth the Hystorie of Thucidides the Athe
nyan, of the warre that was betwene the Peloponesyans and the A-
thenyans. Prynce of Hystorians that haue wryttenne in the Greke tonge, oute
of the whyche, thys boke was sometyme translated into Latyne by Laurence
Valle, and afterwardes brought into the the Frenche tonge by the Lorde Clau-
dius of Seyssell, fyrst Bushopp of Marsselle and afterwardes Archebushopp of
Turyn, and beynge translated into the Englyshe ys fynally, by the moste gra-
cious pryuelege of the kynges moost excellente Maiestie, Edwarde the Sixte
by the grace of God Kinge of Englande, Fraunce and Irelande, defendor of the
faith and of the Church of Englande and also of Irlande in earth the Supreme
headde: publyshed and brought into lyghte to the profyte and edification
of the subiectes of hys Maiesties Realmes and Dominions. And
newely imprinted in the Cytie of London, in ỹ fourth yeare of
his Maiesties most prosperous Reigne.

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Leafe	Page	Lyne	Faultes	Corrections.
ix.	Seconde.	xxi.	and it was.	and howe it was.
xi.	Furſte.	Furſte.	a truſe for iiii.	for. iiii.
the ſame.	the ſame.	xxix.	Anaragozas.	Athenagozas.
xii.	bothe.	xii. xiii. viii. xiii xxi.	kyng of Pyer.	kyng Darius.
xv.	Furſte.	Furſte.	choſenne.	chaſed.
xx.	Seconde.	x. ii.	his houſe.	their houſes.
xxiiii.	Seconde.	xxix.	had had.	had.
xxix.	Furſte.	xiii.	be not ſaide.	be ſaide.
xxxiii.	Furſte.	xiiii.	that.	than.
xxxviii.	Furſte.	Furſte.	the ſaid cytie of Dampe.	leaue it ones fourth.
L.	Furſte.	xi.	gate.	porte.
liii.	Seconde.	Furſte.	Coſayrians.	theues or ſea rouers.
lxiii.	Seconde.	iii.	declared.	defended.
lxv.	Seconde.	vii.	a great nombre.	a greate nombre of them.
lxx.	Furſte.	xxix.	ouer all inhabyted.	ouer all not inhabyted.
lxxii.	Seconde.	xxvii.	of poarte.	of the poarte
lxxvii.	Seconde.	xxv.	aſmuche as the.	aſmuche on the.
lxxxiii.	Seconde.	xiviii.	that we haue not begõne	that ye haue begonne the warre againſte vs.
lxxix.	Furſte.	xviii.	againſt youe. And	againſt you, and ſtudie not but howe they may do you ſome yll tourne. And
lxxxiiii.	Furſte.	xvi.	the Athenians, yet	the Athenians at your comandement, yet.
the ſame.	Seconde.	xvii.	wherof, and for.	wherof, for.
lxxxx.	Seconde.	xiiii.	ymbecillitie of the other.	ymbecillitie of their wittes and the hadylitie of the other.
the ſame.	the ſame.	v.	than not to be oultraged	than to be oultraged or circumuented.
xciiii.	Furſte.	xiiii.	againſte hym.	againſte them.
xcviii.	Seconde.	Furſte.	their armye in.	their armye by ſea in.
xcix.	Seconde.	Seconde.	lett battaille.	ſette in battaille.
C.	Seconde.	xiix.	truſe ſhulde not be.	truſe ſhulde be.
C.	Seconde.	xxix.	this ſame bene accoyded	this ſame ſhall haue bene
Cii.	Furſte.	iiii.	Lacedemonians.	Athenians.
Cvi.	Furſte.	Seconde.	whan.	than.
the ſame.	Seconde.	iiii.	out of Corinthe	out of Corcire.
Cxii.	Furſte.	xxxviii.	Athenians.	Peloponeſians.
Cxiiii.	Seconde.	x.	Athenians	Acanthians
Cxvii.	Seconde.	xxv.	all thoſe, thoſe.	all thoſe, that.
Cxviii.	Furſte.	xxviii.	them vnto them.	theirs vnto them.
Cxxii.	Seconde.	xxiii.	that his treſues.	that this treſues
Cxxiiii.	Seconde.	xxi.	calle for vs.	caſte for them.
Cxxxii.	Furſte.	xiii.	the other cytie of Sparte.	the cytie of Sparte.
Cxxxv.	Furſte.	xiiii.	on the one partie.	on the other partie.
Cxxxvii.	Furſte.	xxi.	with the Athenes.	with the Athenians.
Cxxxix.	Seconde.	laſte.	thoſe Patras.	thoſe of Patras.
Cxl.	Seconde.	xviii.	men Capitayne.	Capitayne.
the ſame.	the ſame.	the ſame.	of the warre.	of the men of warre.
Cxli.	Furſte.	xv.	and other were.	and other that were.
Cxlvii.	Furſte.	xviii.	ſo that he perſwadeth.	that as he perſwadeth.
the ſame.	the ſame.	xx.	and to accepte it.	for to accepte it.
the ſame.	the ſame.	xxviii.	therof reſiſteth.	therof reſteth.
Cl.	Furſte.	xxii.	and the lyke did.	and the like they did.
Clv.	Seconde.	xvi.	lyele hazarte that I may.	lyele hazarte as I may.
Clxi.	Furſte.	xviii.	which they had ſene.	which the Athenians had ſente
Clxvi.	Seconde.	x.	for his cauſe.	for this cauſe.
Clxvii.	Furſte.	iii.	it it becometh frende.	if he becometh frende.
Clxviii.	Furſte.	xviii.	Egeſta.	Egeſtains.
Clxxvii.	Furſte.	xxii.	with the ſtuffe.	with the ſtuffe.
Clxxix.	Furſte.	xiiii.	October.	December.
the ſame.	the ſame.	xxix.	that is plempynm.	that is nigh plempynm.
Clxxx.	Furſte.	vi.	did geue geue.	did geue.
the ſame.	Seconde.	xx.	of the Athenyans.	of the Lacedemonians.
the ſame.	the ſame.	xii.	to come with.	to come to ſaille with.
Clxxxi.	Furſte.	xix.	furniſhed.	furnyſhed.
the ſame.	Seconde.	laſte.	xviii.	xxviii.
Clxxxviii.	Furſte.	xxix	of the ſeruitude vbõdage	leaue it ones fourthe.
Clxxx.	Furſte.	vi.	of Coartes.	of all Coartes.
the ſame.	the ſame.	xvi.	victuailles were.	victuailles they were.
the ſame.	the ſame.	xi.	than we ſhulde.	than we woolde.

Leafe	Page	Lyne	Faultes	Corrections.
the same.	Seconde.	prim.	mother moze here.	not here.
the same.	the same.	primi.	moz other.	mother some other.
x lxxxvi.	Seconde.	xx.	to meze them.	to mete them.
CCv.	Furste.	x.	that followeth.	that followeth.
the same.	the same.	xiiii.	mother mother.	mother other.
the same.	Seconde.	xvi.	Septembre.	December.
CCvi.	Furste.	xxi.	and all the nyght.	and at the nyght.
CCvii.	Furste.	xxi.	creatyng.	creatyng.
the same.	the same.	xiii.	he had deceiue.	he had in deceiue.
CCvii.	Furste.	Furste.	vnto Thaulbuis.	vnto Thaulbuis and Thes.
the same.	Seconde.	laste.	moze meane. And	moze meane and lesse abuyded in other affaires. And,
CCvi.	Seconde.	xxii.	in this castelle.	in his castelle.
CCxx.	Seconde.	xxvi.	people that there in.	people that were in.
CCxxiii.	Seconde.	xxvii.	the the frenche.	the frenche.